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İçindekiler/Contents

Fikret K. Yegül <i>Closing Remarks on the III. International Symposium on Cilician Archaeology, 1-4 June 2002</i>	1
Ahmet Ünal <i>Hititler, Akdeniz ve Liman Kenti Ura</i>	13
Emanuela Borgia <i>Archaeology in Cilicia in the Ancient Travellers' Notes</i>	41
Sabine Fourier <i>Cyprus and Cilicia in the Iron Age : a Review of the Evidence</i>	79
Serra Durugönül <i>Archaic Cypriote Statuary in the Museum of Adana</i>	93
Ahmet Kaan Şenol-Gonca Cankardeş Şenol <i>Commercial Ties of Cilicia by Means of Hellenistic and Roman Amphorae</i>	119
Emel Erten <i>Glass Finds From OLBA Survey-2001</i>	145
İsa Kızgut <i>Silifke Müzesi Bronz Heykelciklerine Yansıyan Kilikya Tanrıları</i>	155
Marion Meyer <i>Divinities and their Images. Phenomena of Acculturation in Smooth Cilicia</i>	189
Ruprecht Ziegler <i>Asklepioskult und Kaiserkult im kilikischen Aigeai um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.</i>	205
Murat Durukan <i>Olba/Diocaesarea' daki Piramit Çatılı Mezar Anıtının Tarihlemesi Üzerine Yeni Bir Görüş</i>	219
Bilal Söğüt <i>Dağlık Kilikia Bölgesi Mezar Nişleri</i>	239
Eugenia Equini Schneider <i>Some Considerations on Elaiussa's North-Eastern Necropolis</i>	263

CYPRUS AND CILICIA IN THE IRON AGE: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE¹

(LEV. 6-7)

Sabine FOURRIER*

ÖZET

Demir Devrinde Kıbrıs ve Kilikia: Verilere Bir Bakış

E. Gjerstad'in otuzlu yıllarda yaptığı öncü yapıt sonrasında Demir Devrinde Kıbrıs ve Kilikia arasındaki bağlantılar hiçbir zaman ayrıntılı olarak yeniden çalışılmamıştır. Her iki bölgede de yapılan çok sayıdaki araştırma sonucunda elde edilen yeni veriler, her ne kadar hala başlangıç aşamasında olsa da yeni sonuçlara ulaşabilmemizi sağlamaktadır.

Bu bildiriye, Kıbrıs ve Kilikia arasındaki yakın bağlantıları gösteren yazılı gelenekten başlanarak, coğrafi, efsanevi, kültürel ilişkilerin yanısıra, arkeolojik veriler de ele alınmaktadır. Bunlar, başlıca üç başlık altında incelenmektedir: ithaller, taklitler ve paralel üretimler.

Bir bütün olarak ele alındığında, Kilikia'nın batı kesimi, Kalykadnos vadisine kadar olan bölge, doğu kesime oranla Ege ile daha yakın ilişkiler içinde görülmektedir. Kıbrıs'ta ise, kuzey ve batı kesimler, Salamis Anadolu anakarası ile adanın diğer bölgelerine oranla çok daha yakın bağlantıları yansıtmaktadır.

To someone studying commercial and cultural relationships between Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age, and more specifically during the Archaic period, Cilicia appears as a special case. Classical sources witness close and complex links between the two regions, but genuine Cypriote artefacts are relatively scarce in Cilicia and they don't match, as a whole, the *kypriaka* exported to the neighbouring countries, i.e. the coast of Asia Minor and the Phoenician mainland. On the other

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¹ I would like to thank Prof. Dr. S. Durugönül for inviting me to the Mersin symposium, and Sonia Argaud who revised a previous draft of this paper.

hand, there is an undisputable stylistic and iconographic proximity between Cypriote and Cilician productions, as demonstrated by ceramics, glyptics or even sculpture, which needs to be more closely examined.

