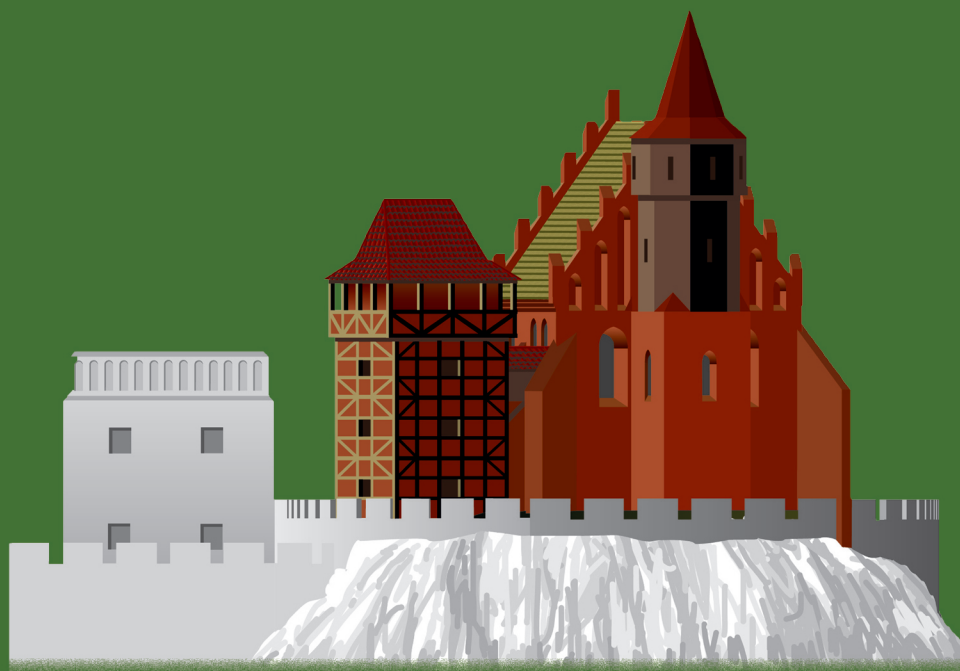


L'INSTITUT D'ARCHEOLOGIE
DE L'UNIVERSITE JAGIELLONNE
DE CRACOVIE

RECHERCHES ARCHEOLOGIQUES

NOUVELLE SERIE 2



KRAKÓW 2010

**L'INSTITUT D'ARCHEOLOGIE
DE L'UNIVERSITE JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE**

**RECHERCHES ARCHEOLOGIQUES
NOUVELLE SERIE 2**

KRAKÓW 2010

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EN COUVERTURE

L'Eglise StMichel et le monastère paulinien à Cracovie dans le début du XVIIe siècle
(la reconstruction par J. Poleski)

ADRESSE DE LA REDACTION

Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, ul. Gołębia 11, PL 31-007 Kraków
<http://www.archeo.uj.edu.pl/RechACrac/>

ISSN 0137-3285

Cette publication est financée aux moyens destinés à l'activité statutaire de la Faculté d'Histoire de
l'Université Jagellonne

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Sebastian Borowicz

The Cypriot economic system in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods. An analysis based on the ceramic evidence¹

Economy belongs to one of the most fundamental areas of human activity. This is a sphere which constantly influences other important subsystems such as culture, social structures or politics. One can also discover the actual framework of all historical processes while analyzing the economic conditions and mechanisms, which would not be able to function without it. Furthermore, every human action carries the potential stigma of economic circumstances, as the productive forces of man are always involved regardless of the cultural circle. Nevertheless, ancient economy, despite its elementary significance for the contemporary studies on ancient civilizations, has been overshadowed by a strictly historical approach, which focused primarily on the “history of events” – *histoire événementielle*, and yet – as Braudel writes – “le langage nous tente est celui que propose la *comptabilité nationale* des économistes. Nous voudrions faire les comptes de la Méditerranée du XVII^e siècle, non pour juger de

