

Martin Bartelheim, Bülent Kızılduman and Uwe Müller

Bronze Age Fortifications on Cyprus

In Bronze Age Cyprus, fortifications are only known from the beginning of Late Cypriote I (17th century BC) onwards, after previously only open settlements existed. In the first phase of the construction of these fortifications they had no uniform character, while later in the 13th century BC (Late Cypriote IIC), like in the Levant, they served primarily to secure settlements with a character of economic and administrative centres. Castles as enwalled noble residences are generally unknown in the Bronze Age of Cyprus.

Early and Middle Bronze Age

In the Cypriot Bronze Age (c. 2500/2300 BC–1050 BC) fortifications are mainly a phenomenon of its second half when the island became part of the international world of the Eastern Mediterranean. Although already in the third and early second millennia BC Cyprus was surrounded by highly developed civilisations, it had remained for a long time until the mid-second millennium in a virtually prehistoric stage of development of society and economy.¹ The archaeological record of the Cypriot Early (EC, c. 2300–2000 BC) and the Middle Bronze Age (MC, c. 2000–1600 BC) is determined by small open settlements and some necropolises. Compared to the Late Cypriot Bronze Age (LC) (see below), the number of finds is much smaller. Due to a lack of modern research in the north of the island, our knowledge about settlements relies so far predominantly on sites in the central and southern parts of the island.² Apart from a concentration on the narrow north-west coastal strip,³ the settlements are mostly located inland in the area of fertile soils (e.g. Alambra, Marki Alonia, Kalopsidha), suggesting that the sea as a source of food did not play a major role alongside agriculture and as a transport route. The places studied so far are usually small settlement communities with evidence of mixed farming (agriculture and livestock). However, there is no sure indication that production went

significantly beyond subsistence.⁴ Signs of complex social structures in the archaeological record of the settlements are unknown. There is no evidence for settlement hierarchies, public buildings or large-scale storage, which would suggest a redistributive form of economy as it is assumed for the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus.⁵

The settlement structure in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus is still relatively unclear due to the rather unsatisfactory state of research. Many sites lack accurate information on datation, as only finds from surface surveys are available. Especially in the north of the island, the information often does not go beyond the Bronze Age site inventory published by H. Catling in 1962. Fine chronological differences and developments can therefore hardly be observed, and relations between individual settlements or settlement areas remain unclear. In the distribution of settlements, some concentrations can be seen that change only slightly during the prehistoric Bronze Age. They are located on the one hand in the western part of the north coast and in the hinterland beyond the Kyrenia Range, in the central area of the Mesaoria Plain and at its eastern end, and in the hinterland of the southeast coast (**Fig. 1**).⁶ The identification of further agglomerations would be possible with correspondingly better knowledge of the archaeological record. Among the settlements with Early to Middle Bronze Age surface finds, are also some

¹ Knapp 1994; 2013.

² Webb 2017.

³ Webb 2016.

⁴ Knapp 1994, 278; Frankel/Webb 1996; Coleman *et al.* 1996, 329–330.

⁵ Knapp 1994; Keswani 1996, 219, 238; Coleman *et al.* 1996, 329, 344; Manning 2014.

⁶ Catling 1962; Webb 2017; 2018; Coleman *et al.* 1996.

from where the existence of fortifications is reported (see Catalogue Ib, nos. 7–10), however, without detailed information on their chronology or construction. In none of the cases have systematic field investigations taken place, so that the existence of these fortifications in the Early and Middle Bronze Age cannot be considered as certain.

The inventory of known graves of that time – usually rock-cut collective graves – is quite extensive: According to P. Davies⁷ more than 1000 grave chambers have been excavated, with presumably many burials looted in the past. Inside the tombs there is often a high number of grave goods, especially pottery.⁸ Due to the fact that graves were often repeatedly used and therefore grave goods in many cases cannot be reliably assigned to any one individual, it is also methodologically difficult to make clear statements about the social structure in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus. Thus, various attempts in the last years with regard to the description of the social relations have led to rather significantly different results. Based on a detailed analysis of the pottery finds in graves, D. Frankel concluded that the variability in the material is rather low, because it is mostly made up of household items.⁹ Incidentally, a similarly low degree of variability is also found in the metal-finds repertoire of that time.¹⁰ Subsequently Frankel found confirmation for his view in settlement excavations and in the local construction and economic structure: Hardly any differences in building sizes, no extravagant pieces in the archaeological record, and a subsistence-oriented agricultural production.¹¹ However, A. B. Knapp,¹² P. S. Keswani,¹³ S. Manning,¹⁴ S. Swiny¹⁵ and others, in their respective investigations of the social structure of the Early and Middle Bronze Age of Cyprus, believe to be able to identify an emerging complex society with elites, who dominated the economy (mainly copper production from the island's vast ore deposits) and politics on the island. They state that, apart from the grow-

ing consumption of metal for own needs, e.g. as a status symbol, mainly the increasing demand for copper from overseas was responsible for a steady change in production and consequently in social conditions.¹⁶ So far, however, no metal production of a larger scale can be recognized from the few findings of metallurgy, and most questions on their functioning have remained unanswered.¹⁷

Even if the archaeological record is still quite unsatisfactory, it is nevertheless not wrong to postulate for Cyprus, as observed in the Aegean,¹⁸ the gradual emergence of social differences in the population since the Early Bronze Age. However, as the evidence of the necropolises suggests,¹⁹ they appear to have been regionally variable, with an outstanding number of metal objects in the necropolises of Lapithos and Vounous on the north-west coast, where a potentially important settlement site might have been located.²⁰ The tombs and settlements indicate a distinction of differently wealthy communities from each other, rather than providing evidence of a significant social stratification within the settlements. Due to the poor settlement record of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, especially in the north of the island, it has not yet been possible to reliably portray the economic background of the emergence of these differences, although the existence of exchange systems between different regional settlement communities can be well spotted via the exchange of certain pottery types.²¹ B. Knapp tried to explain the development by suggesting that there was a group that skimmed off the surplus product of increased agricultural production as a result of the “Secondary Products Revolution”. The group had supposedly taken control of both production and trade in copper.²² So far, however, neither graves nor settlements show obvious archaeological manifestations of this group. Furthermore, it remains unclear as to what extent metals were involved in the gradually emergent foreign trade and how their production and distribution were organised. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that

⁷ Davies 1997, 12.

⁸ Davies 1997 Table 2.

⁹ Frankel 1988.

¹⁰ Swiny 1989, 27; Weinstein 1990.

¹¹ Frankel/Webb 1996.

¹² Knapp 1990; 1993; 1994; 2008; 2013.

¹³ Keswani 1996.

¹⁴ Manning 1993.

¹⁵ Swiny 1989.

¹⁶ Knapp 1990, 161–162.

¹⁷ Belgiorino 2000, 2; Giardino 2000, 19; Bartelheim 2007, 151–161; 2016, 37–39.

¹⁸ Broodbank 2000.

¹⁹ Davies 1997.

²⁰ Webb 2016; 2017, 132–135; 2018.

²¹ See e.g. Crewe 2009; Frankel 2009; Eriksson 2009; Webb 2009; 2018.

²² Knapp 1990.

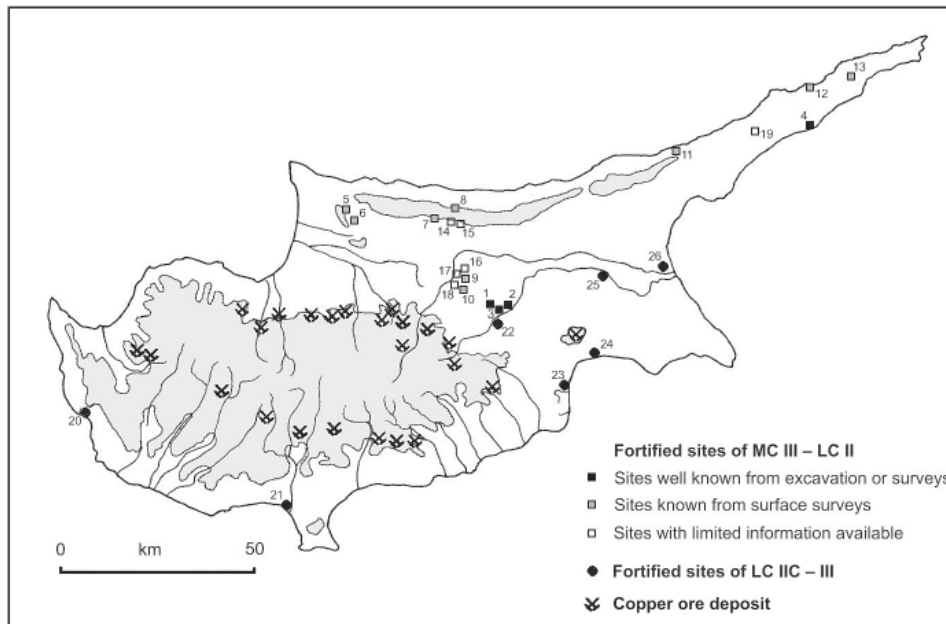


Fig. 1 Map of Bronze Age fortified sites on Cyprus. The numbers on the map correspond with those in the catalogues (map by the authors)

some metal had been produced beyond local needs, which could have been shipped overseas²³ and which had also been placed in great number in the tombs on the north coast. So far, the only question is where this production took place.

Generally, the evidence for the socioeconomic structure of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Cyprus is characterised by a largely rural subsistence lifestyle. Metallurgy appears to have been mostly self-sufficient on a smaller scale. Given the burgeoning interest from abroad in the island's copper resources, first indications of still limited response to them are to be seen in changes in the volume and organisation of metallurgical production as well as the increasing interest in export trade.²⁴ There are currently no indications of significant social and economic changes within that time period.

Beginning of the Late Bronze Age

At the transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age, the archaeological record of the area begins to change significantly, and an increased change in the socioeconomic structure of Cyprus becomes apparent. Thus, in MC III (c. 1700–1600 BC) the rich necropolises on the north coast in Lapithos and Vounous were given up and had no local suc-

cessors. Instead, Enkomi rose on the east coast, a rise that can be seen in the context of an economic restructuring of the island at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Overall, however, the settlement pattern is characterised by a continuity in settlement areas with a simultaneous movement into new areas, especially towards the coast (Fig. 1).²⁵

While there are no signs of significant changes in subsistence production, there is an increase in metallurgical activity. Nonetheless, to date for the MC III only evidence from Pyrgos can be cited as an indication of copper production to an extent that could have supplied customers overseas.²⁶ From LC I metallurgical finds and structures exist also at Enkomi and Politiko Phorades.²⁷ For Enkomi, though, basing on the large number of clay nozzles, it is possible to reconstruct a volume of production that likely went far beyond self-sufficiency.²⁸ As a result, and because of the prominent location of the workshops within a large and solidly constructed building in Area III, it is reasonable to assume that copper metallurgy had already gained significant economic importance for the city. Concerning economic conditions Enkomi had the best strategic position of all of those coastal settlements that can be seen as dating to LC I.

