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The economics of monumental buildings

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A VIEW FROM CRETE

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The construction of the system called the Minoan civilisation is due to Arthur Evans, a genius who, at the beginning of the 20th century, excavated its centre, Knossos, and restored his finds, literally through the reconstruction of the large monumental building that he labelled 'the Palace of Minos at Knossos', and metaphorically through his interpretations of the material remains, in the written form of *The Palace of Minos*.[1] In the last 30 years both reconstructions have been challenged, as other models were advanced, both for the interpretation of the movable finds and the architectural remains of the Cretan Bronze Age, as well as for the presentation of ancient monuments to the public. It is generally accepted, though, that Minoan Archaeology, as a discipline, started with the excavation of three monumental buildings at Knossos, Phaistos and Malia, all called 'palaces' by their excavators.[2]

Minoan archaeologists often are tortured by — rhetorical — questions such as: what would be the interpretation of the so-called 'Minoan' civilisation had the excavations at Knossos started in our post-modern era? Or, what would be Minoan archaeology if it originated in anthropology, instead of classical studies and art history? Would the Bronze Age of Crete still be considered the first European civilisation, or would it rather be a peripheral branch in the framework of the much better known Near Eastern civilisations? In any case Evans's shadow will be always on our work and opinions, and this will probably apply to future generations of archaeologists as well. Contemporary research since the last quarter of the 20th century aims first to shed a critical aspect on the existing stereotypes and second to integrate the new data sets into a more nuanced picture. Yet, intensive studies towards this direction in the last 15–20 years have shown that it is still very hard to abandon old conventions, so charged, both semantically and culturally.[3] We have our own ideologies, we are also children of the current troubled times, while trying to understand the socio-economic organisation of an ancient civilisation of which we do not have enough written sources, nor the totality of the material remains.

THE MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS

History

The term 'monumental buildings' in the title is connected with specific architectural features, and especially with large scale constructions, and refers primarily to the 'palaces', although some of the so-called 'villas' (another conventional term that is charged with ambiguous meanings) are monumental enough to be included in a general discussion about monumentality.[4]

Two systems for the relative chronology of the Bronze Age of Crete were proposed in the last century, by Evans and Nikolaos Platon, and are generally accepted and used in parallel. The former divides the period into 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Late', while the latter is based on the successive constructions and destructions of the 'palaces', using the terms 'Prepalatial', 'Protopalatial', 'Neopalatial' (and 'Final Palatial'), and 'Postpalatial'.[5]

The archaeology of Bronze Age Crete is focused on the 'palaces', the reasons of their emergence, their functions, their predecessors, the possible provenance of the architectural model, etc. It is clear that the palatial buildings are the fruit of a long evolution, and they have strong roots in Prepalatial society which, in its final stage, was highly developed and lacked only the architectural expression of its complexity.[6] Even the use of the chronological term 'Prepalatial' anticipates the focus of research on the evolution of the administrative structure. The evidence offered by this period and especially by the EM II phase reveals interesting social and economic differentiations, mirrored also for the first time in the architecture. It is also significant that within nucleated settlements at Knossos, Malia, Ayia Triada and Phaistos, free-standing buildings appear then for the first time. Also the first

1 Evans 1921, 1928, 1930, 1935.
2 Cf. Graham 1962; Cadogan 1976.
3 Driessen 2002; Hamilakis 2002*a*.
4 For a review of 'villas', see the papers in Hägg 1997; and on the impact of the use of the terms 'palace' and 'villa' on Minoan archaeology in general and the models of interpretation of Minoan society in particular, Cucuzza 2006.
5 Platon 1961.
6 Schoep 2004, 283.

Fig. 13.1. Palace of Zakros, after Preziosi and Hitchcock (1989).

monumental architecture was present both at Palaikastro already in EM II and at Knossos in EM III.[7] In the same period complex relationships between sites, between sites and their hinterland, and between regions started to develop. The fragmented topography of the island has always been an important factor for the definition of the various territories and their interactions. By the end of the Prepalatial period, in EM III–MM I, nucleations of sites occurred, of much larger size in the centre of the island than in the eastern part. Central authorities exercising control at a regional level emerged, and were able to mobilise the workforce necessary for the construction of large cemeteries and also many fortifications.[8]

Palaces were not all built exactly at the same time: it is quite probable that the first building with a central court was constructed at Malia in EM III or MM IA.[9] Knossos and Phaistos acquired their palatial form in MM IB; Petras was not palatial before MM IIA;[10] Galatas,[11] as well as Gournia,[12] are LM IA constructions,

7 Branigan 1995, 34–5.
8 Haggis 1999, with bibliography.
9 Pelon 1983.
10 Tsipopoulou 1999; Tsipopoulou and Wedde 2000.
11 Rethemiotakis 2002.
12 Soles 1991.

while the palace of Zakros (FIG. 13.1) was dated recently as late as LM IB.[13]

How this architectural form was introduced and whether it reflects also a local architectural development, rather than an external imitation, remains a thorny matter. Minoan archaeologists have been desperately seeking for Prepalatial plans and features, especially for the predecessors of the central courts. Even since EM II, various forms both of enclosed and of open spaces, probably of communal character, were defined, apparently to serve functions significant for the social cohesion of the society. As far as settlements are concerned, possible Prepalatial 'parallels' for the central courts have been investigated at Myrtos–Fournou Korifi, Vasiliki, Knossos and Malia,[14] and Ayia Fotia, a unique and still not adequately understood case.[15] These examples could argue for a local development, but the fact is that the origin of the form of the first 'palaces' (as far as we know them), i.e. who was the first who had the idea, when and where the first central court was constructed, still remains a puzzle.

The studies examining state formation in Crete, on the paradigm of the Near Eastern kingdoms, focus on developments in Prepalatial times, leading up to the Protopalatial period, in order to prove that a 'palace' characterises a state at the end of its formative period.[16] The palatial system in Crete lasted for almost five centuries, but there is controversy as to whether there were significant changes in the administrative and economic systems between the first and the second palaces. In any case, it is not safe to try to reconstruct the form and speculate on the function of the first 'palaces' solely on evidence from the second 'palaces', as this inevitably prevents the possibility of recognising and understanding change. Also it should be kept in mind that little is known of the first 'palaces', both as regards complete architectural plans, as well as their functions and their interactions with the hinterlands, which reflects the type(s) of administration and social organisation of the period. Protopalatial remains in Crete are not sufficient, nor well enough preserved, to conform to a universally accepted model. It seems certain though that the period of the first 'palaces' is marked by localised regional developments.[17] At Knossos the exact form and size of the first 'palace' has never been established, as it was obscured by the Neopalatial constructions and reconstructions. The large deposits of drinking vessels associated with its destructions have been interpreted as remains of ceremonial drinking. In this context, the manufacture, distribution and consumption of the elite Kamares pottery have been taken as an important economic factor of the Protopalatial 'palaces'.[18]

The author had the chance to excavate a principally Protopalatial palace (FIG. 13.2) at Petras near Siteia, although partially incorporated into a Neopalatial construction which follows the same plan.[19] Not even in this case are we sure that the politico-economic system into which the second, smaller 'palace' was integrated was identical to the previous one, which terminated in destruction by fire in MM IIB. The Neopalatial building was built using many of the older walls, and seems to have had identical — or at least similar — functions. The same was probably true for all, or most, of the 'palaces' that had a long history. What seems certain is that the symbolic value of the monumental buildings remained unchanged. In the case of Petras there is a significant gap in our knowledge of the first structure, its storage system and capacity. Using an argumentum *ex silentio*, we could not exclude the possibility that the palatial economy of the older 'palace' at Petras was based on the production of, and trade in, textiles.

John Cherry proposed, in order to explain the co-existence of many Cretan 'palaces', the concept of peer polity interaction, which would eventually help towards a more or less uniform development of the various small state formations.[20] Each 'palace' and its hinterland, defined by the topography, constituted a small state. In this discussion other architectural complexes, such as the 'villas', were included to provide evidence for a hierarchical organisation of sites. The example of Phaistos is clear and very significant. There, in a region — the Mesara — that is very important for economic activities connected both with agriculture and with external trade, two large scale secondary centres developed, Ayia Triada and Kommos.

As a result of many archaeological surveys in various areas of Crete in recent years,[21] attention has turned to the hinterlands of the various 'palaces', and their extent and the nature of their interactions with the central buildings and/or palaces. For Malia, where excavations have taken place for almost a century both in the 'palace' and the surrounding town, and also an exemplary survey has been conducted (unfortunately not fully published as yet), two alternative models have been proposed in order to define its associated territory, especially based on the analysis of pottery styles and wares. The first one, the so-called Malia–Lasithi state, covers a much extended area, from the north to the south coast, controlling different landscapes, reaching Myrtos–Pyrgos, the isthmus of Ierapetra, and even Petras at Siteia to the east.[22] The second model explains the influences over more remote areas in ideological terms, rather than political ones.[23]

13 L. Platon 2004.
14 Watrous 2001.
15 Tsipopoulou 1988, 1992.
16 E.g. Watrous 2001, 198–203.
17 Day and Wilson 1998, 350.
18 Day and Wilson 1998.
19 Tsipopoulou 1999, 2002.
20 Cherry 1986.
21 For the most recent overview, Gkiasta 2008.
22 Knappett 1999; Poursat and Knappett 2005, 195–6.
23 Driessen 2002.

Fig. 13.2. Palace of Petras.