sa médiocrité ou de sa modernité relatives mais pour déterminer les rapports essentiels de ses masses d’activité les unes par rapport aux autres, ensemble pour saisir les structures majeures de sa vie matérielle. Opération difficile, aléatoire” (Braudel 1988, 384). In the scholarly tradition the Greek *Weltanschauung* has been considered as extremely static, afraid of change; and saturated with the desire for stability, especially in the area of politics (Janik 2007, 9). For an ancient Greek, notions such as *he metabole*² and *kinesis*³ almost always meant change for the worse. As a result, the civilization of the Classical period did not invent the idea of progress, especially in the economic sense. “Whatever change was taking place was not powerful enough to break through the barrier that impeded its perception. Hence, no consciousness of processual dynamism could evolve” (Meier 1990, 181). This apprehension was further aligned with a “tragic” fear, since the transition from one world to another was a great human drama constantly waiting for display, as Braudel writes figuratively in the context of the basic

¹ The following summary is based on the PhD dissertation written under the supervision of professor E. Papuci-Władyka, in the Chair of Classical Archaeology at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. The dissertation was reviewed by prof. dr hab. W. A. Daszewski (University of Warsaw) and senior dr hab. K. Nowicki (Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw).

² the “change” is understood here in terms of its political sense; the change resulting from a certain action.

³ motion, the change which indicates any kind of disturbance.

contrast between the “particular moment” and the “time flowing slowly”. The issue of transformation should always be placed in the context of such a collision of two times or two perspectives: the human perspective, is always short and concrete and of the *longue durée* perspective, observable only from the perspective of slow social change ruled by the impact of the so-called “deep processes”. In Cyprus, the end of the 4th century B.C., was a moment of such a “tragic”, *cumulative change*. It was a moment of a structural break, a transition, a crack. Pygmalion – the king of Kition, Stasioikos – the king of Marion, Praxippus – the king of Lapethos, the unknown ruler of Kyrenia, and Nicocles, the last king of Paphos, were deposed or murdered at that time. The Cypriot kingdoms – political organisms formed already in the early Iron Age – disappeared suddenly. The political and administrative framework of the “shallow structure” vanished almost in a moment (*cf. infra* level A). Slowly, with time, the *koinon kypriion* emerged in its place. This entirely new structure (in political, administrative, and economic terms) was based, however, on foreign patterns of the Greek *polis*. As a result, there was a discontinuity in the long-term cycle of the system life. Nevertheless, this break did not affect “everyday” history, which involved the fate of particular people born in a steady and – as one would expect – “eternal” order. The political, social and cultural reality which had been well known to many past generations collapsed before lives of those people came to an end. The concepts of *continuity* and *discontinuity*, both derived from social sciences, are of key importance for the proper comprehension of change because various transformations were occurring constantly in the structure of the economic system of Cyprus (especially in this layer of the system, where the formation of long-term economic processes took

place). While evaluating these structures at the turn of two major historical periods, one should consider them just in terms of continuity and discontinuity, because “our time, which we experience and live, which brings back the seasons, makes the roses bloom, and marks our passing years also marks the hours of the existence of a whole variety of social structures, but at quite a different pace. All the same, however slowly they may age, they too must change and die in the end” (Braudel 1982, 89).

The turn of the 4th and 3rd century B.C. (i.e. the transitional phase), is the time of such *metabole politeion*, the time of great political change in Cyprus. As T. Mitford wrote a few decades ago, „38 years between Issus and the restoration of Ptolemaic sovereignty in 295 B.C. saw great changes seemingly than did any other known period in the island’s history. In the place of a despotic kingship republican institutions were [...] rapidly and widely introduced. The *koinon* and the post-Euclidean alphabet now superseded for all official uses the ancient Cypriot dialect and the syllabary. Cyprus was, in effect, brought abruptly into line with contemporary Hellenistic civilization” (Mitford 1953, 88)⁴. The significant changes of the last two decades of the 4th B.C., which seem to us a rushing river of interrelated facts and events, were in fact nothing more than just an “ordinary life” for people who lived in that particular period and who were entangled in a charmed circle of their own small businesses. Hence, many problems have to be viewed from a much broader perspective than this period of forty years. Only such an extensive approach will allow us to perceive change, especially in the field of economy.