²³ See Kayafa *et al.* 2000, 48.

²⁴ Crewe 2012; Manning 2014.

²⁵ Catling 1962; Crewe 2007, 41; 2017.

²⁶ Belgiorno 2000; Giardino 2000.

²⁷ Knapp/Kassianidou 2008.

²⁸ Dikaios 1969–71; Muhly 1989, 299–300; Peltenburg 1996, 29; Crewe 2007, 75–84.

The urban-based metallurgy that characterizes the organisation of production in Cyprus for the next centuries begins there. Its link to the coastal centres, which were certainly at the same time harbour sites, suggests a strong export component.

Accordingly, in this period the contact with the Near Eastern mainland, already visible during the Middle Bronze Age in some imported objects, increased significantly. An intensive mutual exchange with Egypt and the Levant developed, which had its archaeological expression especially in foreign ceramic objects from settlements and graves, but also in the form of precious metal finds, bronze shaft-hole axes, faience and cylinder seals as grave goods.²⁹ From the transition MC III/LC I onwards, an intensified exchange with the Aegean is also noticeable.³⁰ Testimonies of these external contacts are manifested above all in grave finds in necropolises of MC III and LC I date in several places on the island, thus revealing a widespread participation in external connections.³¹ Overall, this period is characterised by an interplay of increasing external influences and locally varying internal responses.³²

One of the likely responses is the construction of fortifications, for which a few excavations or intensive surveys from this period are available for the first time: Agios Sozomenos-Barsak, Agios Sozomenos-Nikolides, Dhali-Kafkalia and Korovia/Kuruova-Nitovikla (Catalogue Ia, nos. 1–4) (**Fig. 1**). However, none of them has been securely dated (there are hardly any ¹⁴C dates), sufficiently researched as to their building structure, or, like all other settlements from this period, extensively excavated. Thus, essential elements for an estimation of their size, their character or for a sound interpretation of the record are lacking. While the first three fortified settlements are part of a concentration of sites that are located in the centre of the island, sometimes only a few hundred meters apart, Nitovikla is located on the Karpas peninsula on the south coast.

On his survey of the settlement structure of the Bronze Age of Cyprus, H. Catling registered a number of fortified structures.³³ Based on this,

M. Fortin in his dissertation on the Bronze Age fortifications of Cyprus identified 21 such settlements,³⁴ the level of knowledge of which is very different (see Catalogue I, III). Likewise, it can be assumed that not all settlements existed simultaneously. Concerning the reasons for the construction of the fortifications, a wide range of explanatory approaches can be found in the literature. For example, H. Catling suspected riots over the scarcity of resources due to a combination of drought and population growth, and viewed the fortifications as a security measure against this.³⁵ Other authors postulated invasions from outside (especially Syria-Palestine or Egypt),³⁶ or they saw the uncertainty of the local population in the face of increasing contact with the mainland and the resulting interest in access to Cypriot copper ore deposits as an occasion for fortification.³⁷

Further, there were speculations that the fortifications were more likely meant to serve an elite of one (Enkomi) or possibly two (Enkomi and Toumba tou Skourou) coastal settlements to ensure the control and safety of copper transportation routes.³⁸ They argue that only these coastal centres were able to build such fortifications on much of the island. In particular, the fortifications at Agios Sozomenos (Catalogue Ia, nos. 1–3) would be located on a route from Enkomi via the valley of the Galias to the closest copper ore deposits. In this reference an important role is played by some architectural similarities between the two exceptionally large and massive buildings called “fortresses” in Enkomi, Area III and Agios Sozomenos-Glyka Vrysis (see Catalogue III), which the authors propose served as military facilities to secure copper transport and processing. On closer examination of the topographical position and the design of the two buildings, apart from a rectangular basic shape and similarly wide walls (1–2 m), hardly any further noteworthy features are found.³⁹ In addition, both have an unfavourable strategic position and a structure unsuitable for a fortress. Hence, M. Fortin excluded them from the group of installations with defensive character.⁴⁰ Instead it can be

²⁹ Baurain 1984, 27–105; Courtois 1986, 71–75; Keswani 1996, 219.

³⁰ Knapp 1988, 152.

³¹ Keswani 2004.

³² Merrillees 1971, 74–75.

³³ Catling 1962.

³⁴ Fortin 1981; 1989; 1995.

³⁵ Catling 1962.

³⁶ Sjöqvist 1940; Baurain 1984; Hult 1992.

³⁷ Fortin 1981.

³⁸ Peltenburg 1996; Knapp 2015.

³⁹ Peltenburg 1996 Fig. 6.

⁴⁰ Fortin 1995.

assumed that the two probable monumental buildings had rather representative functions. Whereas little is known about the inventory of the building in Glyka Vrysis, except for ceramic finds,⁴¹ the aforementioned metallurgical remains were recorded in Enkomi, which is why probably copper was also temporarily processed and possibly stored there.

Among the comparatively well-studied fortifications, the concentration of three in the area of Agios Sozomenos (Barsak, Nikolides and Kafkallia) (Catalogue Ia, nos. 1–3) is remarkable. According to the recent state of knowledge⁴² and the published results of the current ongoing research there,⁴³ the fortifications located upon rock spurs, in addition to strong walls, have yielded only relatively few finds. Internal architectural structures are still largely unknown. Only in Kafkallia are some floor plans known from surface investigations, including a walled-off, almost square courtyard area, possibly with the function of a bastion.⁴⁴ According to our present knowledge on the dating of these complexes that are only 0.5 to 2 km apart, there is a temporal overlap of their use which suggests a replacement of Barsak by Kafkallia and Nikolides. Below the fortifications in the Gialias Valley, Gjerstad's investigations in 1924 as well as recent research have revealed intense settlement and also the existence of necropolises.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the building excavated by Gjerstad in Glyka Vrysis is located directly below Nikolides and is largely contemporaneous. This raises another argument for doubting its fortification character (see above), especially since surface surveys show that the building apparently belongs to a larger settlement complex there.⁴⁶ Underneath the Barsak settlement, remains are currently excavated in the areas of Dzirpoulos and Ampelia, which in addition to abundant settlement architecture have provided also extensive remnants of storage vessels and other economic activities.⁴⁷ The clear contrast in the range of finds between the apparently open settlements in the Gialias Valley and the fortifications on the heights above, where only scant finds and no pottery came to light, suggests

that these fortified sites had primarily a protective character for the valley settlements. Insignia of power, which are interpretable as such, have not been found there.

Korovia/Kuruova-Nitovikla on the southern coast of the Karpas Peninsula (Catalogue Ia, no. 4) was the only other excavated fortified settlement site from the early Late Bronze Age period. These investigations comprising three trenches took place as early as 1929 in a walled area at the southwest corner of a larger sea-facing plateau, with three major usage phases from MC III to LC IIB documented.⁴⁸ The structure with an approximately square area of 40 x 36 m and a courtyard was interpreted as a "fortress". During the excavations, it became clear that the entire plateau was surrounded by a wall, the course of which, however, remained unclear in the East. In the course of surface surveys, no building structures were identified in the interior, which is why the site was interpreted as having been a refuge.⁴⁹ However, in view of the widespread occurrence of Bronze Age ceramics and other finds on the plateau, a very convenient location by the sea, flanked by two potential landing points for boats or ships on the west and on the east side, as well as the plateau's total height of only c. 30 m above the surrounding landscape, the interpretation as 'refuge' seems unlikely. For such a function, there would have been much more suitable places in the direct surroundings. Instead, the site should be considered a fortified settlement with maritime connections, whose character and life span are yet to be determined by further investigations. With this Nitovikla to some extent anticipates the location model of the coastal centres that had their heyday in the 13th–12th centuries. The "fortress" on the southwest corner of the plateau, so far mostly considered in isolation, could have had the role of a particularly fortified bastion within the overall structure. The frequent emphasis on the allegedly isolated position of Nitovikla⁵⁰ is surprising in light of the site maps published by H. Catling, in which some finds are recorded on the Karpas peninsula in the immediate vicinity of Nitovikla.⁵¹ Supposedly with more intensive exploration of the region this notion can be further relativized.⁵²

⁴¹ Gjerstad 1926, 37–47.

⁴² Fortin 1989.

⁴³ Pilides 2016; 2017.

⁴⁴ Fortin 1995 Fig. 14.

⁴⁵ Gjerstad 1926, 6. 37–47; Pilides 2016; 2017.

⁴⁶ Pilides 2016, 5.

⁴⁷ Pilides 2016; 2017.

⁴⁸ Sjöqvist 1940; Hult 1992; Crewe 2007, 53–55.

⁴⁹ Sjöqvist 1940.

⁵⁰ E.g. Hult 1992, 76.

⁵¹ Catling 1962.

⁵² See Kizilduman 2008, 162.

Of the other fortifications identified by H. Catling and M. Fortin as belonging to the Bronze Age,⁵³ only 9 have provided datable find material (Catalogue Ib) – which, incidentally, does not give a chronologically consistent picture – and for 6 others there is no information on this (Catalogue Ic). As far as their exact location can be traced, they are hill-top sites where the fortification supplements or reinforces the natural protection offered by the topography. As a rule, these locations are in the range of concentrations of Bronze Age settlement, which is manifested primarily by open settlements and/or necropolises.⁵⁴ Only on the Karpas peninsula are there some fortifications in seemingly isolated locations; however, the relatively poor state of research might be responsible for this impression.

During LC I, there is no archaeological evidence for the existence of institutionalised power in Cyprus. The detailed study of the Cypriot pottery from the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age by L. Crewe revealed that ceramic production was still structured on a very small regional scale during this time period.⁵⁵ The distribution patterns of ceramic types as well as imported objects suggest rather a large diversity of production units and independent actors in external relations.⁵⁶ The fortifications thus appear less as manifestations of the power of coastal elites moving into the interior of the island in the course of an economic and political change;⁵⁷ instead they seem rather as local reactions to changes in that period. This could simply reflect the need for protection of local populations against internal island conflicts or external dangers, but also an architectural manifestation of the power claim of local social leadership groups. Overall, there is no convincing evidence in the archaeological record that the construction of fortifications was initiated and controlled from a central location, nor that they stood in any direct relation to each other. Likewise, it remains unclear as to whether the fortifications were directed against potential opponents from outside the island or against those within, or whether their construction should primarily display power.