Functions

The functions of the 'palaces' are multiple and interconnected, although not fully understood or generally accepted. First, there is a strong possibility that a group of people actually resided in them. Second, they had also an administrative character that was linked with production, storage and possibly also trade. Third, they had certainly a symbolic and ritual character, which included consumption of food and drink in a large scale, as well as performances of various types.[24] Yet, the combination of these functions is encountered also in other monumental buildings, which are not defined as 'palaces', the most important example of this class being the 'villa' of Ayia Triada.[25]

In 100 years of Minoan archaeology almost 500 Minoan buildings have been excavated, but only six of them can be defined as 'palaces': Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Zakros, Petras and Galatas.[26] At Gournia there is also a small palatial building.[27] The excavators of another three, Chania, Kommos and Archanes, have advanced the possibilities that their findings were also connected with palatial structures,[28] but all the necessary evidence for this view is still not available.

Thus, for Bronze Age Crete a 'palace' is a large building, with some very particular monumental features, such as a central court, storage areas, ashlar blocks, etc. in combination with economic, administrative and religious functions. The new 'palaces', discovered in the second half of the 20th century, Zakros,[29] Petras[30] and Galatas,[31] showed that the size of the building is not a determining factor for the presence of the functions and their symbolism. On the

24 Driessen 2002.
25 Watrous 1984, with bibliography.
26 Fotou and Michailidou, esp. 86.
27 Soles 1991.
28 Chania: Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2002; Kommos: Shaw 2002; Archanes: Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 74–111.
29 Platon 1971.
30 Tsipopoulou 2002 (with earlier bibliography), 2007.
31 Rethemiotakis 2002, with bibliography.

other hand, in order to define a structure as a 'palace', independently of the functions present or preserved, it needs to be equipped with a rectangular central court, aligned north–south. 'Court-centred buildings' and 'court-centred compounds' have recently been proposed as alternative terms,[32] but they have not been universally accepted as yet.

In the present paper, the various hypotheses on the function of these monumental buildings will be reviewed. This is a very important process in order to understand their economics, as they are reflected in the storage systems, written documents and workshops.

Jan Driessen recently defined the palaces as 'communal buildings, without a primary political and residential function, but still serving as the main political arena, erected by a community for the fulfilling of religious and ritual tasks'.[33] This implies that whatever performances took place in the central courts were the most important ideological factor for Minoan society, for almost a millennium, despite probable changes in the administrative systems. It is more likely than in Prepalatial times performances significant for the social cohesion were taking place around funerary monuments, whether tholoi or house tombs.[34]

Driessen's model for the explanation of the function of the Minoan 'palaces', connecting the central courts with specific rites concerning the past, can account not only for the interpretation of the rites, but also for the consecutive reconstructions of the palaces, even though the Prepalatial period represents a different economic and administrative system, and, furthermore one cannot suggest with any degree of certainty that the administration of the first and the second palace periods was identical. During the last phase of the life of the 'palaces' other than Knossos, LM IB, various significant changes are observed especially in the circulation patterns, with a general tendency to restrict access to the central courts. This could possibly imply that a smaller number of people than before, representing specific social groups, were allowed into the courts for the ceremonies. These types of modifications could signify that there was a crisis in an already old system; and it has been suggested that this means that a certain social group prevailed over others, thus creating social instability.[35]

An example of the highly symbolic role of the central courts is the final reconstruction of the Central Court at the Petras 'palace', following the LM IA destruction.[36] The LM IB court is very small, while a large *stoa* of equal width was constructed to the east. The monumental staircase also went out of use, and access was at the southeast corner, through the *stoa*. A probable factor associated with the destabilisation of the palatial system, and the subsequent fall of the 'palaces', was the inability of those in charge of the central buildings to control wide areas, after the Thera eruption. This led to the expansion of many previously existing local centres, and even the establishment of new ones.

Storage

It is generally accepted that storage and the accumulation of wealth have played an important role in the emergence and consolidation of hierarchical social formations;[37] and Minoan Crete was no exception to this rule. The extent of the social stratification of the Minoan society is not adequately understood — for example, one does not know whether there were slaves in Minoan Crete, nor who owned the land and its produce. This has led to the proposal of various interpretative models for the significance and purpose of storage, starting from Evans. Until very recently, the prevailing idea of the administrative organisation of the Minoan society, focused on the evidence from storage, as well as from the archives and workshops, was that it was based on redistribution.[38] From the evidence most scholars agree with that, although some point out that in Neopalatial times the storage capacity of the 'palaces' decreased in favour of the 'villas'.[39] On the other hand, Kostandinos Christakis suggested, in his very detailed study of the storage capacities of the palace of Knossos in the Neopalatial period, that (in LM I) 'the palatial authority might have been particularly concerned with the storage of staple goods'.[40] At the 'palace' of Petras also there was a significant increase of storage space during LM IB.

The purposes of the storage though are by no means universally agreed. According to one of the models, 'palaces' were the centres of a system based on storage of goods of strategic importance and on the trade of finished prestige objects. Alternatively, the foodstuff stored in the palatial storerooms, along with the prestige artefacts produced there, would be used primarily during ceremonies.[41]

Whether the 'palaces' were the principal, or even the only, agent involved in trade and exchanges, within the island, and with other areas of the Aegean and farther away is not sure either. In an early study Colin Renfrew identified four different types of trade in which the 'palaces' played the most important role.[42] Finds from Mochlos and Palaikastro, urban settlements without palaces, which seemed to have flourished because of trade and manufacture of various prestigious and non-prestigious items, show that trade was probably also conducted by specialised independent merchants. On the other hand, the palace of Zakros at the far eastern

32 Driessen 2002.
33 Driessen 2002.
34 Branigan 1998.
35 Driessen 2002.
36 Tsipopoulou 2007.
37 Christakis 2004, 299, with bibliography.
38 Finley 1957.
39 Knappett and Schoep 2000, 366.
40 Christakis 2004, 307.
41 Driessen 2002.
42 Referred to in Walberg 1995.

end of the island was probably founded by Knossos, during the time of its (probable) supremacy over the whole or most of Crete, in LM IB, for reasons connected with the trade with the eastern Mediterranean.

Cherry suggested that the redistribution system was used by the palaces for the exploitation of the rural countryside, and that prestige goods in connection with monumental architecture were used by the elites to establish their power.[43] This model has been seriously challenged, but still it is certain and indisputable that in the context of Minoan palaces there were extensive storage facilities. Yet, it is evident that the capacity of the storerooms of the palaces could not have been sufficient to store the totality of the agricultural production of their hinterland, and the redistributive model could not explain by itself the economic organisations of the palaces. Furthermore, some scholars have pointed out that a significant difference possibly occurred during the Neopalatial period when, in some at least of the palaces, the area dedicated to storage (at least the storage of staples in pithoi) must have decreased.[44]

According to Jennifer Moody, in the second palaces the accumulation of agricultural wealth lost part of its importance in favour of the fabrication of prestige goods by the palatial workshops.[45] Other important buildings besides the 'palaces' also show that collection and storage of goods were among the most important factors of the political economy, both for the Proto- as well as for the Neopalatial palaces. Gisela Walberg and the author have independently pointed out the importance of an intermediate type of storage for the Neopalatial period, physically situated between the settlements and the palace, namely in the 'villas'.[46]

The issue of the significance of the storage in Minoan political economy is closely related to the presence or not of a leader in Minoan society, who would be connected with the palace and the palatial administration. Two different opinions have been raised: one that is more 'traditional', following principally Evans's ideas, accepts the presence of a leader;[47] the other denies completely the presence of a leader and explains Minoan society as a dynamic interplay between different factions with the winning faction residing in the 'palace'.[48]

ADMINISTRATION, SEALS AND SCRIPTS

Seals and scripts also constitute important tools for the decipherment of the palatial economies. The archives, both Hieroglyphic and Linear A, are unfortunately very partial and fragmentary. Ilse Schoep pointed out recently that social complexity in Protopalatial times, connected with the presence of both palatial and not strictly palatial elites, is proved by a wider distribution of seals than in later periods, as well as of stamped objects, found in domestic and burial contexts.[49] The first indications of clearly administrative character are the Hieroglyphic archives dated at the end of the Protopalatial period, in MM IIB. The only Hieroglyphic archive intimately connected with a room in a 'palace' is the one from Petras.[50]

In Minoan Crete, writing and sealing in general were clearly used to define the roles of elites, especially in the Neopalatial period, when many objects inscribed in Linear A, as well as Linear A documents, have been found in non-palatial contexts. One may assume, however, that such sites were in some sort of interaction with, if not dependence on, the 'palaces'. Schoep has proposed a reconstruction of the Neopalatial economy and administration based on the evidence from the Linear A tablets, and in particular on the frequency of the commodities attested on the tablets.[51] Thus it has been suggested that Neopalatial bureaucratic administrations were 'less direct, more literate and perhaps more specialized'.[52] Sites that produced a large number of Linear A tablets are Ayia Triada, Chania and Zakros. The most complete Linear A palatial archive comes from Zakros, a palace built only in the later Neopalatial period.[53]

Interestingly enough, as it shows that the practices of sealing and writing were not necessarily connected with political centralisation by a single centre in the island, especially in the Protopalatial period, there is no evidence for the invention of either sealing or writing in one centre and its then spreading to the rest of Crete. In fact, this is a very common — and remarkable — phenomenon in Crete, found also in other aspects of Minoan life and production, such as pottery, architecture, metal objects etc. Also, it is not sure whether the two systems, Hieroglyphic and Linear A represent the same language; but there are differences in the sealing systems, which imply regional administrative differences, although specialists refuse to see a direct evolution.[54]