⁴ Nevertheless, the process of introduction of *polis* type institutions was not rapid and wide as Mitford suggests. It took almost a century to establish full republican structures in Cyprus.

A comparative analysis of processes that are spread even over whole epochs is necessary, so that, one can grasp what escapes those who look solely through the prism of “everyday” history. A new kind of insight into the history of Cyprus should be applied here, different from the one typically used in the practise of archeology. While researching the economic behaviour one should look through the prism of the Braudelian concept of *longue durée* and secular cycles operating over centuries, in order to observe the discrete changes in the “life” of Cyprus undergoing its historical evolution “from the monarchy to markets” at the end of the 4th century B.C.⁵

Methodological approach and research paradigm

The methodological approach was based on the systemic paradigm, which proved to be very helpful in case of research focused on the economic systems of the ancient world. Economy did not constitute a separate or an independent domain of human activity at that time, but it was dependent on the structures of many other systems, such as the social system, political system or religion. Another important reason for the application of the theory of systems in historical economics is the possibility of a synthetic and simple presentation of conclusions based on the analysis of a large number of sources. One can examine then the significant relationships between relevant variables (elements of the system structure), as well as reconstruct the economic processes with the resulting mappings. The systemic paradigm has also a large ordering value when one approaches economic processes. This is extremely important because of the large number of different sources included

in the dissertation (literary, epigraphic, archaeological, historical, geographical).

Research questions

The systemic approach was also imposed by the character of the raised research questions. They are as follows:

- A. Are there any crucial limits of the economic structure development at the turn of the 4th and 3rd B.C., or is there a continuity of economic processes (a constant progress)? The royal capitals of Cyprus became *polis* type centres (with a limited autonomy and municipal government); did that change influence markedly the production and distribution system as well as market’s structure of the island?, *cf.* works by L. Robert and Ph. Gautier, where a great vision of the constant grow of the *polis* structure is suggested in the 4th and 3rd B.C.
- B. How did the trade and commerce networks change? This issue requires analysis based upon the model of pottery distribution during the period of Persian domination (semi-independent kingdoms), the period of unification (under the reign of Evagoras I) and the early Ptolemaic period.
- C. What was the role of Cyprus as the intermediary area between Alexandria, Rhodes and Syro-Palestine? Relations with Egypt and the Seleucid kingdom are of particular importance here (the range of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid economic infiltration on Cyprus, the exchange with Syro-Palestine after Ptolemy I’s final invasion).
- D. How much (if anything) of the post-Classical markets and economic structure survived in the Hellenistic period (what was the change of the Cypriot economic position in the Eastern Mediterranean in relation to Ptolemaic domination)?

⁵ The phrase “from the monarchy to markets” derives from A. Berlin (1997).

Economic variables and the structure of the system

To approach the above raised issues, the author accomplished a model reconstruction of the economic structures of Cyprus first. The model is based on a broad spectrum of sources and encompasses the characteristics of all available data which might attest facts that had an important impact on the system in its global sense, that is those about which we can say that they are relevant variables from the perspective of economic behaviour. They are:

- A. Exogenous variables: defined as independent variables that affect a model (system) without being affected by it; here we can distinguish such factors as time, space (environmental and geographical factors), *politeia* (administrative structure), social structure, *histoire événementielle* and infrastructure (roads, ports, settlement structure).
- B. Endogenous variables: defined as dependent variables generated within a model (system) and, therefore, variables which value is changed (determined) by one of the functional relationships in that model (system); these include processes and economic mechanisms (*he emporiki techni* – the deep-sea trade, the

pseudo-market mechanism, money and prices, *ta emporika chremata*, the places of exchange like *agorai* and *emporia*), the operators of production (households and farms, craft workshops, state monopolies) and the operators of distribution (*emporoi, kapeloi, agoraios anthropus*).

The relevant variables (both exo-and endogenous) form three basic levels of the economic structure (economic reality) in Cyprus. They are (table 1; fig. 1):

- the level of shallow structure (A): units which by their existence ensure the occurrence of the economic processes, i.e. *politeia*;
- the level of deep structure (C) – economic operators;
- the level of intermediate structure (B) – a distributive space displayed as a kind of interaction between the shallow structure (A) and the deep structure (C).