I do not intend in this paper to review all evidence pertaining to this subject but only to sort out and classify different types of documents, in order to define the extension and modes of contact between the two regions, and ask a number of issues. Some methodological warnings are required. I have not been able to examine myself any of the so-called ‘Cypriote’ wares found in Cilicia. I am thus indebted to the diagnostic of the publications in which they appear. Anyway, no definite identification of local vs imported ceramics is to be expected without the help of scientific analyses. As far as I know, the databases are still very limited in both regions². In Cilicia, however, some kilns were discovered³, what is not the case in Cyprus. Finally, as most Iron Age excavations are quite recent in Cilicia and not yet completely published, all conclusions must remain provisional.

The literary tradition enables us to define three levels of relationships between Cyprus and Cilicia : geographical, mythical and cultural.

As expected, the first kind of links is expressed by geographers. The *Periplous* of the Pseudo-Skylax leads him from Cilicia to Cyprus : “Under Cilicia is the island of Cyprus” (*Periplous*, 103). Strabo gives more details, for example : “I have said somewhere that opposite to Anemourion, a cape of Cilicia Tracheia, is the promontory of the Cyprians, I mean the promontory of Krommyon, at a distance of three hundred and fifty stadia. Thence forthwith, keeping the island on the right and the mainland on the left, the voyage to the Cleides lies in a straight line towards the North-East, at a distance of seven hundred stadia.” (Strabo, XIV, 6, 3 = C 682).

The sea separating the Cilician coast from the island was thus frequently crossed, be it by troops (the Persians departed from Cilicia to repress the Cypriote insurrection at the time of the Ionian revolt, Herodotus, V, 108), fugitives (Evagoras, before becoming king of Salamis,

² In Cyprus, most studies have concentrated on the Late Bronze Age, cf. Jones, Catling 1986.

³ In Tarsus, cf. Hanfmann 1963. An Iron Age (?) kiln was discovered in Kilise Tepe, but apparently filled with imported ceramics (Postgate 1999).

seeks refuge in Soli, Cilicia, Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 27), or cargoes (as the same Evagoras raids boats supplying in grain the Persian troops garrisoned in Cyprus, the Persians have to sail off themselves with their entire fleet to transport grain from Cilicia to Cyprus, Diodorus, XV, 3, 1-3).

The mythical links concern two of the most salient Cypriote figures, Kinyras and Teukros. They both intervene in the foundation legends of important Iron Age cities, respectively Paphos on the Western coast, and Salamis on the Eastern coast of Cyprus. They are linked, as founding heroes, to the great divinities of those kingdoms, worshipped in two of the most famous sanctuaries of the island, the Aphrodite sanctuary at Kouklia-Paleapaphos and the Zeus sanctuary at Salamis⁴. They are also representative of the different populations living in the island in the Iron Age : Kinyras is an Oriental figure, related sometimes to the autochthonous population of Cyprus, the so-called “Eteocypriots”, sometimes to the Phoenicians, whereas Teukros is the Greek hero, brother of Ajax and son of the king of Salamis⁵.

Following Apollodorus (*Library*, III, 14, 3), the ancestors of Kinyras migrated from Syria to Cilicia and from there to Paphos. Demodokos (*Greek Anthology*, XI, 236) reports that “all Cilicians are bad men, but among the Cilicians the only good man is Kinyras, and Kinyras is a Cilician.”. According to one tradition (scholia to Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, II, 27-28), Kinyras is son of Paphia and Eurymedon : Paphia is one of the most frequent epithets of Aphrodite in Cyprus and her proper name in the famous sanctuary of Paphos⁶, whereas Eurymedon is, according to Stephanus, “a place close to Tarsus”.

In his *Geography* (XIV, 5, 10 = C 672), Strabo mentions the Cilician city of Olbe and its temple of Zeus, “founded by Ajax, the son of Teukros. The priest of this temple became dynast of Cilicia Tracheia ; and then the country was beset by numerous tyrants (...). And after the overthrow of those they called this country the domain of Teukros, and called the same

⁴ Maier, Karageorghis 1984 ; Karageorghis 1969.

⁵ For Kinyras, Baurain 1980 ; for Teukros, Yon, Chavane 1978, p. 31-91.