It is certain that the archives — Hieroglyphic, Linear A, and also the later Greek documents in Linear B — were not intended to serve as historical records for contemporaries or the next generations. Furthermore, one cannot exclude the possibility that not all transactions were recorded in the archives. It has been recently suggested that the pre-Greek Minoan archives (Hieroglyphic and Linear A) were used to assure the

43 Walberg 1995, 157.
44 See the synopsis by Adams (2004, 200).
45 Moody 1997.
46 Tsipopoulou and Papacostopoulou 1997; Walberg 1995.
47 Cf. the arguments proposed by Betancourt (2002); also Adams 2004, 193, with further bibliography.
48 Hamilakis 2002*a*, 2002*b*.
49 Schoep 2004.
50 Tsipopoulou and Hallager 1997, 2010.
51 Schoep 2002*a*, 175–99.
52 Knappett and Schoep 2000, 367.
53 Platon and Brice 1975.
54 Schoep 1999, 203.

control of certain regular obligatory transactions, which happened on an annual basis.[55] The documents may be evidence of a centralised type of administration, in which a regional central place (the 'palace'), used to control other minor provincial centres, such as non-palatial settlements and isolated 'villas'. At such sites tablets have often been found, but not real archives, with the only exception of Ayia Triada, which does not seem to have been comparable to other secondary centres, by any means. Furthermore, the numbers expressed are really very large in Hieroglyphic documents, often in tens of thousands, which may mean that in Protopalatial times the transactions registered related to larger groups of people and larger amounts of produce, possibly also in wider spatial areas. It should be noted here that the decipherment of the Linear B archives of Knossos complicated the issue, as many scholars were tempted to apply anachronistically the Mycenaean organisation to Neopalatial or even Protopalatial times and situations.

Palatial workshops

In the past two decades the study of palatial workshops, their organisation, craft specialisation, and the nature of the control by a central authority, which is essential for understanding state formation and elite roles in the societies, has progressed significantly following the excavation of the extremely well preserved Quartier Mu at Malia.[56] Activities included seal engraving and pottery production as well as manufacture of bronze and stone objects. Quartier Mu dates to the Protopalatial period, the least well known phase of Minoan palatial history. The excavator Jean-Claude Poursat and other scholars, Schoep in particular, have proposed insightful interpretations,[57] in which the workshops at Quartier Mu contribute significantly towards a definition of the working conditions and social status of the artisans. Poursat suggests first that crafts were taking place in the framework of families, who lived and worked in similar houses/workshops. Secondly, craft specialisation was observed only in certain activities, such as seal engraving and metal working, and thus artisans worked on commission. The social status and possible connection with central or minor authorities are less easily understood. Two important buildings, Bâtiments A and B, are probably of administrative character, as they contained Hieroglyphic documents, and were situated very close to the workshops. The problem is whether these buildings were integrated into the palatial administration, or were in some degree independent from it. Poursat suggests that, at the beginning of the MM II phase, widescale political and economic changes occurred, of major importance for the evolution of the palatial system. At this point the central administration intervened directly in the production process of the workshops. It became important for the 'palace', for economic or symbolic reasons, to control the production of these mostly prestige objects. This is a particularly important development, when one considers that Crete needed to import most raw materials and especially metal.[58]

For the Neopalatial period, Lefteris Platon has made a comparable study, of the Zakros palatial workshops. He concludes that skilled and multi-talented artisans, *à la manière de* mythological Daidalos, worked for the Palace, and that the raw materials were controlled by a central authority.[59]

Mycenaean Crete

The occupation of Crete by Mycenaean Greeks, the establishment of a *wanax* at the Palace of Knossos, accompanied by a Greek-speaking elite, and the adoption of the Greek language in the administration constitute a dramatic change in the history of the island, which presents many analogies to the occupation of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 AD. In both cases, the capital remained the same, and members of the previous elites were used by the new rulers in their administration. The new system of political and economic organisation in Crete can be divided into two more or less distinct parts: the first, called often Final Palatial, when what is conventionally called a Mycenaean dynasty ruled Knossos and a part of the island, although the Linear B archives show that this polity did not extend as far as eastern Crete;[60] and the second, after the destruction and the abandonment of the palace at Knossos. It is important to note that recent excavations and studies have proved that the Mycenaean presence in the eastern part of the island was much more significant than was thought earlier. In any case the palatial organisation of Creto-Mycenaean Knossos could have not been very different from its mainland counterparts, Mycenae, Pylos and Thebes, as the Linear B tablets indicate. In LM IIIB, after the final destruction of the Palace of Knossos, there was probably a palatial entity in western Crete, where Linear B tablets came to light recently at Chania.[61]

As far as monumental buildings are concerned, various free-standing buildings of megaron-type plan were erected in the first part of LM III in different areas of Crete, but nothing comparable to the Mycenaean palaces is encountered, and the Mycenaean rulers of Knossos used the pre-existing palace there. The function of the Cretan megara is not clear; a plausible suggestion is that they served as the residence

55 Schoep 2002*a*, 2002*b*.
56 Poursat 1996.
57 Poursat 1995, 1996; Poursat and Schmid 1992; Schoep 2006.
58 Poursat 1996; Poursat and Schmid 1992, 13–32, for a succinct description of the Protopalatial workshops at Quartier Mu.
59 L. Platon 1993.
60 Bennet 1987.
61 Hallager *et al.* 1992.

Fig. 13.3. Crete: LM IIIC megara at Chalasmenos.

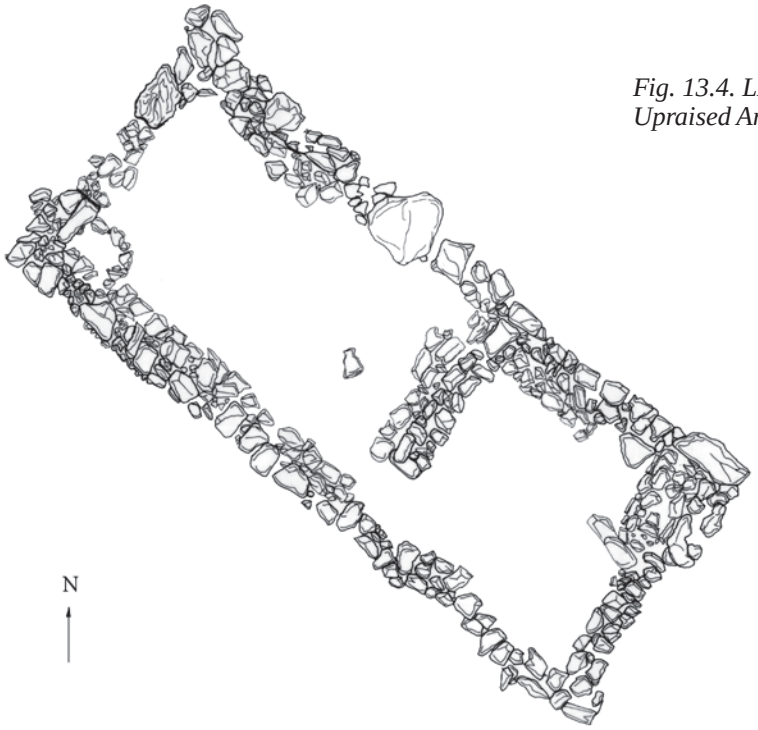

Fig. 13.4. LM IIIC shrine of the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' at Chalasmenos.

for the new Mycenaean aristocracy.[62] For this period, most of our information comes from Linear B documents, and graves, especially the so-called warrior graves, at Knossos and (recently) Chania.

After the fall of the Mycenaean palaces in mainland Greece, the general situation in the Aegean changed again radically. In this context of a lack of central authority, various populations moved to Crete, although probably not *en masse*. The large and rather rich island would undoubtedly appear a good target for minor officials of the Mycenaean states. As they had lost their status at home, they were forced to become either pirates or professional soldiers. For many ambitious minor Achaean elites, Crete, where their ancestors were already established less than a century earlier, must have looked more or less like a promised land.

A very significant clue for understanding the complex developments of this transitional period is the office of *pa-si-re-u* (*basileus*). Although this was not particularly important in the Mycenaean bureaucracy, it was the only term which survived during the EIA and into the Homeric language, while *wanax* and *lawayetas* were lost for ever along with the Mycenaean palaces. Cretan society, independently of the ethnicity of the people, already in a deep crisis, offered relatively high possibilities of prosperity to these officials, who also possessed strong weapons of new types and the skill to use them.

During the final phase of the Bronze Age in Crete one cannot find 'monumental buildings' in the sense this term is used for the previous periods. In LM IIIC, very large and imposing buildings are practically absent but there are still some structures distinguished by their form that reflects special functions. Most of these buildings fall into two main categories, the megara and the shrines of the goddesses with upraised arms.