⁵³ Catling 1962; Fortin 1981; 1989.

⁵⁴ Catling 1962; Fortin 1989 Pl. LV.

⁵⁵ Crewe 2007.

⁵⁶ Crewe 2007, 149–151. 158.

⁵⁷ Peltenburg 1996.

Settlement structure in the Late Bronze Age

In the course of the Late Bronze Age, the implications of the economic restructuring of Cyprus become increasingly obvious in the archaeological record. Accordingly, during LC I the settlement focus shifted from the inland to the coast.⁵⁸ In several places near the coast new settlements with urban characteristics emerged, such as the construction of complex street systems with orthogonal layout⁵⁹ and the concentration of economic activities. Examples for this are Morphou/Güzel-yurt-Toumba tou Skourou,⁶⁰ Kourion-Bamboula,⁶¹ Maroni-Vournes,⁶² Hala Sultan Tekke-Vyzakia,⁶³ Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios,⁶⁴ Alassa-Palaeotaverna⁶⁵ and Kouklia-Palaeopaphos.⁶⁶ They differ noticeably in their structure and especially in terms of their size from the small domestic villages of the Middle Bronze Age, some of which still existed.⁶⁷ However, since hardly any systematic field surveys have taken place in the vicinity of the settlement centres and farther afield, the relationship between the centres and the surrounding areas is still largely unknown. Settlement centres continued to develop during the following centuries, until they reached a first major island-wide heyday in LC IIC (c. 1350/1300–1200 BC). For the first time architectural features appeared, which hint at a differentiated use of parts of the settlement: Larger buildings with ashlar masonry that due to the elaborate character of their architecture might reveal residences of socially prominent individuals or might have had a special public function were found in Enkomi, Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios, Maa-Palaeokastro and Maroni-Vournes and Palaeopaphos.⁶⁸

The fact that differentiation could be reflected in the social structure of the inhabitants is also indicated in grave finds with obvious differences in quality.⁶⁹ From LC I (c. 1650/1600–1450/1400 BC)

⁵⁸ Catling 1979, 199; Andreou 2016 Fig. 1.

⁵⁹ Negbi 1986.

⁶⁰ Vermeule/Wolsky 1990.

⁶¹ Weinberg 1983.

⁶² Cadogan 1984.

⁶³ Åström 1993; Fischer/Bürge 2017a.

⁶⁴ South 1997.

⁶⁵ Hadjisavvas 1986.

⁶⁶ Maier/von Wartburg 1985.

⁶⁷ Andreou 2016.

⁶⁸ Negbi 1986; Knapp 1988, 152; Webb 1999.

⁶⁹ Keswani 1996 Table 2.

some outstandingly rich graves with high-quality and exotic offerings are built in coastal centres; their number increased in the course of the Late Bronze Age. There are also necropolises *extra muros*.⁷⁰ Among the rich burials are graves 8 and 21, found during the Swedish excavations in Enkomi,⁷¹ tombs 6 and 8 in Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi,⁷² and tombs in Toumba tou Skourou⁷³ and Hala Sultan Tekke.⁷⁴ In LC II (c. 14th–13th century), more are added, as in Enkomi,⁷⁵ Kition,⁷⁶ Maroni-Vournes,⁷⁷ Kourion-Bamboula⁷⁸ and tombs 11, 13 and 14 in Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios.⁷⁹

It seems likely to consider these in part richly decorated and lavishly erected burial places as those of socially prominent families. Since all of them are collective burials, it is impossible to identify individual persons as outstanding political figures. However, the existence of such rich graves, whose number is nevertheless too small to represent the entire population of a village, suggests that vertical social differentiation had indeed existed. Nevertheless, the political structure within the settlement centres and beyond across Cyprus remains unclear, as there are no significant archaeological findings, and no information can be obtained from the few Cypro-Minoan written records.⁸⁰ There is controversy about the extent to which literary sources from Egypt can provide further information on this. These sources are passages from the so-called El Amarna letters.⁸¹ In this archive of the correspondence of Egyptian pharaohs from the reign of Amenhotep III (1388–1365 BC), Akhenaten (1351–1334 BC) to the first year of Tutankhamen's rule – a total period of maximally 30 years – there is correspondence with a king of 'Alašia', whose identification with Cyprus is largely accepted.⁸² For some time there has been some controversy as to whether

the name 'Alašia' in the Late Bronze Age refers to a single place (due to its early acquired size and rich archaeological record, one would think first of all of Enkomi), and/or the entire island of Cyprus. While the latter (the entire island) is partly considered to be the case by some researchers,⁸³ P. S. Keswani states that the island was divided into regional sovereign units with their own settlement centres. She bases this on various details in the structure of Late Bronze Age settlements on Cyprus (differences in the public architecture between settlements; the absence of obvious administrative centres, e.g. in Enkomi or Kition, which evidently existed elsewhere, e.g. in Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios or in Alassa-Palaeotaverna,⁸⁴ and the diversity of import finds in the tombs).⁸⁵ In the archaeological record there is currently no indication as to the relationship between the fortified settlements on the coasts. At least for the social structure within settlement centres, however, the wording in the letters gives the impression that apparently Alašia's society in the 14th century BC was clearly hierarchically structured.

From an economic point of view, Enkomi also provides the main source of metallurgical evidence for the production of copper in the period LC IIA–B (c. 1450/1400–1300 BC), demonstrating its continued dominant position in this sector. From the 13th century BC on, when metallurgical production in Enkomi experienced a significant increase,⁸⁶ copper was also produced in other coastal centres, such as in Hala Sultan Tekke,⁸⁷ Kition,⁸⁸ Maroni-Vournes,⁸⁹ Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios,⁹⁰ as well as in smaller places farther from the coast, like Atheniou,⁹¹ Alassa-Palaeotaverna,⁹² Myrtou-Pigadhes⁹³ and Apliki.⁹⁴ It is striking that in most of these places the evidence of copper metallurgy was found in the middle of the settlements, sometimes scattered over wide areas.⁹⁵

⁷⁰ Keswani 1996; 2004.

⁷¹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 569–573.

⁷² Kromholz 1982, 306–314.

⁷³ Vermeule 1974, 8–9; Vermeule/Wolsky 1990.

⁷⁴ Bailey 1972; Keswani 1996 Table 3; Fischer/Bürge 2017b.

⁷⁵ Johnstone 1971; Keswani 1996 Table 2.

⁷⁶ Karageorghis 1974.

⁷⁷ Cadogan 1996; Keswani 1996, 229–230.

⁷⁸ Benson 1970.

⁷⁹ South 1989; Keswani 1996, 229–230.

⁸⁰ Ferrara 2012.

⁸¹ Knudtzon 1915; Knapp 1996, 21–25.

⁸² Catling 1980; Knapp 1996, 3–11; but see Gilbert 2017.

⁸³ Knapp 1996; 2008, 335–336; Karageorghis 2002, 30.

⁸⁴ South 1997; Hadjisavvas 1986.

⁸⁵ Keswani 1996, 234–239.

⁸⁶ Courtois 1982.

⁸⁷ Åström 1982.

⁸⁸ Stech *et al.* 1985.

⁸⁹ Cadogan 1984.

⁹⁰ South 1989; 1992.

⁹¹ Stech 1982, 106–107.

⁹² Hadjisavvas 1986.

⁹³ Stech 1982.

⁹⁴ Muhly 1989, 302.

⁹⁵ Bartelheim 2007, 407–416.

This underlines the obviously generally high economic importance of copper.⁹⁶

As can be shown by the many references to Cyprus (Alašia) at that time in external sources (mostly in the context of copper),⁹⁷ the island was then an integral part of the economic area in the eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁸ This is manifested archaeologically above all in a continuing great number of imported objects from the entire eastern Mediterranean region, which, just like its Cypriot counterparts abroad, demonstrate an intensive supra-regional economic exchange. In addition to copper, Cyprus seems to have exported spices, perfumes, opium, oils and wood, especially to Egypt, but also to the Aegean and the Near East. Literary evidence in letters like those from El-Amarna and production remains in the settlement centres speak for the treatment and shipping of these goods there.⁹⁹

This expansion of economic activity in the 13th century BC (LC IIC) was accompanied by the construction of mighty fortifications, as seen in the coastal centres of Enkomi, Kition and Kourion-Bamboula, but also inland in Sinda/İnönü-Sira Dash/Sıra Taş (Catalogue II, nos. 21. 23. 25–26). In these places, which were already inhabited before, fortifications were detectable for the first time. On the other hand, a continued use of the fortifications until LC IIC at the sites that had already been fortified at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age is not documented anywhere. In Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Catalogue II, nos. 20. 24) the settlements were established only at the end of LC IIC and immediately fortified. In some other settlement centres that had flourished during LC IIC, no fortifications could be detected so far, e.g. in Kalavastos-Ayios Dimitrios,¹⁰⁰ Maroni-Vournes,¹⁰¹ Hala Sultan Tekke-Vyzakia,¹⁰² Morphou/Güzelyurt-Toumba tou Skourou,¹⁰³ Myrtou/Çamlıbel-Pigadhes,¹⁰⁴ Galino-

pori/Kaleburnu-Vasili/Kral Tepesi,¹⁰⁵ Alassa-Palioaverna¹⁰⁶ or Kouklia-Palaepaphos.¹⁰⁷ It is unclear whether they did not need protection, or whether existing defensive structures have not yet been discovered in such expansive areas. Solely Dali-Ambelleri (Idalion) is known as being a new settlement (Catalogue II, no. 22) from the last part of the Cypriot Bronze Age LC III, presumably following the settlement concentration in the area of Dali/Agios Sozomenos.¹⁰⁸ New fortifications were not built and many places were abandoned in the course of or at the end of LC III.¹⁰⁹

Of the five settlement centres in which LC IIC and LC III fortifications have been detected (Enkomi, Kition, Kourion, Sinda and Idalion), the course of the walls is known only in Enkomi to a large extent. A section of wall has been documented in Kition and Idalion each, while only small segments were found in Kourion-Bamboula and Sinda. The known wall segments include (except for Idalion) the previously established settlements, whose position was apparently not chosen primarily for reasons of defence strategy. Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, on the other hand, were established in places that were well defended: Maa-Palaeokastro is situated upon a rocky peninsula in the sea and separated from the hinterland by a wall, while Pyla-Kokkinokremos is on a coastal plateau with steep flanks and a casemate-like fortification, about which very little is known so far.¹¹⁰ Both places had no possibility for their own water supply, apart from cisterns. In both cases there are potential landing places for ships or boats, but no easy access to the hinterland. It seems as though the settlements, in addition to the use of storage facilities, were created primarily for the sake of protection, which apparently did not prove to be a favourable long-term location-factor, as they were abandoned relatively soon after a few decades.¹¹¹ The assumption expressed in earlier decades that these were settlements of Aegean refugees¹¹² now appears to be obsolete, given that the local find material hardly

⁹⁶ Bartelheim 2016.