⁶ For this epithet in Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions, cf. Masson 1983, 234-240, 242-245, 249a (Chytroi) ; 262, 286 (Golgoi).

also the priesthood of Teukros ; and most of the priests were named Teukros or Ajax”. This dynasty of priestkings is well attested, through coins and inscriptions, until Roman times. They do not appear, however, before the Hellenistic period, what lead certain specialists to interpret this legend as a late reconstruction⁷.

It is interesting to remark that both figures are representative of kingship as well as priesthood, following a custom well attested in the Ancient Near East. It is explicitly said in the text of Strabo for Olbe and it is well known in Paphos, but only in Paphos, where inscriptions reflect this practice until the Hellenistic period, time of disappearance of the Cypriote kingdoms⁸.

Perseus should also be mentioned in this respect. The hero appears as a legendary ancestor of some Cilician dynasts⁹ and he occupies a salient position in the Cypriote Iron Age iconography, often mixed with other heroic and royal figures, such as Bes and Herakles-Melqart¹⁰. Besides, at Kourion the cult of a hero Perseutas is known through inscriptions¹¹.

The cultural links remain somehow obscure and difficult to interpret. Tacitus (*Histories*, II, 3-4) relates the visit of Titus to the sanctuary of Paphos, where he receives the revelation of his great destiny. It is the most explicit reference to an oracle of Aphrodite at Paphos, only attested in late sources¹², and the only certain allusion to an Aphrodite oracle, otherwise unknown in the Greek world¹³. According to Tacitus, the sanctuary was founded by Kinyras. Then a foreigner coming from Cilicia and called Tamiras introduced the art of divination, and it was agreed that the descendants of both families would preside over the sacred rites. But afterwards

⁷ Trampedach 1999. If this interpretation is correct, it is though remarkable that the Cilician dynasts seeked their Greek ancestors in the mythical history of Cyprus and not in the Cilician Mopsos' cycle.

⁸ On this problem, cf. Maier 1989.

⁹ Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, XVIII, 289-305. Chuvin 1981.

¹⁰ Karageorghis 1998, p. 97-102.

¹¹ Masson 1983, 181.

¹² Cf. Suetonius, *Titus*, V, 3, who relates the same episode, and Chariton, *Chaireas and Callirhoe*, VIII, 2, 7-9. Cf. Ribichini 1989.

¹³ Pirenne-Delforge 1994, p. 322-347.

the Kinyrads alone gave predictions by examining animals' entrails. The practice of divination is well attested in Cilicia, even if the methods differ from those of the Paphian sanctuary : the oracle of Mallos, reputed as one of the most reliable, gave responses by means of dreams (Plutarch, *The Obsolescence of Oracles*, 434 D ; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, LXXIII, 7) ; according to Cicero (*On Divination*, I, 92-94), the Cilicians interpreted, as the Arabians and the Phrygians, the flights and songs of birds. The name Tamiras may be attested in a toponym on a Phoenician inscription found in Cilicia¹⁴. Finally a liver model discovered at Enkomi proves that the practice of divination had been imported to Cyprus from the Syro-Hittite mainland already in the Bronze Age¹⁵.

Another allusion, concerning the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates by Kourion, is enigmatic. Strabo (XIV, 6, 3 = C 683) quotes the verses of a poet who says that hinds, animals sacred to Apollo, swam from Cilicia to the coast of Kourias. There is no point in criticizing, as Strabo does, the absurdity of the poem : of course Kourion does not lay opposite to the Cilician coast, and thus, as he writes, "there is no passage across the sea between the two places". But this legend must echo some kind of relationship between the cult of Apollo, as it was practiced in Kourion, and Cilicia. Representations of deer are quite common on Cypriote Iron Age vases, even if none is clearly inserted in a cultural context¹⁶. Besides, Aelian reports that deer seek refuge in the sacred precinct of Apollo on Curias¹⁷. On the Karatepe inscriptions, the Anatolian deer-god Runta is translated in Phoenician as Reshef¹⁸, an usual translation for Apollo in Cyprus¹⁹. The evidence remains slight but it tends to prove that there is some kind of historical truth in those legends.