The roots of the institutions of later Iron Age (or Archaic) Crete, for which Greek inscriptions provide information, are to be found in the latest phase of the Bronze Age, i.e. advanced LM IIIC. The economics of these buildings are not very clear as yet, as we do not have enough final publications. At Chalasmenos, a short-lived LM IIIC settlement on the northern part of the Ierapetra isthmus, excavated by the author, where various megara came to light, three of them are adjacent to each other, all equipped with benches and a central hearth (FIG. 13.3). They offer direct evidence, however, only for food and drink consumption. They served probably as gathering places for some parts of the population, very much like the later *andreia*, known from the written sources.[63]

The shrine of the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' at Chalasmenos, a relatively large free-standing rectangular structure of megaron-type plan (FIG. 13.4), measuring 5.5 × 13 m, housed six fairly large pithoi. This fact, combined with the absence of storage facilities from some of the excavated units of the settlement, suggests a possible form of communal storage under the protection of the 'goddess(es)' or, alternatively, indicates a special stressful circumstance, connected with the final phase of habitation of the settlement and its abandonment.[64]

At Kavousi–Vronda, a settlement of the same period very close to Chalasmenos, the large free-standing Building A, of an elongated rectangular plan and equipped with storage areas, where large pithoi were found, has been interpreted as the dwelling of the ruler of the LM IIIC settlement, and also as a gathering place where drinking and eating in a scale exceeding a nuclear family took place. This picture looks like a miniature of an earlier Minoan palace, lacking the architectural monumentality and literacy.[65] Leslie Day, who has also re-studied the material from Karphi, a better known LM IIIC settlement, points out some significant differences between Vronda Building A and the so-called 'Great House' at Karphi, namely the lack of significant storage capacity in the latter case, although both buildings show strong evidence for feasting.[66] The picture offered by the various excavations of the final Bronze Age in Crete is not uniform; despite many similar trends, there is a high degree of fragmentation.

Early Iron Age

In LM IIIC, social conditions were not very stable and Chalasmenos, along with many other sites, was abandoned after a short period of occupation. Kavousi–Vronda had some form of occupation in the Protogeometric period (only the use of tombs has been established with certainty), while other settlements continued their life down to the beginning of the 7th century, when the first *poleis* were founded in Crete. During the Iron Age, Crete, along with most of Greece, had strong nostalgic thoughts of its 'heroic' past. People were conscious of this, probably through the songs and poems of the early bards, and tried in various ways to establish a link with the past, real or imaginary. As far as architecture is concerned, monumentality is not a feature typical of this period. Furthermore, much of what we know about the early historic Cretan society comes from authors of the 4th century and later, such as Xenophon, Aristotle, Plato and Plutarch.[67] Among the most important institutions of this period were the *andreia*, public buildings where males gathered to consume food and drink. The importance of *andreia* on Crete is stressed by all ancient writers who discuss

62 Cf. Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 165–73 for the Mycenaean palace at Knossos, the megara of Gournia and Ayia Triada and the stoas at Ayia Triada and Kommos; also La Rosa 1992, 76; Cadogan 1992*a*, 105.

63 Tsipopoulou 2011.

64 Tsipopoulou 2001, 2005.

65 Day and Snyder 2004, 65–73.

66 Day and Snyder 2004, 77–8.

67 Carter 1997, 73.

Cretan customs.[68] Their predecessors may be identifiable also in Protogeometric contexts, but we do not have enough published evidence to date. Building 3 at Sybrita, which contained a large krater with important pictorial decoration[69] that was most likely used by an elite group on formal occasions, could well be the missing link.

An important Cretan building of the second half of the 7th century BC is the so-called 'Temple A' at Prinias, in south-central Crete. From it important sculptural decoration, with strong affinities to oriental prototypes, is preserved, along with its architectural remains. Temple A was erected on top of SM and PG architectural remains. Robert Koehl has argued that this mysterious structure was in fact used as an *andreion*, taking as evidence the movable finds, which included animal bones, cups and craters, as well as pithos sherds. It cannot be excluded that in the EIA in Crete, at least in some cases, the functions of an *andreion* and of a cult building (later temple) were served by the same structures.[70] In an important publication Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian has collected all the evidence for EIA architecture in the Aegean and beyond, and especially particular architectural forms, usually with public functions. He believes that the temples of the Classical period have their origin in the dwellings of the rulers of the 'Final Bronze Age', and the so-called megara.[71] The most recently and most completely excavated 'monumental building' of the early Archaic period of Crete is a large rectangular structure of public character at Azoria, identified by its excavators as an *andreion* or *prytaneion*.[72]

A VIEW FROM CYPRUS

Alison K. South

In Cyprus the story is remarkably different in almost every respect.[73] As is well known, it lacks obvious Bronze Age 'palaces' (at least as they are known and defined in Crete or elsewhere in the contemporary world) and was surprisingly late in developing monumental buildings of any kind.[74] On the other hand, for the Iron Age its kingdoms and their sanctuaries and (insofar as they are known) palaces are on a grander scale than anything known from contemporary Crete. Moreover, and very important in setting the scene for our comparisons, both the state of the evidence and the history of scholarship are very different from those which apply in Crete.

Cyprus is perhaps fortunate in having had no Knossos-type site, or Evans-type figure, overshadowing its archaeology. There is no equivalent either for the 'palatial' system, nor for the dominance of this concept in the minds of archaeologists. For Cyprus the story revealed by the architecture is much more fragmented and discontinuous. While being reluctant (especially for the Bronze Age) to call anything a 'palace', we have not yet managed to find generally agreed terms for what we do have. Although there is a good number of interesting major buildings that can contribute to our understanding of ancient Cypriot society, they are not so many nor so obviously impressive (either to scholars, or to modern tourists) as in Crete. Architecture and its interpretation have not hitherto played such a preeminent role in scholarly assessment as they have done for Crete and, although forming a significant element in the general picture, have perhaps been rather underappreciated and certainly lacking in innovative modern studies concerning how people may have interacted with and viewed the buildings.[75]

Since for Cyprus we lack a clearly agreed word or concept for 'palaces' or any equivalent, it is necessary to say something about what kind of buildings we are looking for. Much discussion might be devoted to what the definition or function of a 'monumental' building might be.[76] In the frame of reference of this Conference, it is sufficiently obvious that comparisons with 'palaces' are expected. Much ink has been spilled in defining the ancient palaces of the Near East,[77] and even more for the Aegean. Although placed centrally in a geographical region where palaces flourished, Cyprus has not yielded examples of the types found in any of the surrounding

68 Carter 1997, 75.

69 D'Agata and Karamaliki 2002, 347–52 and fig. 10; D'Agata 2008, 221; forthcoming.

70 Carter 1997.

71 Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

72 Haggis *et al*. 1997.

73 I am most grateful to the organisers of the Parallel Lives Conference for the invitation to participate. Thanks are offered to Andreas Mehl for some suggestions and references concerning the Iron Age. This short paper necessarily concentrates on the evidence from architecture, and the space available does not permit straying far from this theme, with the minimum of necessary references. However it is obvious that more extensive consideration of other topics such as settlement patterns, environment, trade, metallurgy and historical evidence are relevant in order to understand the full significance of the architectural developments, and it is assumed that the reader will also consult the other papers in this volume, especially those by Warren and Todd, Muhly and Kassianidou, and Peltenburg and Iacovou, for further discussion and references.

74 Wright 1992, 78–85, 542–4.

75 But see now Fisher 2007, 2009.

76 Trigger 1990; Zuckerman 2007, 4–5.

77 Margueron 1982; Wright 1985, 269–82; Oren 1992; Reich 1992, with a classic definition (202) of a palace: 'Palaces are defined as buildings which served as royal residences of the monarch, members of his family and his household staff, and also functioned as centres of administration due to the offices of the ruler and the court officials located in them. Also defined as palaces are official buildings which served as residences and offices of high officials, local rulers, governors of districts and towns, etc.'.

areas. Therefore we must look for buildings that are distinguished by the size and elaboration of their architecture from those relating to small-scale everyday life and subsistence, and which show some evidence for larger-scale economic organisation and its relation to society. Buildings of economic importance might of course also have other functions at the same time (religious, defensive, reinforcing the power of an elite, etc.) but we will not discuss here those which seem to be purely defensive or religious.

Another factor is the very different history of excavation and scholarship in Cyprus. Architecture did not feature very largely in the discoveries of the early treasure hunters and excavators. Many were motivated by a desire to discover famous sanctuaries, especially their sculptures and inscriptions, but their methods of excavation did not promote the best understanding of what remained of the architecture.[78] Most of the architectural discoveries relevant to our theme did not take place until the beginnings of modern archaeology from the late 1920s onwards, with the excavations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and of Schaeffer at Enkomi. Much important evidence has been excavated in recent decades, and several of the most relevant buildings have not yet reached final publication.

Many scholars who have worked in Cyprus have had a background in Aegean archaeology, and Mycenaean connections (as well as Phoenician) were a major theme in the early development of Cypriot archaeology.[79] No Mycenaean palaces or citadels came to light, but those who wish to see Aegean connections have tried to find the characteristics of megara and other Aegean features whenever possible. The nature of Aegean connections and 'colonisation' or assimilation (whether, whenever and to what extent this may be considered to have taken place), continue to be significant and debated themes. On the other hand, the obvious fact of the island's proximity to the mainland Near East, its likely identification with the kingdom of Alashiya (historically evidenced as an important kingdom, where we could expect to find a Near Eastern-style palace for the king), and the fact that some of the excavators had also worked in areas further to the east (notably Schaeffer who had discovered the palace at Ugarit), have provided a strong counterbalancing Near Eastern viewpoint. Recently, a tendency to let the story emerge from the archaeology alone, without preconceived ideas about influences from various directions, has increased.