⁹⁷ Knapp 1996, 26–51.

⁹⁸ Baurain 1984; Courtois 1986; Karageorghis 1996; 2002, 57–71.

⁹⁹ Aravatinos 1991; Knapp 1991; Hadjisavvas 1996; Karageorghis 1996; Muhly 1996.

¹⁰⁰ South 1997.

¹⁰¹ Cadogan 1996.

¹⁰² Fischer/Bürge 2017a.

¹⁰³ Vermeule 1974.

¹⁰⁴ du Plat Taylor 1957.

¹⁰⁵ Bartelheim *et al.* 2008; Kızılduman/Müller 2016; Kızılduman 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Hadjisavvas 1986.

¹⁰⁷ Maier/von Wartburg 1985.

¹⁰⁸ Hadjicosti 1999.

¹⁰⁹ Georgiou 2011; Iacovou 2013.

¹¹⁰ Georgiou 2012; Bretschneider *et al.* 2015.

¹¹¹ Georgiou 2015, 133–135.

¹¹² Karageorghis/Demas 1988, 266.

differs from that of other contemporary settlements.¹¹³

The exact reasons for the fortification of the settlement centres as of LC IIC are difficult to determine. As they are generally located near the coast, the increased volume of international traffic and the apparent accumulation of wealth during this period made the construction of massive walls seem an adequate answer to the greater dangers due to desires from inside and outside Cyprus. This might have included rivalries between different Cypriot settlement centres, whose relationship to each other is largely unknown so far (see above). Whether or not, and if so, why there were also undefended centres cannot be answered according to the current state of research. The extent to which evidence of destruction in Late Bronze Age settlements in Cyprus can actually provide clues to belligerent threats is controversial. The archaeological evidence of destruction, especially destruction as the outcome of military force, is difficult and has not yet been achieved beyond doubt.¹¹⁴ It is conceivable that in addition to deterrence, the known fortifications also served as a demonstration of power and as a symbol of prestige. They could also show the take-over of ideas from the continent, where monumental fortifications of entire settlements had long been known,¹¹⁵ and with which Cyprus came into closer contact through intensified maritime exchange. It is only possible to speculate about possible further reasons, such as an intended demarcation from the surrounding area by means of defensive architecture or the strengthening of communal sense among the inhabitants, since usable written sources with own statements of the inhabitants are missing.

Conclusions

The current archaeological record speaks for two important periods of fortification during the Bronze Age after a long period of only open settlements: at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age and during the 13th century BC (LC IIC). Whereas in MC III/LC I the variety of models for the construction of fortifications is more heterogeneous,

the picture in LC IIC and LC III looks rather uniform, since most of the fortifications are built around settlement centres. In both periods the defence systems are oriented towards important traffic routes, either on the sea, crossing mountains or linking important economic zones with coastal areas. Generally, fortresses in the sense of castles as walled residences of a nobility are unknown in the Bronze Age of Cyprus. However, in the sense of fortified residential and defensive structures for the protection of settlement communities, property and buildings as well as the hinterland, they are well represented in the archaeological record. The reasons for the building of fortifications remain largely unknown. Evidence for violent destructions is highly disputed, but in general the number is low. In how far this is due to the existence of the defence structures remains to be verified.

Catalogue I. Fortified sites of MC III–LC II

a. Sites well known from excavation and/or intense survey

1. Dali-Kafkallia (Figs. 2-3)

Size: 350 × 50 m.

Small triangular plateau (4 ha) c. 500 m north-west of Nikolides surrounded by a fortification with massive foundations. The northeast corner is formed by an almost square bastion (25 × 28 m) built with shell-walls, but no documented entrance. It is not directly linked to the enclosure wall, and the two open spaces are interpreted as gateways. A large number of inner building structures were documented during an intense survey by J. Overbeck and S. Swiny.

Finds: MC III: Red Polished III and IV; LC I: White Slip II, Plain White Handmade, Pithos, LH IIIB pottery.

Lit.: Gjerstad 1926, 6; Catling 1962, 149 (27). 155 (40); Overbeck/Swiny 1972, 25–28; Fortin 1983; 1989, 246; 1995, 94–97.

2. Agios Sozomenos-Barsak (Fig. 2)

Size: c. 230 × 230 m.

Section of a large flat rocky plateau confined towards the east and to the south by a 40–50-m high steep cliff. To the west and north the area is encompassed by a massive enclosure with polygonal shape. Recent excavations revealed two limestone

¹¹³ Karageorghis 2011, 24; Georgiou 2015, 134.

¹¹⁴ Georgiou 2015, Millek, in print.

¹¹⁵ See, e.g. Burke 2008.

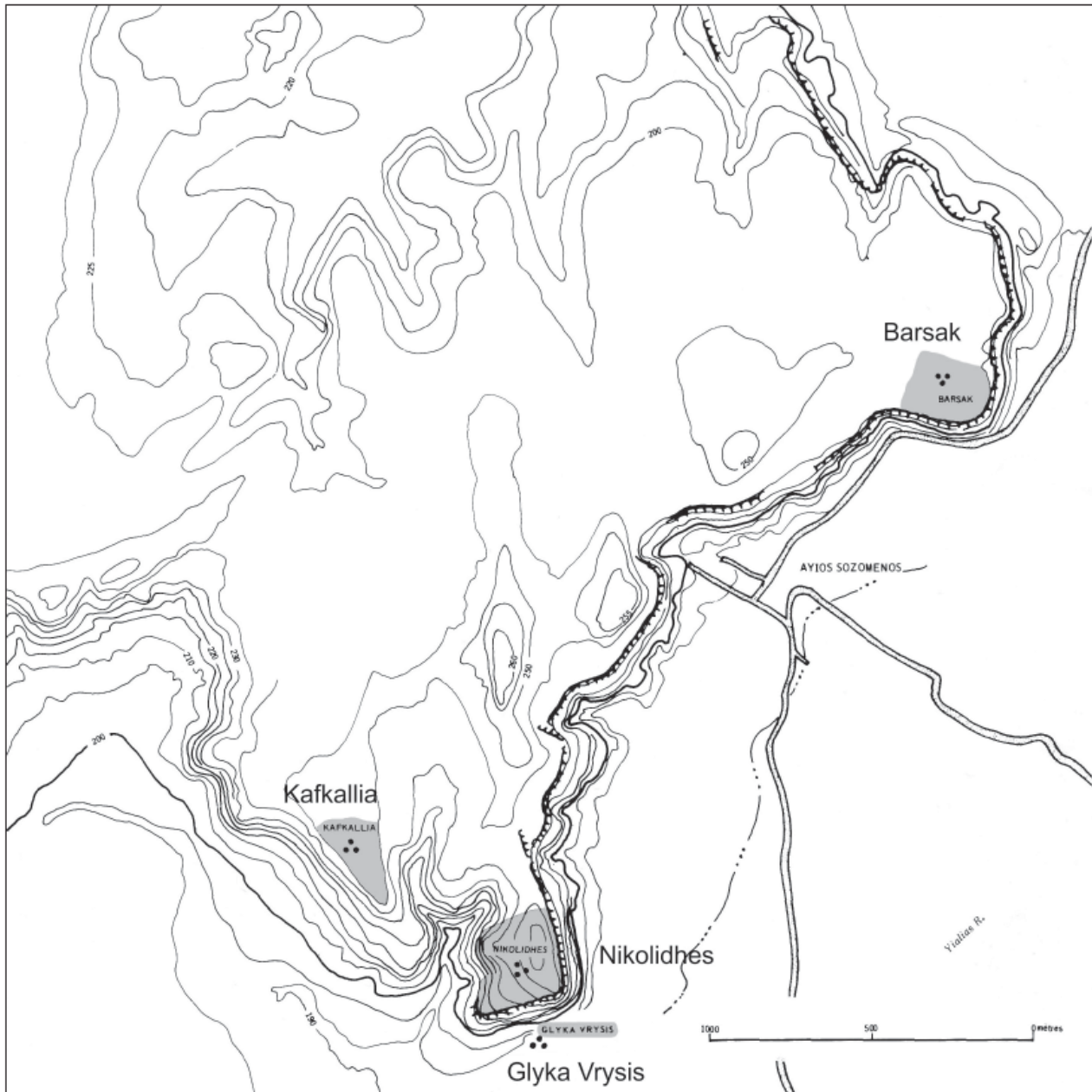


Fig. 2 Map of sites in the Dali/Agios Sozomenos area (after Fortin 1995 Fig. 1)

walls, 2 m wide each with a deep ditch on the outside of the outer wall. At the east corner of the northern enclosure section the substructure of a tower with massive blocks was identified. Recent small-scale excavations within the enclosure did not reveal any architecture.

Finds: MC: Red Polished, Red Slip and Black Slip sherds, only small vessels.

Lit.: Gjerstad 1926, 6, 37; Catling 1962, 149 (No. 20). 155 (No. 26); Fortin 1989, 246; 1995, 90–92. 100–102; Pilides 2016.

3. Agios Sozomenos-Nikolides (Fig. 2)

Size: 250 × 250 m.

Fortified settlement on top of a steep rocky hillock c. 30 m above the surrounding valley and encircled by a more than 900 m long enclosure wall of rough ashlar blocks, 2 to 3.20 m wide. At its northeast corner the foundations of an adjoining rectangular tower (15 × 7.5 m) built with regular ashlar blocks have been unearthed during recent excavations. The existence of internal building structures is unclear, although along the eastern and southern section of the enclosure several perpendicular walls that run parallel to each other have been detected. The site is located c. 2 km southwest of Barsak.