Let's add, to put an end to this review of texts, that the existence of the same toponym, Soli, favoured many confusions between Cyprus and

¹⁴ Mosca, Russell 1987, p. 9. The link with the name of the Phoenician river Tamyras, though some times proposed, is not compelling (Bonnet 1996, p. 78).

¹⁵ Caubet, Courtois 1986.

¹⁶ Karageorghis, Des Gagniers 1974, p. 54-56.

¹⁷ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, XI, 7.

¹⁸ Bron 1979.

¹⁹ For example, Masson 1983, 216 (Tamassos), 220 (Idalion).

Cilicia. According to some texts, they both got their name from the Athenian legislator. Even if it derives in reality from a word designating a bulk of metals, as sometimes proposed²⁰, it would actually fit both places, renowned for their mines. The same is true for the word “solecism”, which alludes to a mixed population, on the margins of the Greek world²¹.

The archaeological evidence can be assigned to three rough categories : imports, imitations, and what could be called “similar” or “parallel productions”.

All imports do not have the same historical value and isolated finds should be carefully distinguished from series. Cilician imports to Cyprus are scarce. The only undisputable ones are the seals of the Lyre Player Group found at Ayia Irini, on the Northern coast of the island, some of which may be of local production, though²².

Genuine Cypriote imports to Cilicia are more numerous but they still form a meagre corpus. Some isolated finds may be mentioned, such as an unprovenanced seal, probably of Archaic date, in the Adana museum (Fig. 2)23. It bears on two superposed registers Cypro-Syllabic signs spelling the Greek name of Diphilos. As isolated is a terracotta figurine of a mother and child from Tarsus²⁴, which fits well in the production of a Cypriote workshop located at Lapithos, on the Northern coast of Cyprus²⁵.

The group of limestone Cypriote sculptures, mostly of late Archaic date, now housed in the Adana museum, is of too uncertain origin to allow any conclusion²⁶. If they were indeed exported to Cilicia in Antiquity, they remain quite isolated there. Comparable finds are however documented in North Syria and Phoenicia²⁷. We are on safer ground with the terracotta

²⁰ Jean 2001.

²¹ For Cyprus, *Greek Anthology*, XI, 146.

²² For a recent publication with all previous bibliography, Poncy *et al.* 2001, p. 11-14. For Cyprus, Reyes 2001, p. 68-71.

²³ Poncy *et al.* 2001, p. 18-20.

²⁴ Goldman 1963, pl. 155, 19.

²⁵ Yon, Caubet 1988.

²⁶ Cf. S. Durugönül, in this volume.

²⁷ For a review of the evidence, cf. Fourrier 2001.

figurines of Cypriote type discovered in the Western part of Cilicia, at Gözsüzce and Nagidos²⁸. They belong to a series of statuettes, either modelled or moulded, of Salaminian manufacture, which were widely distributed in the Aegean, especially in Naukratis and Eastern Greece, from Rhodes to Chios. Some identical finds are attested in Delos, for example (Fig. 3)²⁹. In most cases, the Eastern Greeks were responsible for the diffusion of these figurines, and they are thus not necessarily proof of direct contact between Cyprus and Cilicia. They could be redistributed from Rhodes or Samos. The latter is a very likely candidate as Kelenderis and Nagidos are reputed Samian colonies and the Göksü valley played an important role in the exchanges between Anatolia and the Greek world³⁰.

We are thus left with a paradoxal impression : though linked by their geographical proximity, the two regions, as far as the evidence of imports goes, seem to have experienced only casual contacts. The anthroponym Kilikas, well attested in Cyprus³¹, may reflect the interests of individuals who spent part of their life in Cilicia. But as their relatives, when known, have Greek names, it is likely that Kilikas is just a nickname, which does not imply any idea of ethnicity.

The imitations are also perplexing. A so-called “neo-Hittite” base with lions³², apparently discovered in a quarry on the Karpas peninsula, is completely isolated, without imported model and without other Cypriote sculptures of the same type.