A major contrast between Bronze Age Cyprus and any of the surrounding areas is the lack of readable texts, leaving us without written evidence for historical, or economic and administrative developments.[80] No archives of clay tablets have been discovered in Cyprus, where records may possibly have been less complex, or simply kept in a different, less permanent form. Only a few surviving texts in the still undeciphered Cypro-Minoan script are of any significant length, although the script occurs widely throughout the island in shorter inscriptions on various media. Thus for Bronze Age Cyprus the picture has to emerge from the archaeology alone. For the Iron Age, textual information is available, but evidence for economic organisation is limited.

EARLY AND MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

The ability to store produce on a considerable scale began at least from the Chalcolithic and the evolution of pithoi for storage of produce continued through the EBA and MBA, to culminate in the mega-pithoi which were to be an important feature of the LBA economy.[81] Stimulus from the outside world (notably Anatolia) led to various new developments,[82] agriculture thrived and metallurgy developed.[83] Domestic architecture changed from the Chalcolithic circular buildings to rectilinear with multi-roomed households; settlements could be quite large and began to be well organised at household level.[84] However, despite this apparently quite prosperous lifestyle, a strong conservatism prevailed and there was little major change in material culture or architecture for several centuries (*c*. 2400–1650 BC),[85] in striking contrast to the contemporary emergence of monumental buildings and palaces in Prepalatial and Protopalatial Crete and other regions around Cyprus. The very few settlement sites of these periods which have been excavated (mostly on a fairly small scale) have not revealed any monumental buildings of economic or other special significance.[86] Only at the very end of the MBA did the picture begin to change with larger, specialised buildings appearing under pressure of changing circumstances.

LATE BRONZE AGE

The first clear examples of buildings distinguished by large size, massive construction and specialised function are a series of forts which have been considered as related to rivalry for control of copper resources at the beginning of the LBA (MC III–LC I).[87] Although these appear to have been mainly defensive in function, they may also have served as centres for collection and

78 Ulbrich 2001.
79 Fitton 2001; Steel 2001.
80 Smith 2002.
81 Pilides 2005.
82 Webb and Frankel 1999.
83 Steel 2004, 83–148.
84 Swiny 1989; Swiny *et al.* 2003; Coleman *et al.* 1996; Frankel and Webb 2006.
85 Wright 1992, 68–82.
86 An interesting partly industrial area at EC–MC Pyrgos–Mavroraki east of Limassol (Belgiorno 2000, 2004) has been claimed as a 'palace' in press reports, but the project's web site (www.pyrgos-mavroraki.net/) states that '. . . there aren't enough elements to affirm that it was a small 'Palace' . . . or a simple large industrial building.'
87 Fortin 1981; Peltenburg 1996, 29–35; 2008; Crewe 2007, 53, 55, 60–1, 65; Horowitz 2007, 75–7, 100–7.

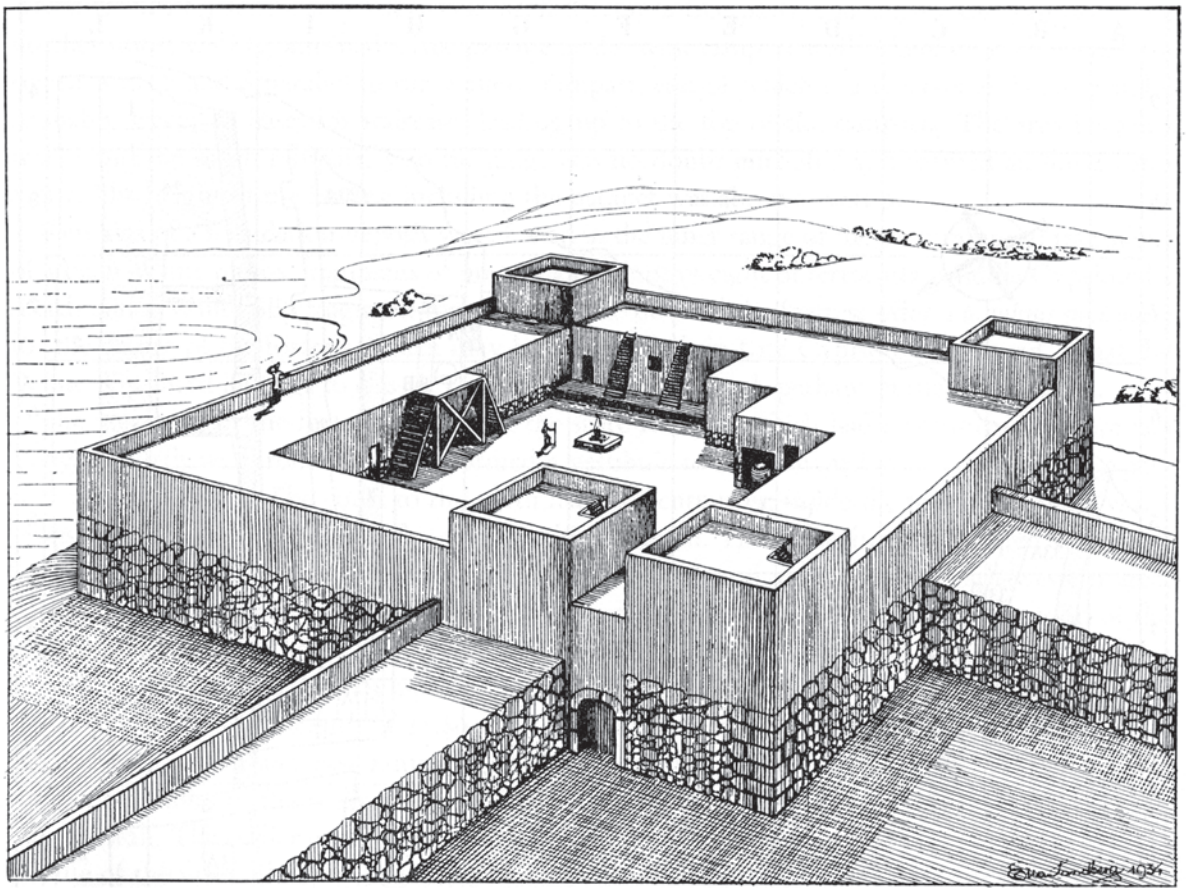

Fig. 13.5. Cyprus: the fortress at Nitovikla, constructed in LC I.

storage of produce. In any case they are important to our theme as the first Cypriot buildings of monumental, or almost monumental, character, requiring considerable organisation and resources to build. Large, two-storey forts (e.g. 40 × 36 m: FIG. 13.5) were associated with long, thick walls enclosing considerable areas usually on defensible hilltops, and the first attested use of ashlar masonry occurred (at Nitovikla in LC IA2/IB).[88] A substantial building (*c.* 600 m^2) with massive walls, considered a 'fortress' by its excavator, was constructed at the beginning of the LBA at the major settlement of Enkomi;[89] it contained much evidence for metallurgical activity. There is no evidence for monumental buildings of any kind at other (non-defensive) settlements, but there has been very little settlement excavation for this period, making it uncertain to what extent Enkomi was the pre-eminent or only urban centre, as has often been suggested.

As the LBA continued, by LC IIA–IIB (15th–14th centuries) rich tombs at a number of sites demonstrate that certain individuals or groups were wealthy, with access to many imported and luxury goods, but the contemporary architecture which might have shown increasingly centralised control of economic resources is largely missing, either not yet excavated, or underneath and often destroyed by later buildings. The phenomena of urbanisation, with large prosperous towns scattered throughout most of the island, and major ashlar buildings, appear to spring up suddenly and not until LC IIC (13th century),[90] although there certainly must have been some previous (although so far less well known) development.

ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

The first and clearest examples of monumental buildings, which undoubtedly contribute a great deal of evidence about large-scale economic organisation, belong to this 13th century flowering. Only three are known so far, all in central-southern parts of the island, at Maroni, Kalavasos and Alassa: they provide much of our best evidence for comparison to palatial systems elsewhere.

All have been excavated fairly recently and their final reports have not yet appeared although the excavators have suggested some interpretations of the role of these

88 Hult 1992, 14, 73–6; Crewe 2007, 53.

89 Dikaios 1969, 16–34; Fortin 1981, 210–47; Crewe 2007, 75–9.

90 Negbi 1986, 2005; Keswani 1996.

buildings. While no unified terminology for them has yet been formally agreed, the term 'administrative buildings' has been used quite frequently. Although there are many differences between the buildings (including rather varied architectural plans), in the short space available we will consider them together. All three buildings are at sites which rank fairly high, but possibly not the highest, in any hierarchy of settlements — various ranking systems have been proposed, and recently some problems with these schemes have been pointed out.[91] In any case it is obvious that the geographical situations of the three are very different. At Maroni the Ashlar Building at Vournes[92] was situated near settlements and only 500 m from the coast, with definite evidence for a LBA anchorage (especially in LC I),[93] and good farmland around and close to a small stream but not at the mouth of an important river. On the other hand at Kalavasos,[94] only 7.5 km to the west, a similar building was an integral part of the large town at Ayios Dhimitrios, located at the edge of the town at the northern end of a major street. This settlement is 3.5 km from the sea, next to a major river, surrounded by good agricultural land, and on the route from the coast to a nearby copper mining area. Alassa[95] is in a much more upland situation, further (12 km) inland on hill slopes overlooking the junction of two rivers, and close to copper sources; a magnificent ashlar building overlooked the adjacent settlement. In all these three cases the ashlar buildings are, as far as we know in the present state of excavation, by far the largest and most impressive buildings within their settlements, and in turn these settlements dominate the small regions (probably of a few tens of km^2) of which they appear to be the centres. Within these regions (which have been surveyed to varying extents) are several unexcavated small sites that may be subsidiary agricultural villages, farmsteads or storage facilities. No LBA mines or mining villages have yet been identified in these specific areas, although a few have been found elsewhere in Cyprus.