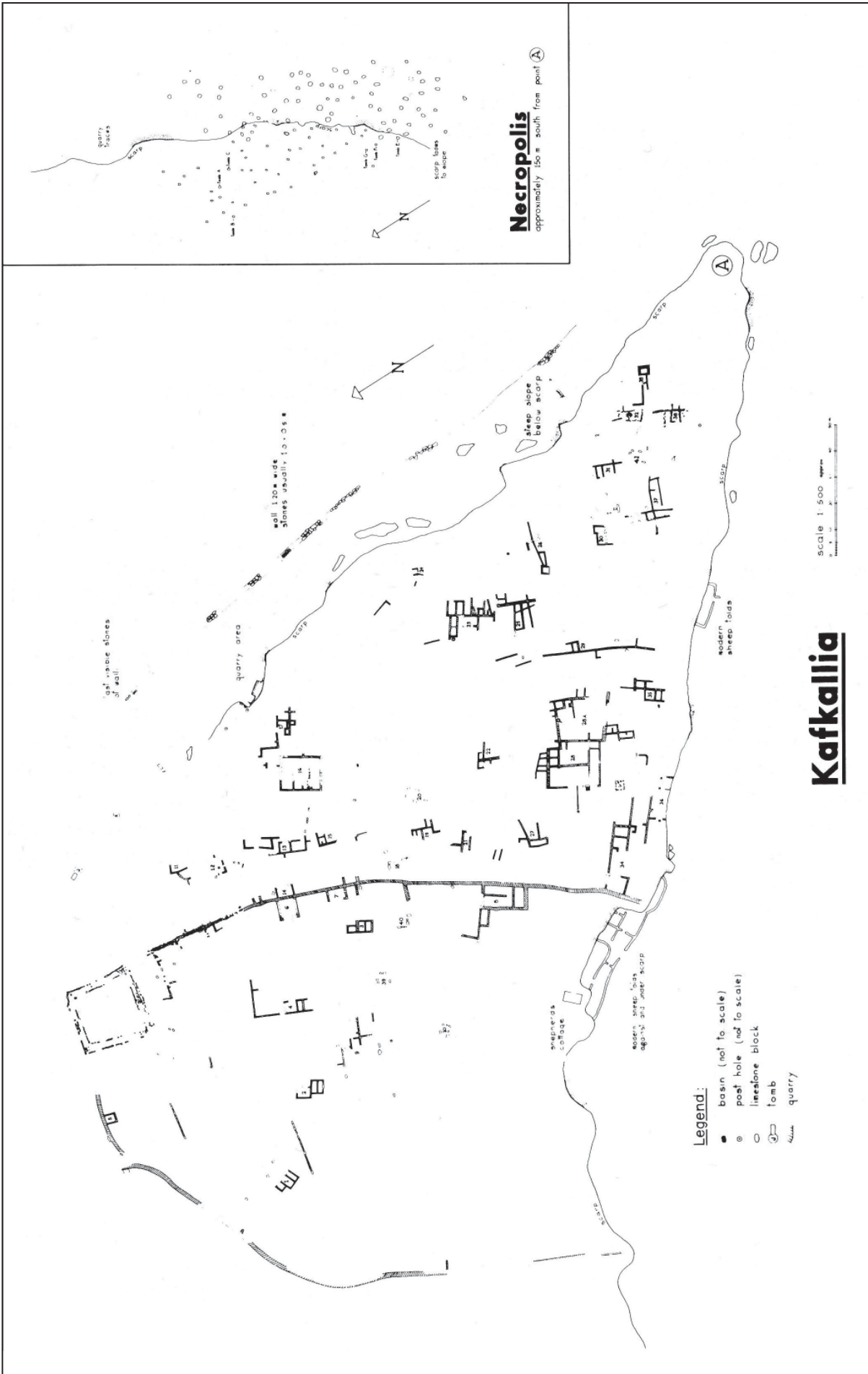


Fig. 3 Plan of Kafkallia (after Fortin 1995 Fig. 14)

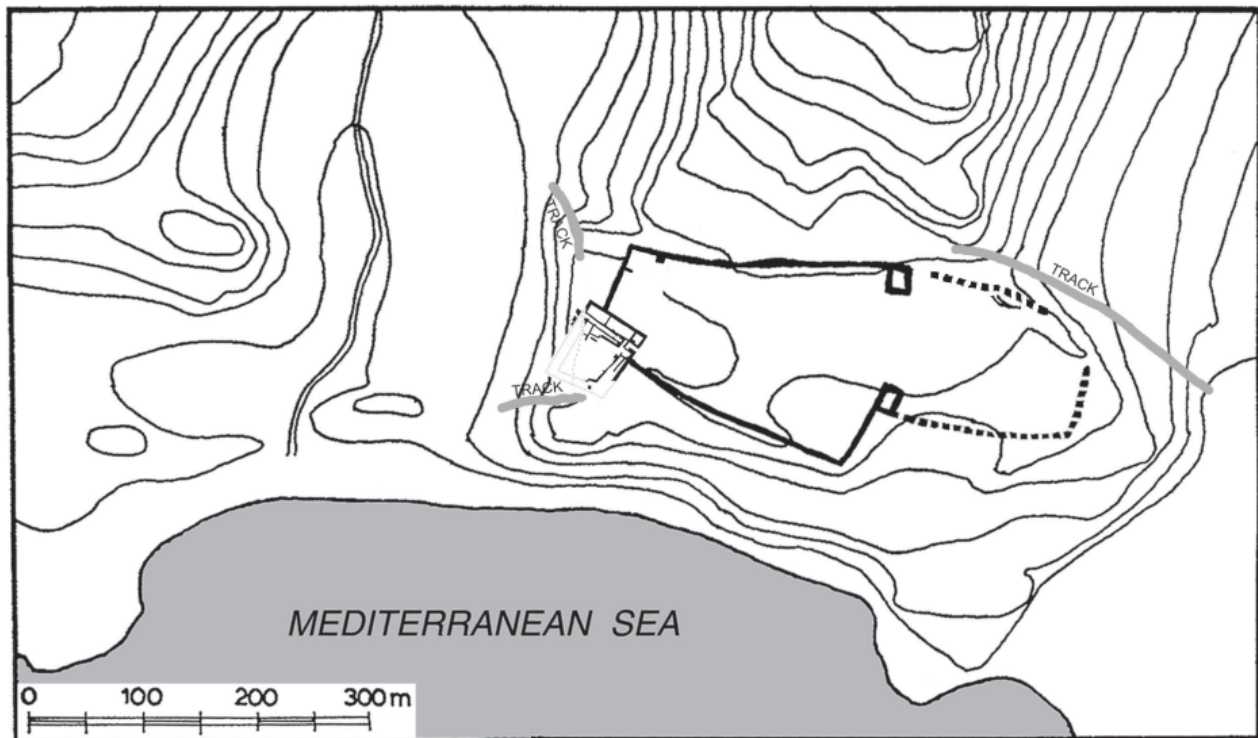


Fig. 4 Nitovikla walled plateau and fortress (after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934 Pl. IV,2 and Peltenburg 2008, Fig. 2)

Finds: LC I-II: White Slip I and II, Plain White, White Painted VI, Red Slip, Red Lustrous Wheel-made, pithos sherds and Mycenaean pottery.
Lit.: Gjerstad 1926, 6, 37; Catling 1962, 155 (32). 162 (42); Fortin 1989, 246; 1995, 92-94; Pilides 2017.

4. Korovia/Kuruova-Nitovikla (Figs. 4-6)

Size: c. 400 × 150 m.

Fortified area, almost rectangular, on a low terrace (c. 30 m asl) overlooking the sea and flanked by two possible inlets (Fig. 6), now sedimented, from where tracks lead up to the terrace (Fig. 4). In the eastern part of the terrace the course of the walls is not entirely clear. Although in the interior pottery has been found almost everywhere, no building structures are known there as yet (Fig. 5). In the southwestern corner a small almost quadrangular fortress/bastion (40 × 36 m) with a central courtyard was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929. The excavation recovered material dating from MC III to LC IIB. Finds from MC III were also found in three tombs excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at the eastern end of the fortified terrace.

Lit.: Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 371-407; Catling 1962, 157 (97). 165 (134); Fortin 1989, 246; Hult 1992; Merrillees 1994; Crewe 2007, 53-55.

b. Sites known from surface surveys

5. Karpaseia/Karpaşa-Styllomenos

Size: 100 × 100 m.

Finds: MC; LC.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 157 (85). 164 (107); Fortin 1989, 246.

6. Asomatos/Özhan-Potimata

Size: 100 × 130 m.

Finds: EC: Red Polished; MC; LC: pithos sherds.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 149 (16). 154 (16), 161 (21); Åström 1972b, 41; Fortin 1989, 246

7. Krini/Pınarbaşı-Merra (Fig. 7)

Size: 160 × 90 m.

Strategically located plateau on top of a steep hill overlooking the Mesaoria plain, naturally defended on three sides by a steep slope and to the north by two parallel massive stone walls, the outer one with bastions.

Finds: MC.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 158 (102); Karageorghis 1960, 298 Fig. 76; Fortin 1983, 214; 1989, 246.



Fig. 5 Korovia/Kuruova-Nitovikla. Aerial view of the walled plateau (image: Apollo Mapping)



Fig. 6 Korovia/Kuruova-Nitovikla and surroundings. Aerial view (image: Apollo Mapping)



Fig. 7 Krini/Pınarbaşı-Merra. Aerial view of the fortifications (image: Apollo Mapping)

8. Bellapais/Beylerbeyi-Kapa Kaya

Size: 100 × 100 m.

Finds: EC; MC.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 149 (23). 154 (36); Fortin 1989, 246.

9. Aglangia/Eylenja-Kafizin

Size: 32 × 41 m.

Encircling defense wall.

Finds: EC: Red Polished sherds.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 150 (48); Fortin 1989, 246.

10. Yeri-Phoinikes/Yeri-Vrysi tis Pantelous

Size: 60 × 90 m.

Rectangular enclosure wall.

Finds: EC: Red Polished; MC: Red Polished IV.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 154 (167). 160 (168); Fortin 1989, 246.

11. Davlos/Kaplıca-Pyrgos

Rock-cut water channels, orthostat blocks.

Finds: LC: Base Ring, White Slip II, Mycenaean IIIB, pithos sherds.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 162 (58).

12. Agios Thyrsos-Vikla (Fig. 8-9)

Massive wall.

“1 km north of the monastery and east of the river Postani is a site called Vikla with an ancient acropolis on a small hillock (Fig. 9), surrounded by an enclosing wall of rather large, rough-hewn stones. At the north side the wall is entirely missing; on the other sides it reaches an average height of about 1.5m (Fig. 8). The necropolis is situated on the hillside east of the acropolis. Here I found Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery: Red polished, White painted, Black slip and Red-on-black ware” (Gjerstad 1926, 11).

Finds: LC: Mycenaean IIIB, pithos sherds.

Lit.: Gjerstad 1926, 11; Catling 1962, 162 (52).

13. Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz-Sylla

Defense walls.

Finds: MC: Red Polished IV, Black Slip sherds; LC: pithos sherds, stone querns and tools.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 159 (150). 168 (225).



Fig. 8 Agios Thyrsos-Vikla. Aerial view of the fortified site (image: Apollo Mapping)



Fig. 9 Agios Thyrsos-Vikla and surroundings. Aerial view (image: Apollo Mapping)

c. Sites with limited information available

14. Dhikomo/Dikmen-Onicheia

Size: 80 × 80 m.