A. Hermary rightly underlined the Cypriote style of the statues placed at the entrance of an Archaic tomb at Gülnar³³. The architecture of the tomb itself is paralleled in the so-called “Royal Tombs” of Tamassos. There are some differences though : no such free-standing human figures are known in Cyprus. It is nevertheless difficult to deny any Cypriote

²⁸ For Gözsüzce, Arslan 2001. I thank S. Durugönül for signaling me the discovery of such figurines during her excavations at Nagidos.

²⁹ Fourrier 1999.

³⁰ Cf. Desideri, Jasink 1990, p. 151-163.

³¹ Masson 1983, 87, 103, 136, 210, 251, 304, 336, 443.

³² Ussishkin 1972.

³³ In Davesne, Laroche-Traunecker 1998, p. 285-289.

influence on this monument. But as actual models are lacking, we do not know how this influence worked. We may suggest that the Cypriote artists travelled, and not their works. It is striking that in this case the Cypriote cultural impact touched the Cilician milieu, in a region somehow remote in the mountains, and not some place more open to foreign influences. Indeed, the Gülnar tomb is certainly the funerary monument of a local dynast who ordered for himself –but why and how?– a kind of sepulture typical of the Cypriote elite.

The last category, which I labelled “parallel productions” is maybe the richest of all.

Indeed, Cypriote and Cilician artists seem to share a common stylistic and iconographical repertoire. E. Gjerstad underlined close affinities between Neo-Hittite reliefs or statues and the “Proto-Cypriote” style, which he interpreted as the first phase of Cypriote sculpture but may in reality correspond to the Archaic production of the North-West Cyprus area³⁴. The affinities are sometimes striking. For example, a sculpture of Bes discovered in Palekastro, near Larnaca (Fig. 4), is best paralleled in the Bes carved on the Karatepe reliefs³⁵. The same figure appears on seals of the Lyre Player Group³⁶. There are many other similarities between this glyptic group and Cypriote Iron Age art. They both frequently use the motif of the lyre player. The representation of a seated deity drinking from an amphora is a well known Near Eastern theme, but quite out of date when it appears on seals and only paralleled on a lavishly decorated Cypriote amphora³⁷. A direct link is in most cases unlikely, and the similarity may result from a common cultural background.

It is ripe time to say a word about the perplexing problem of Iron Age Cypriote and Cilician ceramics. Many pots are published as “Cypriote imports” or “Cypriote type ceramics”, but they still look alien to genuine Cypriote production. This confusion may result, at least in part, from the use of the same terminology, as Black-on-Red, White Painted and

³⁴ Gjerstad 1948, p. 339-356.

³⁵ Hermary 1989, 593.

³⁶ Boardman, Buchner 1966, p. 47.

³⁷ Boardman 1990.

Bichrome. The opinions of specialists are often divergent. Some underline the importance of Cypriote imports, which prompted local imitations³⁸. The other reject completely the existence in Cilicia of Cypriote imports and consider that the influence, if there is indeed one, was reverse, from Cilicia to Cyprus³⁹. E. Gjerstad himself changed his mind : after having conducted a survey in Cilicia in the thirties, he concluded that Cypriote and Cilician painted pottery were two parallel lines of development from a common origin, the Mycenaean repertoire of the Late Bronze Age⁴⁰ ; some years later, after the Tarsus excavations, he revised his opinion and supposed that Cypriote imports gave impulse to the Cilician production : “The great number of sherds found on some sites (...) and the fact that a considerable quantity seems to be of local manufacture indicates that we do not have to deal with occasional and rare specimens of import, but both with mass imports and mass fabrication on the spot.”⁴¹. The problem is that mass imports, as far as I know, are lacking.