These buildings vary somewhat in plan and orientation but all are of substantial size (600–1600 m^2) compared to any other domestic or industrial buildings in the adjacent settlements. All three were constructed with extensive use of ashlar masonry, especially on the exterior façades and other important areas, and many spaces had level and hard lime plaster floors. Some large interior spaces were made possible by the use of pillars. Although there is no conclusive proof, all probably had upper storeys. In considering the functions of these buildings, we should not view them as isolated architectural units, as their immediate surroundings may have further complemented their organisational role.

At Maroni, the smallest of the three, the central part of the rectangular Ashlar Building was entered by a one-pillared portico leading into a large central room, and a few pithoi were installed in a row under the stairs. An eastern row of six rooms, which could only be accessed at the south end, included an olive press, and the less impressively constructed northern rooms, reached via a side entrance, yielded evidence suggesting textile manufacture. The economic capabilities of these arrangements may have been much enhanced by the large adjacent West Building with three aisles of pillars, of uncertain function but possibly for storage or industrial activities. At Kalavasos (FIG. 13.6), the main core of Building X was a square divided into three parts, with a main entrance in the middle of the south façade leading into a square central courtyard, and again a row of six rooms on the east. Two large storage magazines in the western parts held numerous large pithoi with a total capacity of at least 50,000 litres (mostly olive oil according to analyses); adjacent on the west were two presumed olive press installations, plus other industrial buildings whose precise function is uncertain. On the north and east an ashlar enclosure wall surrounded this complex, and more ashlar buildings (only known from test trenches) lay to the south, making an administrative-industrial area of several thousand m^2 altogether. At Alassa the building, with particularly impressive ashlar masonry, is Π-shaped, the three wings enclosing a large courtyard. Its major features include a southern entrance into a symmetrical arrangement of rooms with a large hearth, a masonry-lined large rectangular basin or pit, and sophisticated architectural features including unique pilasters. In the north part of the building were elaborate drainage arrangements and numerous large pithoi. Across a street to the south was another massive ashlar building (only partly excavated), with a subsidiary storage and wine-press building nearby.

In addition to the major storage and industrial functions associated with these buildings, various other finds suggest administration, and that the users of the buildings had access to high-status and imported artefacts. Inscriptions of various types included pot marks, inscriptions on pithoi and their lids, signs on loomweights, and most notably five inscribed clay cylinders from Kalavasos. No archives of documents have been found, but this is normal for Cyprus. Seals included a cylinder from Maroni, and several domed stamp seals at Kalavasos; only Alassa yielded an impressive number (about 50) of cylinder-impressed clay bands on pithoi, with Aegean stylistic connections. A few other special finds hint at the presence of luxury objects, and communal or elite feasting is suggested by a deposit of broken tableware, including numerous imported Mycenaean bowls, with much food debris at Kalavasos.[96]

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91 See e.g. Catling 1962; Knapp 1997; Keswani 1996; Iacovou 2007.

92 Cadogan 1992*b*, 1996.

93 Manning *et al.* 2002.

94 South 1988, 1997, 2002.

95 Hadjisavvas 1994, 1996, 2001.

96 South 2008.

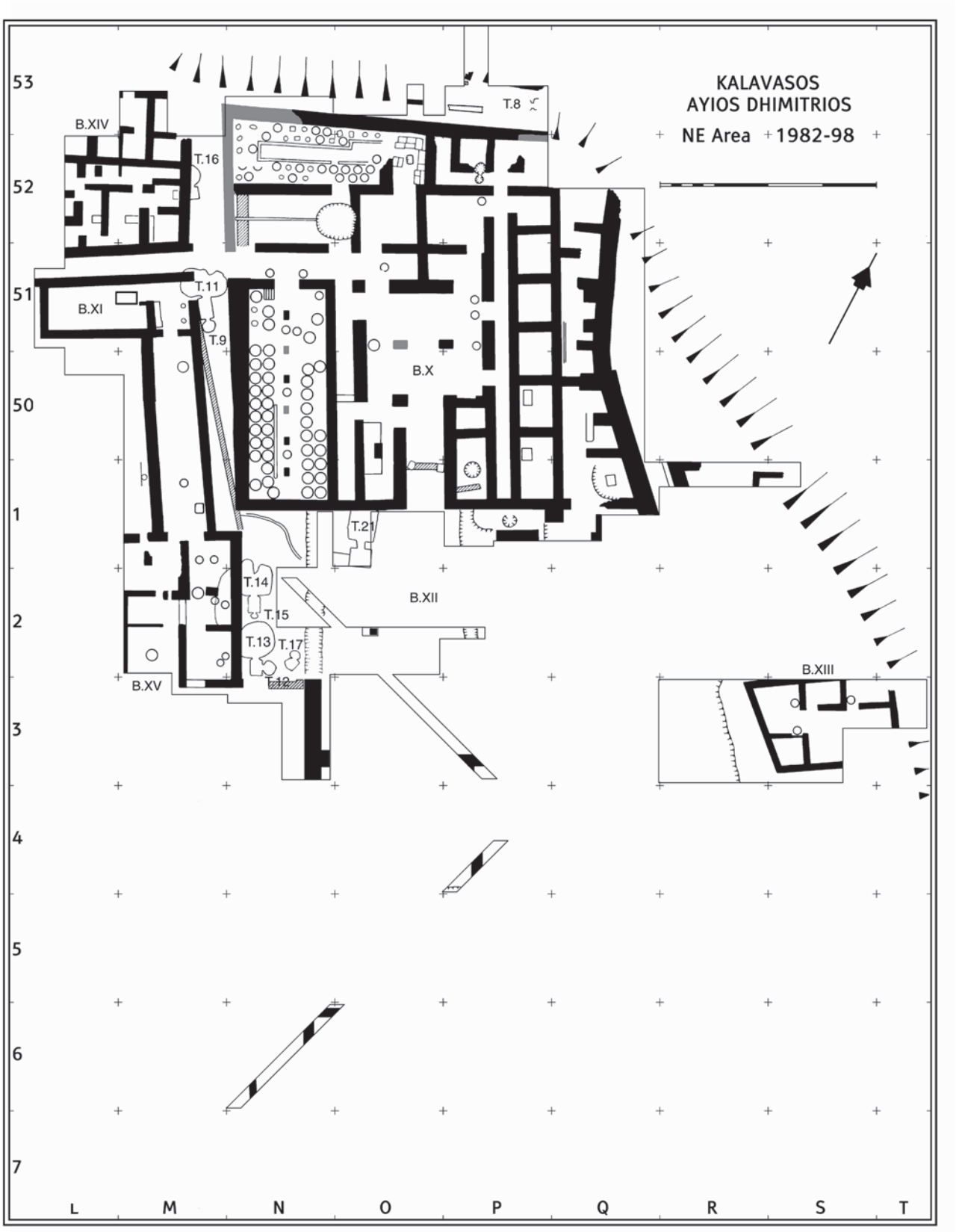

Fig. 13.6. Building X and adjacent buildings at Kalavasos–Ayios Dhimitrios in LC IIC. The central part of Building X had administrative functions, with large storerooms in the western part. Industrial buildings (XIV, XI, XV) were located immediately to the west.

The architecture of these buildings is on a grand scale and impressive in appearance (compared to other buildings in adjacent settlements), and their construction would have required a large commitment of time and personnel, and the transport of materials from at least a few kilometres away. The high standard of ashlar masonry and other special construction techniques presume the existence of teams of highly skilled and trained workers. It is evident that concepts of architectural design existed, and units of measurement (although the latter require more study) were in use.

The most clearly demonstrated function of these buildings is production and storage of primary agricultural produce, especially olive oil. The large quantities involved (sufficient for at least several hundred people at Kalavasos),[97] clearly far more than even a chiefly household would require, would have necessitated control of large areas of land, or enforcement of payment of tithes, and could have provided rations or payment to numerous agricultural or mining workers, or abundant surplus for trade. There is little evidence for metallurgical industry having been carried out within the buildings (although there are some finds of slag), but such activities are evidenced in the adjacent settlements, and control of metal production and trade by the users of the buildings is probable. It has been suggested that the buildings, perhaps especially their upper storeys, were residences for high status persons who had a controlling role in the local economy, although there is no definite proof of this; some kind of more communal use is also possible. Although the architecture is very well-constructed and impressive, it appears lacking in elaboration compared to Aegean or Near Eastern palaces, and there is little or nothing to suggest ceremonial or religious functions. However, some large spaces, such as the courtyards at Kalavasos and Alassa, were of ample size to have been utilised for reception or communal activities. Considerable variation in the plans suggests local inspiration rather than close adherence to a model such as a 'governor's residence'. Aegean influence on certain architectural features has been suggested,[98] but the plans of the buildings do not closely resemble either Aegean or Near Eastern models. These buildings probably functioned as economic centres for small regions, where each prospered independently from its own plentiful agricultural land, and also controlled local copper sources. Their apparently sudden appearance in the 13th century[99] must have depended on economic and political conditions that favoured them. A long development of local prosperity, and respect for their ancestors on the part of the 13th century builders is seen from the proximity of very rich tombs mostly of slightly earlier periods, immediately adjacent to and underneath the buildings.[100] The considerable wealth and sophistication (architectural and otherwise, for example in the tomb finds) of these local centres, especially considering the fairly small size of their supporting regions, supports their not being subsidiary parts of a larger system. In this sense it may be valid to compare them in a general sense with small palaces in Crete or the Near East, as well as the larger 'villas' of Crete, although they are a Cypriot invention and need not be expected to have identical features and functions to Cretan or other buildings. They are, of course, not contemporary with the Minoan palaces but, rather, with Postpalatial Crete.