The space-time was displayed by a three-dimensional effect (B) in the model (fig. 1). The inputs and outputs of the system (the so-called gates of the system) were marked as black dots in the shallow structure (A). They are all located in the channels of movement of goods and resources which lead “to” and “out” of the system; their position and

Table 1. The distribution of relevant variables in the structure of the model of the economic system

| LEVELS OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE | RELEVANT VARIABLES | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---|--|
| | EXOGENOUS VARIABLES | | ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES |
| | NON ECONOMIC | ECONOMIC | ECONOMIC |
| SHALLOW (PRIMARY) A | • politeia | • time • space • technical infrastructure | – |
| INTERMEDIATE (SECONDARY) B | – | – | • economic processes and mechanisms |
| DEEP (SECONDARY) C | – | – | • operators of production • operators of distribution |

number reflect the number of major Cypriot port cities – *poleis aksiologoi*. The level B is the dynamic level of exchange mechanisms which was separated from the general model for individual analysis based on pottery findings (fig. 2). It consists of four horizontal layers⁶ and four vertical interlayers⁷ of economic activity. The horizontal rectangles mark different layers of settlement structure, which agglomerate particular operators between which the movement of goods occurs (distribution). The following layers shall be distinguished:

Main horizontal layers (compatible with ancient sources):

- *layer 1* which consists of primary sites = πόλεις αξιόλογοι/“important cities” or “populous cities”; Diodorus (XVI, 42, 4) mentioned nine such centres for the late Classical period in Cyprus. According to the position of these cities in the exchange system, we can classify them as centres of the first grade (capitals of the Cypriot kingdoms/harbours/entrepôt ports/large towns with harbours): Marion, Soloi, Lapethos, Salamis, Amathous, Kition, Paphos, Kourion, Kyrenia; the redistributive function in the system;
- *layer 2* consists of secondary sites = μικρά πολίσματα/“small towns which were suburbs of the nine cities”; Diodorus (XVI, 42, 4). According to the position of these cities in the exchange system, we can classify them as centres of the second grade;

Supplementary horizontal layers:

- *layer 3: chora* – it assembles villages and local sanctuaries, both of which are local production centres;

⁶ The term “horizontal layer” indicates a section which assembles centres situated on the same level of the economic structure.

⁷ The term “vertical layer” indicates section of pottery circulation (in- or outflow) which links centres situated on different levels of the economic structure (e.g. main centres and small sites). This shall allow to describe the depth of the economic penetration inland.

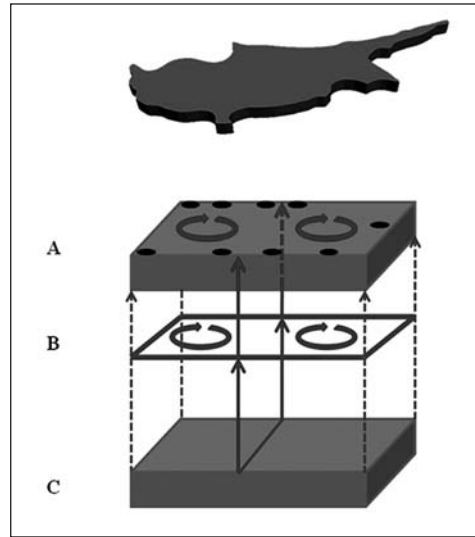


Fig. 1. The general model of the economic system of Cyprus

- *layer 4*: it is the external surface of the meta-system, which intersects the external trade routes and external distribution channels.

Vertical interlayers:

The vertical rectangles signify the levels of mutual interrelation. There are four such conventional vertical interlayers (L1–L2; L1–L3; L1–L4; L2–L3), which reflect just directions of economic relations between particular layers. Each of these interlayers constitutes an unlimited network of commercial connections between particular centres.