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

15. Dhikomo/Dikmen-Pampoules

Size: 300 × 200 m.

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

16. Aglangia/Eylenja-Nifkia

Size: 20 × 15 m.

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

17. Aglangia/Eylenja-Leondari Vouno

Size: 250 × 100 m.

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

18. Yeri-Ftelia

Size: 4 × 7 m.

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

19. Lythragkomi/Boltaşlı-Troullia

Size: 130 × 60 m

Lit.: Fortin 1989, 246.

Catalogue II. Fortified sites of LC IIC–LC III

20. Maa-Palaeokastro

Size: c. 5 ha.

Settlement located on the coast on a promontory surrounded by the sea from three sides. The landward side is closed off by a wall consisting of a double row of Cyclopean rocks with rubble in the middle and two gates. Another fortification wall was found on the opposite side towards the sea in a low rocky area. Inside the settlement two major building complexes grouped along a street were detected. According to the excavation results the site was founded at the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA and abandoned already within LC IIIA.

Lit.: Karageorghis/Demas 1988; Georgiou 2011; 2012.

21. Kourion-Bamboula

Settlement excavated only in small parts with a surrounding wall built of Cyclopean rocks that was apparently erected in LC IIC and used until the abandonment of the site in LC IIIA.

Lit.: Benson 1970, 26; Åström 1972b, 38.

22. Dali-Ambelleri (Fig. 10)

This settlement, later known as “Idalion”, was founded in LC IIIA, perhaps in succession of settlements in the region of Agios Sozomenos (see above Catalogue Ia, nos. 1-3). In its western part the fortification wall, consisting of a foundation of large stone blocks with mud-bricks built on top, is preserved. According to the excavation results, it was first erected in LC IIIA, rebuilt twice in LC IIIB and continuously used until the Iron Age. The excavated section of the fortification included two gates, one of which was secured with two bastions. Inside the town area a series of building complexes could be identified.

Lit.: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 460–628, Åström 1972b, 35. 38; Hadjicosti 1999.

23. Kition-Kathari

Size: c. 200 ha.

Settlement excavated only in small parts which revealed building structures and finds dating from LC IIC until the Iron Age. In the northern sector (Area II) close to a sanctuary complex a fortification wall with bastions was detected, whose first phase was built of mud-bricks in LC IIC and renewed with Cyclopean rocks in LC IIIA.

Lit.: Åström 1972b, 40–41; Karageorghis 1974; 1976; Karageorghis/Demas 1985; Negbi 1986, 101–105.

24. Pyla-Kokkinokremos

Size: c. 6 ha.

Settlement founded at the end of LC IIC on top of a c. 80-m high plateau with steep rocky flanks overlooking the bay of Larnaca. The excavations revealed a series of houses built attached to each other alongside the edges of the plateau, thus forming a casemate-like fortification with their thickened outer walls. According to the find material the site was abandoned already in LC IIIA.

Lit.: Karageorghis/Demas 1984; Karageorghis/Kanta 2014; Georgiou 2011; 2012; Bretschneider *et al.* 2015.

25. Sinda/İnönü-Sira Dash

Size: c. 67 ha.

Settlement only partly excavated by A. Furumark in 1947/48. A surrounding wall consisting of two rows of Cyclopean blocks with a superstructure of mud-bricks was excavated. A potential outer wall was detected via aerial photographs. The north gate

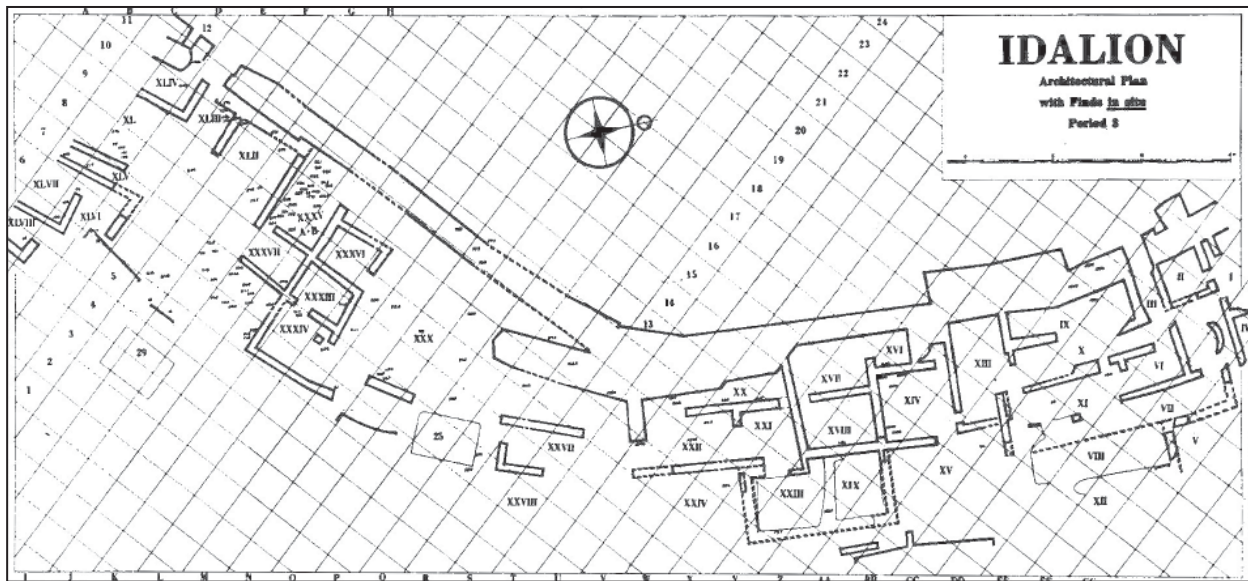


Fig. 10 Dali-Ambelleri (Idalion), Period 3 (LC IIB) (after Åström 1972b, Fig. 7c)

consisted of a massive construction with a tower and bastions. Like the entire settlement, the walls were erected in LC IIC and used until LC IIIA.
Lit.: Furumark/Adelman 2003.

26. Enkomi/Tuzla-Agios Iakovos (Fig. 11)

Size: c. 200 ha.

The urban area is surrounded by a wall (2.5–3 m wide) built of two rows of Cyclopean rocks with a superstructure of mud-bricks; it was traced in the north, west and south sides. The walls were strengthened by towers. A gate in the west and in the north have been excavated. The northern gate is accompanied by a massive (20 × 16.5 m) bastion. According to the French excavations led by C. F. R. Schaeffer, its construction dates to LC IIC (Courtois/Lagarce 1986, 2–4) and lasted until the abandonment of the town in LC IIB. The town layout consists of an orthogonal street system with houses grouped in quarters, ashlar masonry and a number of tombs underneath the houses. According to the find material Enkomi was founded already in MC III and was settled uninterruptedly until its abandonment in LC IIB.

Lit.: Dikaios 1969–1971; Åström 1972b, 40–41; Courtois *et al.* 1986, 2–5; Negbi 1986, 101–105; Crewe 2007.

Catalogue III. Sites with disputed defensive character

27. Agios Sozomenos-Glyka Vrysi

Size: 8 × 19 m.

Large settlement underneath Agios Sozomenos-Nikolides with a building complex excavated by E. Gjerstad in 1924. It was interpreted by him as a fortress (19 × 8.3 m) with an estimated height of c. 5 m and walls with a width between 2 m (east wall) and 1–1.2 m. M. Fortin doubts the characterisation as a fortress due to its proximity to the other fortresses, its small size and its strategically unfavourable position.

Finds: LC IA–B: Base Ring I, Red Lustrous Wheelmade, LH IIB bird on a bell krater, Plain White Handmade, pithos sherds, stone querns identified by Fortin. Base Ring II, White Slip II reported by H. Catling.

Lit.: Gjerstad 1926, 6, 37–47; Catling 1962, 155 (25). 161 (40); Åström 1972b, 30–32; Fortin 1989, 246–247; 1995, 97–100.

28. Phlamoudi/Mersinlik-Vounari

H. Catling regarded this site as a fortified settlement. However, the results of the Columbia University excavations there did not reveal any defensive structures.

Finds: MC III – LC IIA.

Lit.: Catling 1962, 154 (138). 168 (208); Åström 1972b, 43; Al-Radi 1983; Smith 2008.



Fig. 11 Plan of the excavations in Enkomi (after Courtois *et al.* 1986 Fig. 1)

29. Enkomi/Tuzla-Agios Iakovos

Size: 45 × 13 m.

Area III Building, Levels A – IA (MCIII – LCIA): Characterised by P. Dikaios as a fortress due to the width and solidity of its walls. M. Fortin questions this because of its disadvantageous strategic loca-

tion and its diverseness from the contemporary military architecture of the island. He reckons the building might have served rather as an industrial workshop, especially for metallurgy, which needed to be secured from external attacks.

Lit.: Dikaios 1969–1971; Fortin 1989; Crewe 2007.