ENKOMI

In great contrast is the other major body of architectural evidence, at Enkomi where in the 13th to 12th centuries numerous large buildings, many with ashlar masonry, were all part of an integrated grid plan,[101] yet none stands out as vastly superior in size or anything else, to the others. Some of the largest (and best published) of them, Schaeffer's Batiment 18 and Dikaios's Ashlar Building and the large Area III building (previously the 'fortress') have been seen as having had special importance,[102] although the extent to which this is true is not universally agreed. In any case, they lack notably the large storage facilities of the previously discussed administrative buildings, and therefore cannot have had a similarly central economic role. Industrial (especially metallurgical) and craft activities were widespread in many parts of the site. It has been suggested that socio-political organisation at Enkomi was very different to that of the south coast centres.[103] However, the Enkomi buildings have many similarities in architecture and construction with the administrative buildings, and both were evidently part of the same tradition, with plans which may have ultimately derived from those of a long tradition of houses with rooms on three sides of a courtyard.[104]

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97 Keswani forthcoming.

98 Hitchcock 1999; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavvas 1997. I believe that the Aegean-influenced character of some features has been rather exaggerated, but this is not the place for a full discussion.

99 In fact their history is slightly more complicated: at least at Kalavasos, Building X had been in existence slightly earlier (from LC IIB or early IIC), but was redeveloped at this time with more impressive ashlar walls and storage facilities (South 1997, 155). At Maroni, earlier floors exist beneath the Ashlar Building (Cadogan 1988, 231), which itself had only one major building phase (Cadogan 1992*b*, 53).

100 Manning 1998.

101 Schaeffer 1952, 1971; Dikaios 1969, 1971; Courtois *et al.* 1986. For summaries of most of the ashlar buildings with references, see Courtois *et al.* 1986, 8–40; Hult 1983, 3–9.

102 E.g. Dikaios (1969, 65–6) considered that the Area III building resembled a Mycenaean palace and was the residence of a 'Mycenaean chief or industrialist'; Wright (1992, 274–6) selected it to 'illustrate the development of the palace in Cyprus'.

103 Keswani 1996.

104 Wright 1992, 275–7; South 1996, 44.

SANCTUARIES

So far the discussion has concerned buildings with purely secular, economic functions and probably little or no religious role. Up to the 13th century (contemporary with the three 'administrative' buildings) sanctuaries were mainly small, often open-air and lacking impressive architecture.[105] However some undoubtedly had a significant economic role, and some sanctuaries such as Myrtou–Pigadhes, Alassa and Athienou have been postulated to have played an intermediate role between rural villages involved in primary production and larger centres, at least in some areas.[106]

TRANSITION TO THE IRON AGE

There is all too little evidence for how the administrative buildings evolved at the transition to the Iron Age. Many major sites were abandoned and those few which continued[107] have not yielded evidence for such buildings. Of the three extant 13th century administrative buildings, Maroni and Kalavasos were abandoned by the end of LC IIC, while Alassa continued in use in LC IIIA but not longer. Enkomi continued to flourish until being supplanted by Salamis where no evidence for palatial or administrative buildings has been uncovered. At Maa, an important building near the north wall of this defensive settlement had an ashlar façade, but is hardly palatial.[108] Towards end of the Bronze Age, sanctuaries (as known best from Kition)[109] became far more complex and monumental and took on a major economic role with associated industries and crafts, which was to continue into the Iron Age, but lack of evidence prevents us from comparing this with contemporary secular administrative centres, assuming such existed.

IRON AGE

The Iron Age kingdoms of the island[110] were powerful and sophisticated according to historical evidence, as confirmed by their sophisticated arts and magnificent 'royal' tombs. There is not a great deal of written evidence about their administration, especially for earlier parts of the period,[111] but it is abundantly clear that they were autocratic monarchies. It is tempting to assume that they must have had suitably impressive palaces,[112] and archaeologists have sometimes rushed to classify as a 'palace' even a very small corner of any substantial building of this period. Palaces or other administrative buildings might illuminate a number of important themes such as: continuity or discontinuity from the LBA; the course of political and social developments through this long period, including the formation of the kingdoms and the relationship of secular and sacred at a time when sanctuaries became vastly more powerful; and the new Phoenician, Persian and Greek influences that have to be taken into account. There are a few possible candidates for palatial or administrative buildings (at Soloi, Vouni, Polis/Marion, Kouklia/Palaepahos, Amathous, Idalion),[113] mostly incompletely excavated, and none of them going back to the earlier parts of the period.[114]

THE PALACE OF VOUNI

The only complete example of an Iron Age palace (FIG. 13.7), excavated in the late 1920s by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, belongs to a period late within the Iron Age (late CA II to early CC II, *c.* 500–380 BC) and is not located in the capital of any of the kingdoms, but in a very defensive position on the borderline of two of them (Soloi and Marion).[115] According to the excavator, the earlier phase of the palace is 'old Cypriot' or oriental in plan and was built by a pro-Persian ruler of Marion to keep an eye on rebellious Soloi. In a later phase, corresponding to pro-Greek rule at Marion, much was added (especially storerooms) and the arrangement of the 'state apartments' was changed to resemble a megaron. The excavator's interpretation emphasising Greek influence displayed in the later phase has been followed by many,[116] but very different views have also been put forward.[117]

Important features of the palace include: its position within a defensive wall, just below the sanctuary of Athena which occupies the top of the hill, but above some domestic buildings and surrounded by smaller shrines; impressive architecture with much ashlar masonry, an upper storey (in the later phases), wide doorways, columned porticoes, and Hathor capitals; and high status finds including sculpture and the 'treasure of Vouni'. At the core of the building are the spacious 'royal apartments' in which a visitor would have been impressed by the wide staircases, porticoed courtyard and large rooms around a central axis. Around these are grouped extensive ranges of kitchens, courtyards and storerooms. Numerous cisterns provided for the water supply. This fully excavated building provides an ample picture of the development of the architectural plan of a palace in the 5th to early

105 Webb 1999.
106 Keswani 1993, 77–9.
107 Iacovou 1989.
108 Building I (12.85 × 11.80 m); Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 9–14.
109 Karageorghis and Demas 1985.
110 For general background: Reyes 1994; Stylianou 1992; Iacovou 2002, 2005, 2008; Zournatzi 1996.
111 Cf. Yon 1989.
112 Cypriot kings' palaces are briefly mentioned in historical texts (Maier 1989, 19 n. 3).
113 See Maier 1989 for summaries and references for most of these.
114 Except for some evidence of CG III at Amathous (Petit 2001).
115 *SCE* III, 111–290; Gjerstad 1933.
116 E.g. Karageorghis 1982, 161–2.
117 Maier 1985, 36–7, with further references.

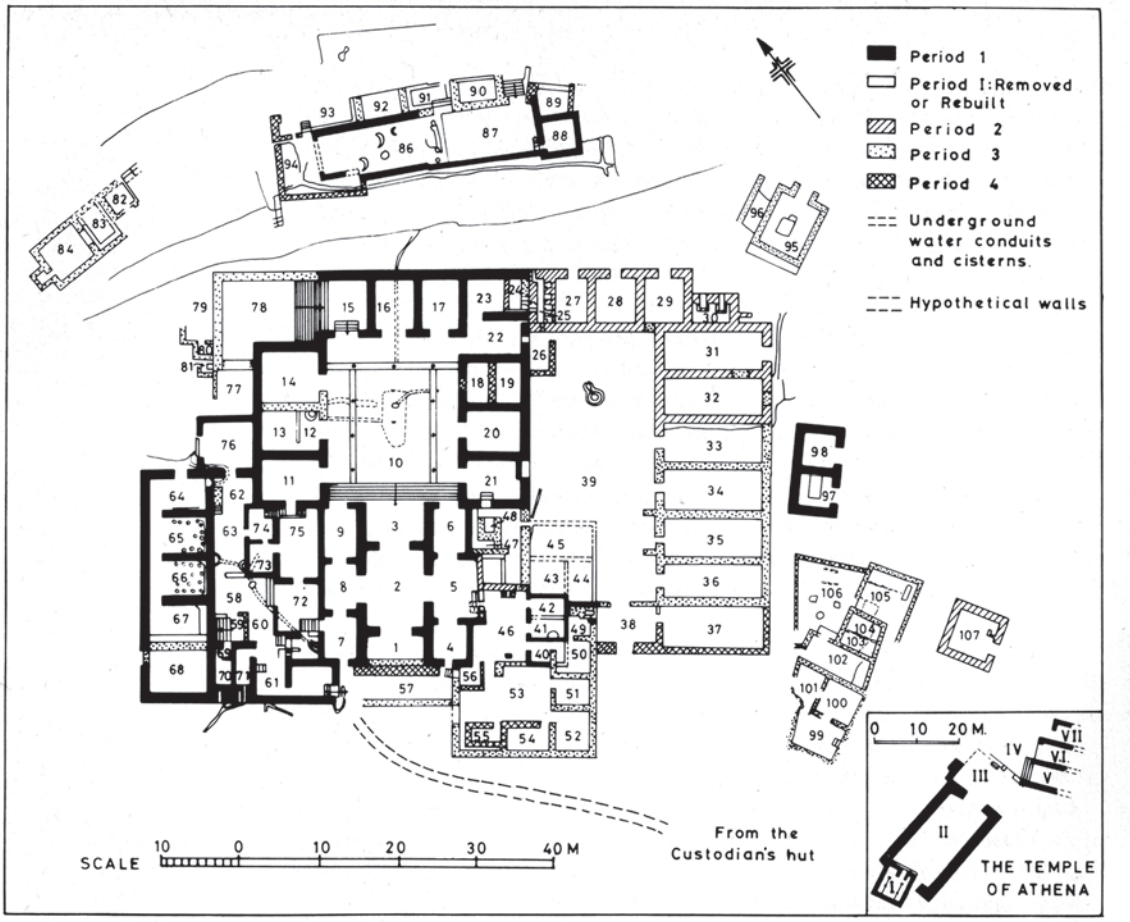

Fig. 13.7. The Palace of Vouni (CA II–CC I).