To start with facts, the kilns discovered in Cilicia prove that there was a local production of Iron Age painted ceramics of “Cypriote type”. Two different cases may be distinguished, which correspond to two different geographical milieux⁴². In Cilicia Tracheia, Cypriote imports seem numerous : let’s mention, for example, the White Painted IV jugs discovered at Kilise Tepe, which find exact parallels in Cyprus (Fig. 5)⁴³. Some similar finds are reported for Kelenderis⁴⁴. The characteristics of the Cypriote finds in this region –ceramics and terracottas– are the same as the ones in Rhodes, for example, and they suggest that Greeks, Cypriotes and Phoenicians were active on this Cilician coast, open to the exchanges with the Aegean. In Cilicia Pedias, on the contrary, Cypriote imports are scarce and most of the finds are of local production⁴⁵. There the Cypriote look of

38 Hanfmann 1963.

39 Mellaart 1955.

40 Gjerstad 1934.

41 Gjerstad 1948, p. 259-261.

42 For this distinction between two Cilician regions, cf. Desideri, Jasink 1990, p. 1-48.

43 Postgate 1999.

44 For a review of the evidence in this region, cf. Lafli 2001.

45 Hanfmann 1963 was compelled to suppose the installation of Cypriote potters, as genuine imports form in Tarsus a very meagre corpus when compared to the mass of local production.

many vases may not owe anything to direct Cypriote influence : as in North Syria, to quote J. Boardman, “it begins to look as though the Cypriote style in pottery had become something of a *koine* in this North-Eastern recess of the Mediterranean”⁴⁶. Cilicia Pedias and North Syria form in the Archaic period a kind of cultural unity, quite different from the cultural and economical orientations of Cilicia Tracheia.

This brief review of the evidence will certainly be completed and corrected by new discoveries and publications. There are more than one type of possible interpretations and we must be cautious when drawing conclusions. Parallel developments, direct and indirect contacts, all help to create particularly close but complex links between Cypriote and Cilician material civilization in the Iron Age.

When the Pseudo-Skylax described the coasts of Cyprus and Cilicia (*Periplous*, 102-103), he used similar expressions, labelling some places “Phoenician” and other “Greek cities”. Both regions experienced indeed some sort of common history, they shared a common cultural repertoire, inherited from the Late Bronze Age cultural *koine*, revived by the presence of mixed populations, but each kept its own identity. As far as Cilicia is concerned, two different zones may be distinguished, one –Cilicia Pedias– open to North Syria and the neighbouring great empires, the other –Cilicia Tracheia– more oriented towards the Aegean. In this last region, Cypriote imports –vases and terracotta figurines– match the finds from Rhodes, and some of them may have been transported by Greek merchants who stopped in Cyprus on their way to Cilicia. All regions of Cyprus did not participate to these exchanges in the same way either. Salamis excepted, the Northern and Western parts of Cyprus seem to be the more active places in the Archaic period, but Cypriote Iron Age regional productions have to be more carefully studied to allow more precise conclusions.

⁴⁶ Boardman 1999, p. 149. For a similar opinion about the finds from Kinet Höyük, cf. Gates 1999.

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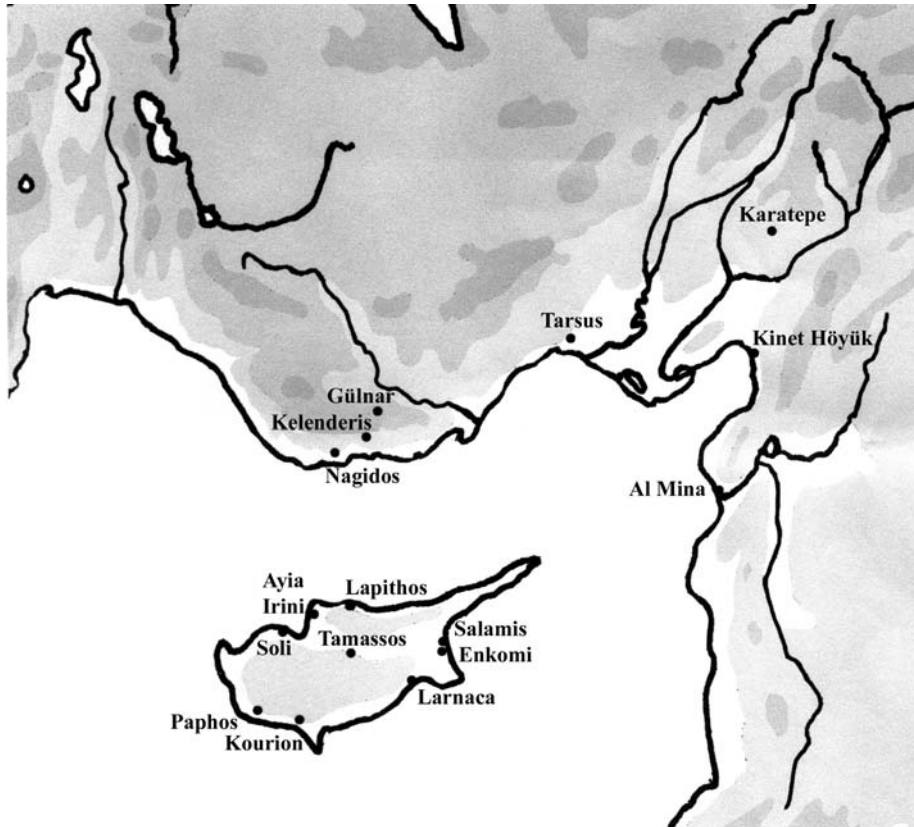