References

- Al-Radi 1983
S. Al-Radi, Phlamoudhi Vounari: a sanctuary site in Cyprus. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 65 (Jonsered 1983).
- Andreou 2016
G. M. Andreou, Understanding the Rural Landscape of Late Bronze Age Cyprus: A Diachronic Perspective from the Vasilikos Valley. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 29, 2016, 143–172.
- Aravatinos 1991
V. L. Aravatinos, Agricultural production and subsistence economy in Cyprus during the Late Cypriot II period. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The civilizations of the Aegean and their diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean 2000–600 BC* (Larnaca 1991) 57–65.
- Åström 1972a
P. Åström, The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age. The Swedish Cyprus expedition/Svenska Cypernexpeditionen (1927–1931) 4,1,B (Lund 1972).
- Åström 1972b
P. Åström, The Late Cypriote Bronze Age. The Swedish Cyprus expedition/Svenska Cypernexpeditionen (1927–1931) 4,1,C (Lund 1972).
- Åström 1982
P. Åström (ed.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus* (Nicosia 1982).
- Åström 1993
P. Åström, Hala Sultan Tekke – a Late Cypriot harbour town. In: E. Herscher/P. Åström (eds.), *Late Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus: function and relationship. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocketbook 126* (Jonsered 1993) 9–14.
- Bailey 1972
D. M. Bailey, The British Museum excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke in 1897 and 1898. The material in the British Museum. In: P. Åström/D. M. Bailey/V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Hala Sultan Tekke I. Excavations 1897–1971, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 45 (Göteborg 1972) 1–32.
- Bartelheim 2007
M. Bartelheim, Die Rolle der Metallurgie in vorgeschichtlichen Gesellschaften. Sozioökonomische und kulturhistorische Aspekte der Ressourcennutzung. Ein Vergleich zwischen Andalusien, Zypern und dem Nordalpenraum/ The role of metallurgy in prehistoric societies. Socio-economic and cultural aspects of the use of resources. A comparison between Andalusia, Cyprus and the north Alpine area. *Forschungen zur Archäometrie und Altertumswissenschaft* 2 (Rahden/Westf. 2007).
- Bartelheim 2016
M. Bartelheim, Prehistoric Metallurgy on Cyprus. In: L. Summerer/H. Kaba (eds.), *Northern Face of Cyprus. New Studies in Cypriot Archaeology and Art History* (Istanbul 2016) 39–50.
- Bartelheim *et al.* 2008
M. Bartelheim/B. Kızılduman/U. Müller/E. Pernicka/H. Tekel, The Late Bronze Age Hoard of Kaleburnu/Galinoporni on Cyprus. *Památky Archeologické* 99, 2008, 161–178.
- Baurain 1984
C. Baurain, Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale au Bronze Récent. *Études chypriotes* 6 (Paris 1984).
- Belgiorno 2000
M. R. Belgiorno, Project “Pyrame” 1998–1999, Archaeological, metallurgical and historical evidence at Pyrgos (Limassol). Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 2000, 117.
- Benson 1970
J. L. Benson, Bamboula in Kourion, The stratification of the settlement. Supplementary remarks on stratification. Reports of the Department of Antiquities 1970, 25–74.
- Bretschneider *et al.* 2015
J. Bretschneider/A. Kanta/J. Driessen, Pyla-Kokkinkremos. Preliminary Report on the 2014 Excavations. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 46, 2015, 1–38.
- Broodbank 2000
C. Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (Cambridge 2000).
- Burke 2008
A. Burke, “Walled up to heaven”: the evolution of Middle Bronze Age fortification strategies in the Levant. *Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant* 4 (Winona Lake 2008).
- Cadogan 1984
G. Cadogan, Maroni and the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus. In: V. Karageorghis/J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Cyprus at the close of the Late Bronze Age* (Nicosia 1984) 1–10.
- Cadogan 1996
G. Cadogan, Maroni: change in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In: E. Herscher/P. Åström (eds.), *Late Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus: function and relationship. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocketbook 126* (Jonsered 1996) 15–22.
- Catling 1962
H. Catling, Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4, 1962, 129–169.
- Catling 1979
H. W. Catling, Reflections upon the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the history of Cyprus. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Studies presented in memory of Porphyrios Dikaios* (Nicosia 1979) 194–205.
- Catling 1980
H. W. Catling, *Cyprus and the West 1600–1050 BC* (Sheffield 1980).

- Coleman *et al.* 1996
J. E. Coleman/J. A. Barlow/M. K. Magelonsky/K. W. Schaar, Alambra: a Middle Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus. Archaeological investigations by Cornell University 1974–1985. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 118 (Jonsered 1996).
- Courtois 1982
J.-C. Courtois, L'activité métallurgique et les bronzes d'Enkomi au bronze récent (1650–1100 avant J. C.). In: J. D. Muhly/R. Maddin/V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus 4000–500 BC* (Nicosia 1982) 155–176.
- Courtois 1986
J.-C. Courtois, À propos des apports orientaux dans la civilisation du bronze récent à Chire. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the international symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"*. Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985 (Nicosia 1986) 6–87.
- Courtois *et al.* 1986
J.-C. Courtois/J. Lagarce/ E. Lagarce, Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chipre (Nicosia 1986).
- Crewe 2007
L. Crewe, Early Enkomi. Regionalism, Trade and Society at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus. *British Archaeological Reports, International Series* 1706 (Oxford 2007).
- Crewe 2009
L. Crewe, Regionalism and the First Appearance of Plain White Handmade Ware in the Middle Cypriot Bronze Age. In: I. Hein (ed.), *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* 20 (Wien 2009) 79–90.
- Crewe 2012
L. Crewe, Beyond Copper: Commodities and Values in Middle Bronze Cypro-Levantine Exchanges. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 31, 2012, 225–243.
- Crewe 2017
L. Crewe, Interpreting Settlement Function and Scale during MC III–LC IA Using Old Excavations and New: Western Cyprus and Kisonerga (Kissonerga) Skalia in Context. In: D. Pilides/M. Mina (eds.), *Four Decades of Hiatus in Archaeological Research in Cyprus: Towards Restoring the Balance. Proceedings of the international one-day workshop, held in Lefkosia (Nicosia) on 24th September 2016, hosted by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. Κυπριακά – Forschungen zum Antiken Zypern / Studies on Ancient Cyprus* 2 (Wien 2017) 154–167.
- Davies 1997
P. Davies, Mortuary Practice in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: Problems and Potential. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 1997, 11–26.
- Dikaios 1969–1971
P. Dikaios, Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958, vols. I–IIIB (Mainz 1969–1971).
- du Plat Taylor 1957
J. du Plat Taylor, Myrtou-Pigadhes. A Late Bronze Age sanctuary in Cyprus (Oxford 1957)
- Eriksson 2009
K. E. Eriksson, Regionalism and Island-wide Analysis: Some Observations Regarding White Painted V and VI Wares from Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot I Tombs from the North West Region of Cyprus. In: I. Hein (ed.), *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* 20 (Wien 2009) 49–64.
- Ferrara 2012
S. Ferrara, *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions 1. Analysis* (Oxford 2012).
- Fischer/Bürge 2017a
P. Fischer/T. Bürge, The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2016: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (The Söderberg Expedition). *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 10, 2017, 50–93.
- Fischer/Bürge 2017b
P. Fischer/T. Bürge, Tombs and offering pits at the Late Bronze Age metropolis of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 377, 2017, 161–218.
- Fortin 1981
M. Fortin, Military architecture in Cyprus during the Second Millennium BC. Unpubl. Thesis (Ph. D.), University of London 1981.
- Fortin 1983
M. Fortin, Recherches sur l'architecture militaire de l'âge du bronze à Chypre. *Echos du monde classique* 27, 1983, 206–219.
- Fortin 1989
M. Fortin, La soi-disant forteresse d'Enkomi I (Chypre) à la fin du bronze moyen et au début du bronze récent. In: R. Laffineur (ed.), *Transition: le monde égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent. Aegaeum* 3 (Liège 1989) 239–249.
- Fortin 1995
M. Fortin, A cluster of Middle Cypriot III–Late Cypriot I fortified sites on the Ayios Sozomenos plateau. In: C. Morris (ed.), *Klados. Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40, Supplement 63 (London 1995) 87–102.
- Frankel 1988
D. Frankel, Pottery production in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: Assessing the problem. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1, 1988, 27–55.
- Frankel 2009
D. Frankel, What Do We Mean by 'Regionalism'? In: I. Hein (ed.), *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* 20 (Wien 2009) 15–26.

Frankel/Webb 1996

D. Frankel/J. M. Webb, Marki Alonia. An Early and Middle Bronze Age town in Cyprus. Excavations 1990–1994. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 123 (Jonsered 1996).

Furumark/Adelman 2003

A. Furumark/C. M. Adelman, Swedish Excavations at Sinda, Cyprus. Excavations Conducted by Arne Furumark 1947–1948 (Stockholm 2003).

Georgiou 2011

A. Georgiou, The settlement histories of Cyprus in the twelfth century B. C. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 41, 2011, 109–131.

Georgiou 2012

A. Georgiou, Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Paleokastro: A Comparison of two naturally fortified Late Cypriot Settlements. In: A. Georgiou (ed.), *Cyprus – An Island Culture: Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian period* (Oxford 2012) 65–83.

Georgiou 2015

A. Georgiou, Cyprus during the “Crisis Years” Revisited. In: A. Babbi/F. Bubenheimer-Erhart/B. Marín-Aguilera/S. Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C.* RGZM – Tagungen 20 (Mainz 2015) 129–145.

Giardino 2000

C. Giardino, Prehistoric copper activity at Pyrgos. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 2000, 19–32.

Gilbert 2017

A. S. Gilbert, Why Alashiya is still a problem. In: Ç. Maner/M. Horowitz/A. S. Gilbert (eds.), *Overturing Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology. A Festschrift in honor of K. Aslıhan Yener. Culture and history of the ancient Near East* 90 (Leiden 2017) 211–221.

Gjerstad 1926

E. Gjerstad, *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala 1926).

Gjerstad *et al.* 1934

E. Gjerstad/J. Lindos/E. Sjöqvist/A. Westholm, Swedish Cyprus Expedition I: Finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931 (Stockholm 1934).

Hadjicosti 1999

M. Hadjicosti, Idalion before the Phoenicians: The Archaeological Evidence and its Topographical Distribution. In: M. Iacovou/D. Michaelides (eds.), *Cyprus. The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon* (Nicosia 1999) 35–54.

Hadjisavvas 1986

S. Hadjisavvas, Alassa. A new Late Cypriote site. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 1986, 62–67.

Hadjisavvas 1996

S. Hadjisavvas, The economy of the olive. In: V. Karageorghis/D. Michaelides (eds.), *The development of the Cypriot economy from the prehistoric period to the present day* (Nicosia 1996) 127–138.

Hult 1992

G. Hult, Nitovikla Reconsidered. *Medelhavsmuseet Memoir* 8 (Stockholm 1992).

Iacovou 2013

M. Iacovou, Cyprus During the Iron Age I Period (Late Cypriot IIC–IIIA): Settlement Pattern Crisis (LC IIC–IIIA) to the Restructuring (LC IIIB) of its Settlement Pattern. In: A. E. Killebrew/M. Steiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000–332 BCE* (Oxford 2013) 660–674.

Johnstone 1971

W. Johnstone, A Late Bronze Age tholos tomb at Enkomi. In: C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Alasia I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia* 4 (Paris 1971) 51–122.

Karageorghis 1960

V. Karageorghis, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1959. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 84, 1960, 242–299.

Karageorghis 1974

V. Karageorghis, Excavations in Kition I. The Tombs (Nicosia 1974).

Karageorghis 1976

V. Karageorghis, View from the Bronze Age: Mycenaean and Phoenician discoveries at Kition (New York 1976).

Karageorghis 1996

V. Karageorghis, Some aspects of the maritime trade of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. In: V. Karageorghis/D. Michaelides (eds.), *The development of the Cypriot economy from the prehistoric period to the present day* (Nicosia 1996) 61–70.

Karageorghis 2002

V. Karageorghis, *Early Cyprus. Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles 2002).

Karageorghis 2011

V. Karageorghis, What happened in Cyprus c. 1200 B. C.: hybridization, creolization or immigration? An introduction. In: V. Karageorghis/O. Kouka (eds.), *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loom weights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th, 2010* (Nicosia 2011) 19–28.