4th centuries, but its function was rather that of a border garrison than a palace at the centre of a kingdom.

OTHER SITES

All the other possible Iron Age palaces are incompletely known to varying degrees. A monumental 4th century building in a prominent site above the theatre at Soloi[118] was never fully excavated. A recently excavated part of a CA II (6th century) building at Polis (Marion) shows similar construction techniques to the palace of Vouni and other possible palaces. Its position at the edge of a plateau, close to the major sanctuary at Peristeries, commanding a major route to the nearby copper mines and overlooking contemporary elite cemeteries leads the excavators to tentatively suggest that it was 'a local seat of power, perhaps the seat of the dynasty that ruled the integrated state of Marion in the Archaic and Classical periods.'[119]

It would be particularly interesting to be able to trace palace(s) or other public buildings at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), where there was continuity of occupation (although manifested in very scattered locations) from the LBA until the Roman period, and the only kingdom in which the king combined the functions of king and high priest.[120] The very impressive monumentality of the sanctuary at the transition from the LBA might have given rise to a continued tradition. The relevant evidence again belongs only to later parts of the Iron Age. The partly excavated CA II (600–475 BC) 'Persian building' of fine ashlar masonry with drafted margins at Hadji Abdullah on the east side of Palaepaphos,[121] with a plan showing considerable eastern influence, has been interpreted as the residence of a Persian commander or as a 'palatial residence . . . built by one of the Paphian kings of the late 6th or early 5th century BC'.[122] A late 4th century peristyle building at nearby Evreti is considered as a 'public building of some importance' and possibly 'the successor of the ashlar palace on Hadji Abdullah'.[123]

118 Karageorghis 1974, 885–6, fig. 72.
119 Papalexandrou 2006, 235; 2008.
120 Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 49–283.
121 Schäfer 1960.
122 Maier 1989, 17, figs. 1–5.
123 Maier 1989, 17, figs. 6–8.

However, it is doubtful that either of these was the palace of the priest king.[124]

At Amathous a monumental building used in the Archaic and Classical periods is located halfway down the acropolis, below the sanctuary of Athena which occupies the summit. The quality of the architecture, the storerooms with numerous pithoi, and high status finds have prompted its identification as a palace (or a part of one: it does not include any 'royal apartments').[125] Limited test excavations have shown that its earliest floors date to the late 9th century (CG III), giving it the longest history of any of these Iron Age buildings.

At Idalion a corner of a possible 'palace' of the 5th–4th centuries was found on the North Terrace by the American excavations in the 1970s.[126] Adjacent to this, extensive recent work by the Department of Antiquities has revealed a monumental Phoenician administrative centre (late 5th–4th centuries) built on top of the destroyed foundations of an earlier palatial complex of Archaic to early Classical.[127] Numerous large pithoi, considerable traces of metalworking, very large-scale olive oil production, and extensive archives of Phoenician (and a few Cypro-syllabic) economic texts on ostraca provide ample proof of administrative activities.

Because of incomplete excavation, it is difficult to reach any conclusions concerning whether there was a pattern for an Iron Age Cypriot 'palace', or any other type(s) of administrative building, and if so, to what extent it may have been a local development, or showed other influences. All these buildings have in common a fairly monumental style of architecture, including ashlar masonry, wide well plastered walls, thickly plastered or paved floors, wide doorways, efficient drains and large cisterns. Nevertheless, their monumentality and the large scale storage, industry and archives which are evident in some cases demonstrate that they must have had important functions related to the economies of the kingdoms. All were placed in similar positions, always close to the major sanctuaries and normally below those which occupied the top of the acropoleis, but still well above the 'lower cities', overlooking these and the major routes leading from them. As most of these buildings do not go back to the earlier parts of the Iron Age, the question remains whether there were no palatial or administrative buildings in the early part of the period (when some would argue that the kingdoms did not yet exist), or whether they have not yet been found.

These possible palatial buildings were not the only monumental structures with economic/administrative functions. At the same time the major sanctuaries became much larger than before, with impressive architecture, complex administrations and associated industries, as known especially at Kition.[128] Unfortunately, many sanctuaries of this period are badly preserved (or badly excavated), and it is not yet possible to understand their relationship with the secular administrative centres. Another important expression of monumentality, which no doubt reinforced the power and prestige of the rulers, were the built tombs which are most spectacular at Salamis, but are found also at most of the centres of the kingdoms.[129]

All of the buildings discussed above were abandoned or destroyed at or shortly before the advent of the Ptolemies. The Ptolemaic administrative capital was soon moved from Salamis to Paphos. However, the capitals of the old kingdoms continued to thrive as cities, and there may have been continuity in the use of some elite or administrative buildings although little is yet known.

CONCLUSIONS

In Cyprus, the story of monumental administrative buildings is remarkable for its slow start, compared to any of the surrounding regions. Conditions of trade and developments in metallurgical technology may largely explain the sudden surge in urbanism and architectural expression of organisation in Cyprus in the 13th century. Even so, it is surprising that the Cypriots did not begin to emulate their nearest neighbours in the Levant sooner, but held to their own insular traditions for hundreds of years with notable obstinacy (a national characteristic then as now?). The buildings which did eventually appear do not precisely conform to the definition of a 'palace' in the Near East, Crete or Greece. However, they show considerable architectural sophistication, with evidence for concentration of economic resources, and some evidence for administration (seals, sealings, inscriptions) even if the Cypriot version lacks the large archives found elsewhere. The Cypriot LBA buildings are in a general way (although not, of course, in precise details) equivalent in size, quality of architecture and some of their functions to the smaller palaces of Crete, Mycenaean Greece or the Levant. Within Cyprus, consideration of these buildings must be closely related

124 New excavations by the University of Cyprus adjacent to the northeast gate and siege mound at Marcello and at other locations are currently revealing important further evidence about the ancient city. This may not have developed on a unified plan all enclosed within a city wall, but rather with sectors of special functions located on various plateaus and terraces separated by ravines (Iacovou 2010). Evidence for occupation dating back to the LBA has been found adjacent to the 'Persian building' at Hadji Abdullah.

125 Petit 1996, 2001.

126 Stager and Walker 1989, 5–13.

127 Hadjicosti 1997, 57–60; 2010.

128 Kition of course provides an extensive picture of a sanctuary complex for this period (Karageorghis 2005), with some textual evidence for its administration (Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977), but no possible palace has yet been found at this site.

129 Karageorghis 1967, 1973; Rupp 1988; Christou 1996.

to the nature of contemporary political organisation and the still unresolved issue of whether the island was ever unified as one kingdom: if so, its palace (if there was one) has not been found. For the Iron Age the situation is rather easier of explanation (even if clear examples of 'palaces' are few). The scale and fine architecture of the palaces (or possible palaces), eastern influences in some of their plans, and the storage and administrative capacity evidenced at some of them are just what we would expect in the Cypriot kingdoms which were flourishing in the outer orbit of the Neo-Assyrian and Persian empires.

The late development of monumental administrative buildings in Cyprus is remarkable enough by itself and especially in view of Cyprus's very close proximity to the Near East, but becomes almost embarrassing when we compare it with the much earlier, larger and more complex Old and New Palaces of Crete. If large islands have a tendency to function as their own universes, this can often (as with the evolution of insular pygmy or giant animal species) produce impressive, idiosyncratic architecture or monuments (prehistoric temples of Malta, nuraghi of Sardinia, Easter Island sculptures). For Crete, perhaps its more isolated geographical position further from the trade and empires of the Near East allowed it to develop its own very individual Bronze Age culture with corresponding expression in architecture, while at the same time its relative lack of natural resources encouraged the seeking of materials and ideas from far afield. For Cyprus, the island also in its own different way showed its insularity by holding to its own traditions despite close proximity to powerful neighbours and influences to the east. In the conditions of the Iron Age, however, Cyprus's location enabled its kingdoms and the institution of kingship to flourish with (perhaps, if we had enough evidence) suitable architectural expression of kingship and economic wealth. In this exercise of comparing the two islands, we must acknowledge that, with their different resources and geographic positions, there is no reason why their developments should have been the same; nevertheless, the degree of difference is remarkable, is difficult to fully explain and may always remain so. Rather, we may hope that attempts to compare and explain may throw a little light on ancient society in the eastern Mediterranean and ways of thinking about it.

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