Fig. 1 Map of the Eastern Mediterranean (drawing J. Françoise).

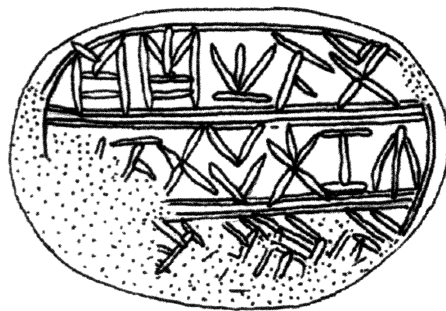


Fig. 2 Seal with a Cypro-Syllabic inscription (after Egetmeyer, M., in *Anatolie. Dossiers d'archéologie* 276, sept. 2002).



Fig. 3 Terracotta figurine from Delos (photo EFA, Ph. Collet).

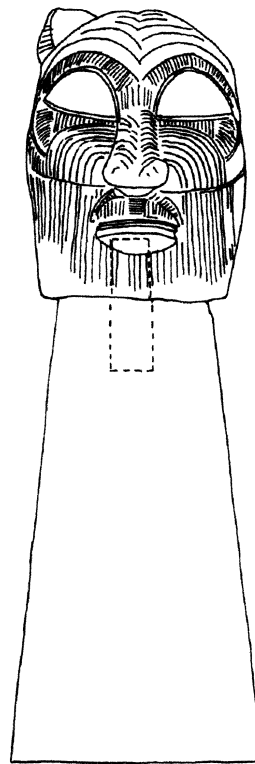


Fig. 4 Bes from Palekastro (after Hermary 1989, 593).

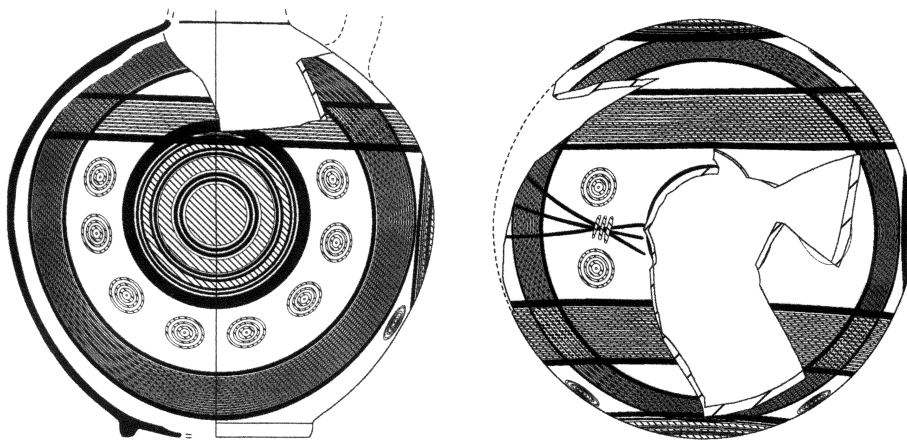


Fig. 5 Bichrome V jug from Amathus, Cyprus (drawing J. Humbert).