The arrows indicate the direction of the resources' distribution (horizontal layout = circulation, vertical layout = inflow). The full line indicates imported goods, the dash line indicates local resources. Theoretically, the network of economic interrelations could be multiplied infinitely because of an extensive complexity of possible interactions between centres which have to be taken under consideration here

(an unlimited number of commercial connections). Hence, in the perfect model, we would have to assume all possible interrelations as well as check all possible directions of the pottery inflow and outflow. Nevertheless, only some directions of the microeconomic processes can be clearly stated on the basis of the archaeological data.

The model defines a system of circulation of goods according to certain microeconomic interrelations on the island. The author set apart five (1–5) separate (however, partly conventional) regions of increased economic activity. This division corresponds to: (1) the historical division of Cyprus into kingdoms; (2) the late Classical and Hellenistic road system; and (3) some general geographical conditions. The analysis of the ceramic material was performed for each region of Cyprus individually (the list of regions greatly covers the late

Classical network of Cypriot kingdoms, known both from Scylax and Diodorus). Each region of increased economic activity was analysed separately (particularly when establishing relations between the capital of the region and smaller centres), but also in relation with the neighbouring territories (relations between capitals).

The assumed local network of economic distribution consists of the following regions:

1. Northern Cyprus: Soloi, Chytri, Lapithos, Kyrenia, Ledra;
2. Western Cyprus: Paphos, Marion;
3. Southern Cyprus: Kourion, Amathous, Kition;
4. Eastern Cyprus: Salamis, Karpasia;
5. Central Cyprus: Idalium, Tamassus.

The following issues related to the production and distribution of pottery were

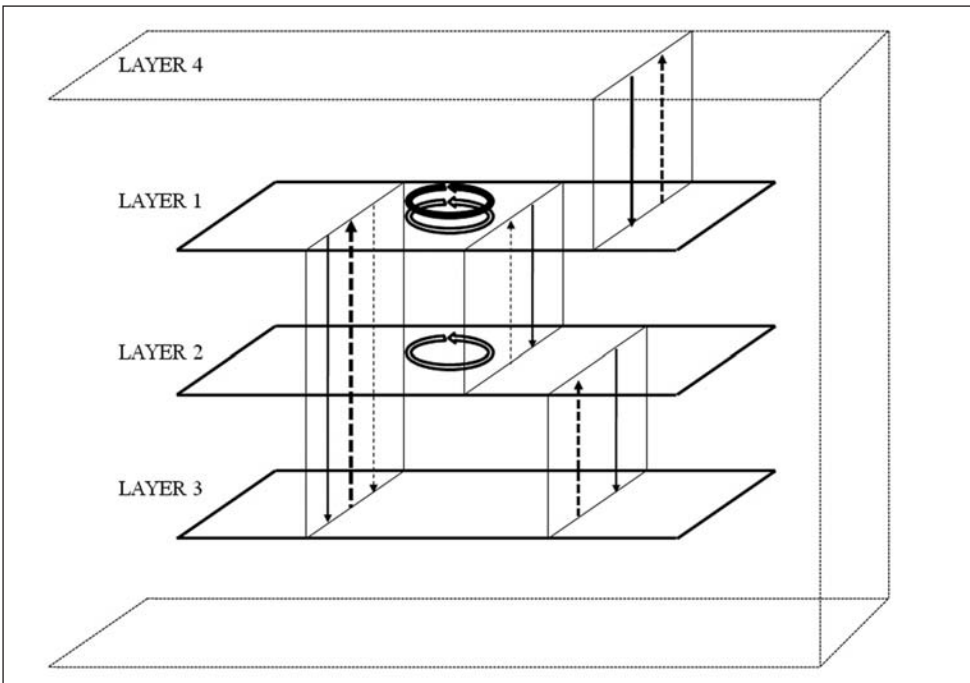


Fig. 2. Model of the intermediate level (B) of the economic system of Cyprus

researched for the purpose of verification of the B-model structures:

- a) the distribution of imported fine pottery;
- b) the distribution of imported transport amphorae;
- c) the distribution of local transport amphorae;
- d) the production and standardization of local pottery;
- e) the distribution of local table pottery (selection of diagnostic forms).