Karageorghis/Demas 1984

V. Karageorghis/M. Demas, Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus (Nicosia 1984).

Karageorghis/Demas 1985

V. Karageorghis/M. Demas, Excavations at Kition V, 1–4. The pre-Phoenician levels (Nicosia 1985).

Karageorghis/Demas 1988

V. Karageorghis/M. Demas, Excavations at Maa-Paleokastro 1979–1986 (Nicosia 1988).

Karageorghis/Kanta 2014

V. Karageorghis/A. Kanta, Pyla Kokkinokremos. A late 13th century BC fortified settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010–2011. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 141 (Jonsered 2014).

Kayafa *et al.* 2000

M. Kayafa/S. Stos-Gale/N. Gale, The circulation of copper in the Early Bronze Age in mainland Greece. In: C. Pare (ed.), *Metals make the world go round: supply and circulation of metals in Bronze Age Europe* (Oxford 2000) 39–55.

Keswani 1996

P. S. Keswani, Hierarchies, heterarchies and urbanization processes: the view from Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9, 1996, 211–249.

Keswani 2004

P. S. Keswani, Mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 9 (London/New York 2004).

Kızılduman 2008

B. Kızılduman, Kıbrıs'ta Nitovikla Çevresine İlişkin Yeni Bulgular/New Evidences about Nitovikla's vicinity in Cyprus. In: A. Erkanal/S. Günel/D. Deniz (eds.), *Symposium on New Investigations on Western Anatolia and Eastern Mediterranean in Late Bronze Age, April 24–25, 2007* (Ankara 2008) 159–166.

Kızılduman 2017

B. Kızılduman, A remarkable Late Bronze Age building at Kaleburnu Kral Tepesi/Galinoporni Vasili in Cyprus. *Olba* 25, 113–159.

Kızılduman/Müller 2016

B. Kızılduman/U. Müller, Bronze Age Cyprus: Kral Tepesi/Vasili. In: L. Summerer/H. Kaba (eds.), *The Northern Face of Cyprus. New Studies in Cypriot Archaeology and Art History* (Istanbul 2016) 211–223.

Knapp 1988

A. B. Knapp, Copper production and Eastern Mediterranean trade: the rise of complex society on Cyprus. In: J. Gledhill/B. Bender/M. T. Larsen (eds.), *State and society: emergence and development of social hierarchy and political centralisation* (London 1988) 149–169.

Knapp 1990

A. B. Knapp, Production, location and integration in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Current Anthropology* 31, 1990, 147–176.

Knapp 1991

A. B. Knapp, Spice, drugs, grain and grog: organic goods in Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean trade. In: N. H. Gale (ed.), *Science and archaeology: Bronze Age trade in the Mediterranean. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 90 (Göteborg 1991) 21–68.

Knapp 1993

A. B. Knapp, Social complexity: incipience, emergence and development on prehistoric Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292, 1993, 85–106.

Knapp 1994

A. B. Knapp, Emergence, development and decline on Bronze Age Cyprus. In: C. Mathers /S. Stoddart (eds.), *Development and decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs* 8 (Sheffield 1994) 271–304.

Knapp 1996

A. B. Knapp (ed.), *Sources for the history of Cyprus II. Near Eastern and Aegean texts from the third to the first millennia BC* (Altamont NY 1996).

Knapp 2008

A. B. Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity and Connectivity* (Oxford 2008).

Knapp 2013

A. B. Knapp, *The Archaeology of Cyprus: From Earliest Prehistory through the Bronze Age* (Cambridge 2013).

Knapp 2015

A. B. Knapp, Prehistoric Cyprus: A 'Crossroads' of Interaction? In: A. Lichtenberger/C. v. Rüden (eds.) *Multiple Mediterranean Realities. Current Approaches to Spaces, Resources, and Connectivities. Mittelmeerstudien* 6 (Paderborn 2015) 17–30.

Knapp/Kassianidou 2008

A. B. Knapp/V. Kassianidou, The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Copper Production: Politiko Phorades on Cyprus. In: Ü. Yalçın (ed.), *Anatolian Metal IV. Frühe Rohstoffgewinnung in Anatolien und seinen Nachbarländern. Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 21. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum* 157 (Bochum 2008) 135–147.

Knudtzon 1915

J. A. Knudtzon: *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. Mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen 1: Die Texte* (Leipzig 1915).

Kromholz 1982

S. F. Kromholz, The Bronze Age necropolis at Ayia Paraskevi Nicosia: unpublished tombs in the Cyprus Museum. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocketbook* 17 (Göteborg 1982).

Maier/von Wartburg 1985

F.-G. Maier/M.-L. von Wartburg, Reconstructing history from the earth, c. 2800 B.C.–1600 A.D.: excavating at Palaepaphos 1966–1984. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985* (Nicosia 1985) 142–172.

Manning 1993

S. Manning, Prestige, distinction, and competition. The anatomy of socioeconomic complexity in fourth to second millennium B.C.E. Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292, 1993, 35–58.

Manning 2014

S. Manning, Timings and Gaps in the Early History of Cyprus and its Copper Trade – What these Might Tell Us. In: J. M. Webb (ed.), *Structure, Measurement and Meaning. Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus in Honour of David Frankel. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 143 (Uppsala 2014) 23–41.

Merrillees 1971

R. S. Merrillees, *The Early History of LC I. Levant* 3, 1971, 56–79.

Merrillees 1994

R. S. Merrillees, Review of G. Hult, *Nitovikla Reconsidered*, 1992. *Opuscula Athenensia* 20, 1994, 256–258.

Millek, in print

J. Millek, *Destroyed or not Destroyed, that is the Question: Cyprus and the End of the Late Bronze Age*. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, in print.

Muhly 1989

J. D. Muhly, *The organisation of the copper industry in Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. In: E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh 1989) 298–314.

Muhly 1996

J. Muhly, *The Significance of Metals in the Late Bronze Age Economy of Cyprus*. In: V. Karageorghis/D. Michaelides (eds.), *The development of the Cypriot economy. From the prehistoric period to the present day* (Nicosia 1996) 45–60.

Negbi 1986

O. Negbi, *The climax of urban development in Bronze Age Cyprus*. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 1986, 97–121.

Overbeck/Swiny 1972

J. Overbeck/S. Swiny, *Two Cypriot Bronze Age Sites at Kafkallia (Dhali)*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 33 (Göteborg 1972).

Peltenburg 1996

E. Peltenburg, *From Isolation to state formation*. In: V. Karageorghis/ D. Michaelides (eds.), *The development of the Cypriot economy from the prehistoric period to the present day* (Nicosia 1996) 17–43.

Pilides 2016

D. Pilides, *The Agios Sozomenos Excavation and Survey Project* 2016. [http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/All/7C0FDBA100F76FB7C22580AB00371686/\\$fileExcavations%20at%20Agios%20Sozomenos%202016_EN.pdf](http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/All/7C0FDBA100F76FB7C22580AB00371686/$fileExcavations%20at%20Agios%20Sozomenos%202016_EN.pdf).

Pilides 2017

D. Pilides, *Excavations at Agios Sozomenos - Nikolides and Ampelia 2017 (ASESP)*. [http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/All/7C0FDBA100F76FB7C22580AB00371686/\\$fileAgios%20Sozomenos%202017%20_EN.pdf](http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/All/7C0FDBA100F76FB7C22580AB00371686/$fileAgios%20Sozomenos%202017%20_EN.pdf).

Schaeffer 1932–1935

C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre* (Paris 1932–1935).

Sjöqvist 1940

E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1940).

Smith 2008

J. S. Smith (ed.), *Views from Phlamoudhi, Cyprus*. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 63 (Boston 2008).

South 1989

A. South, *From copper to kingship. Aspects of Bronze Age society viewed from the Vasilikos Valley*. In: E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh 1989) 315–324.

South 1992

A. South, *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1991*. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 1992, 133–146.

South 1997

A. South, *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992–1996*. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus 1997, 151–175.

Stech 1982

T. Stech, *Urban Metallurgy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. In: J. D. Muhly/R. Maddin/V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus 4000–500 BC* (Nicosia 1982) 105–115.

Stech *et al.* 1985

T. Stech/R. Maddin/J. D. Muhly, *Copper production at Kition in the Late Bronze Age*. In: Karageorghis/Demas 1985, 388–402.

Swiny 1989

S. Swiny, *From round house to duplex: A reassessment of prehistoric Bronze Age Cypriot society*. In: E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh 1989) 14–31.

Vermeule 1974

E. Vermeule, *Toumba tou Skourou. The Mound of Darkness. A Bronze Age Town on Morphou Bay in Cyprus* (Cambridge 1974).

Vermeule/Wolsky 1990

E. Vermeule/F. Z. Wolsky, *Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze Age potter's quarter on Morphou Bay* (Cambridge/Boston 1990).

Webb 1999

J. Webb, *Ritual architecture, iconography and practice in the late Cypriot Bronze Age*. *Studies in Mediterranean archaeology and literature*, Pocketbook 75 (Jonsered 1999).

Webb 2009

J. M. Webb, *Deneia. A Middle Cypriot Site in its Regional and Historical Context*. In: I. Hein (ed.), *The Formation of Cyprus in the Second Millennium BC. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie* 52 (Vienna 2009) 27–38.

Webb 2016

J. M. Webb, *Lapithos Revisited. A Fresh Look at a Key Middle Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*. In: G. Bourogiannis/C. Mühlenbock (eds.), *Ancient Cyprus Today. Museum Collections and New Research*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Pocketbook 184 (Jonsered 2016) 57–67.

Webb 2017

J. M. Webb, Vounoi (Vounous) and Lapithos in the Early and Middle Bronze Age: a Reappraisal of the Central North Coast of Cyprus in the Light of Fieldwork and Research undertaken since 1974. In: D. Pilides/M. Mina (eds.), *Four Decades of Hiatus in Archaeological Research in Cyprus. Towards Restoring the Balance. Kypriaka–Forschungen zum Antiken Zypern. Studies on Ancient Cyprus 2* (Vienna 2017) 128–139.

Webb 2018

J. M. Webb, Shifting Centres. Site Location and Resource Procurement on the North Coast of Cyprus over the Longue Durée of the Prehistoric Bronze Age. *Land Special Issue* 7(2), 64, 2018, 2–31.

Weinberg 1983

S. S. Weinberg, Bamboula at Kourion. *The Architecture. University Museum Monograph 42* (Philadelphia 1983).

Weinstein 1990

J. B. Weinstein, Copper and bronze working in Early through Middle Bronze Age Cyprus. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 84 (Jonsered 1990).