The issues mentioned above serve simultaneously as indicators (economic variables) reflecting the changes which occurred in the economic system. The pottery material was used as a data medium (an economic content carrier) here. The process of pottery circulation (inflows and outflows of ceramic material), which involves also such elements as differentiation into particular wares, was prepared for non-Cypriot pottery and Cypriot pottery separately.

Conclusions

The extensive analysis of various literary, historical and archaeological sources allows us to present the economic system of the late Classical and early Hellenistic Cyprus as being characterized by the following features:

1. The primary role of port cities (*poleis aksiologoi*), which served simultaneously as places of exchange and the gateways of the system;
2. The port cities (gates) had an unequal position in the system;
3. A significant role of the cabotage trade; the political and economic life developed along the coast line (the so-called gulf economies);
4. The division of the island into the “rich” coast, which participated in the Mediterranean “life” and the “poor” interior reduced to the role of the raw material base;
5. The existence of two parallel economic cycles: the first is one closed and internal cycle associated with what we might call a “household economy”. The local markets (*panegyris agora*) could play a significant role there already since the fourth century BC; the other one is the “open cycle”. It was connected with regular urban markets (*emporia*) situated in the well-developed port cities;
6. The limited movement of resources between *poleis aksiologoi* and *chora*. The coastal cities were the biggest centres of consumption in the system, however, during the period of city kingdoms, the distribution of resources proceeded from the interior of the island (*chora*) to the coast (port cities). The index of redistribution was relatively low. In the Hellenistic period, this situation changed due to the redistributive function of Ptolemaic monarchy (e.g. euergetism), which resulted in a substantial expansion of the urban structures and a development of the settlement pattern;
7. The basic role of Cypriot sanctuaries, which also functioned as local centres of economic life including an extensive sphere of “industrial” production (metals, textiles) and agriculture (cf. *ek Kyprou sitos*, Andocides, *On his return*, 20);
8. The autarkic nature of Cypriot kingdoms which had a direct access to the sea;
9. The “life” of the economic system of Cyprus was defined by the half-year cycle, which was further divided into the “summer time” (the time of the opening of the system, of the exchange and visits of merchants from Greece and Levant) and the “winter time” (the time of stagnation in the sphere of exchange with the outside world). The second cycle was accompanied by the shift of economic activity from the coast of Cyprus to the

inland, where the production of metals and textiles was continued. Such a division determined the economic life of the island and whole the Mediterranean.

Furthermore, in terms of transformation of the system, we might conclude that:

1. At the turn of the 4th and 3rd century B.C. (over the so-called *courte durée*), no significant break is visible in the development of the economic structure of Cyprus. It appears that the economic transformation was not a drastic process. The major changes were taking place gradually, in parallel to the process of slow development of new administrative structures throughout the 3rd century B.C. The new system became firmly established at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., when the importance of Salamis and Kition significantly decreased; while Paphos became the most important political and economic centre on the island;
2. The changes that occurred in the economic structure of Cyprus influenced mostly the large coastal cities that were the local centres of the late Classical system;
3. In the sphere of internal relations, the traditional division of Cyprus into the western isolated part and economically well-developed eastern part vanished. This change marked also the end of the system rooted in the period of the

Cypriot kingdoms and it was a start of a new economic structure in the late Hellenistic period – the *koinon kypriou*. The process of transformation of the post-Iron age economy exceeded the intermediate phase (310–280 B.C.), and spread over the 3rd century B.C.

To sum up, every economic system can be studied from the perspective of its structure the relationship between its items. One can also focus attention on the (self)development of the system, as well as on the coordination (in time and space) of behaviour of significant variables. Nevertheless, in this research, particular emphasis was placed on the process of development of the system and the problem of its discontinuation in relation to the evolution of variables relevant for its structure. The author focused on the processes of *transformation* and *dynamic nature* which are immanent to all systems. This is due to the author's general conviction about the sharp and artificial division between "Classical" and "Hellenistic" in the post-Droysen world. Once again, it turned out that the Braudelian concept of *longue durée* ignores such artificial divisions and runs its own path of slow changes, long fluctuations and short crises. In Cyprus, in the economic sense which ignores *in actu* the achievements of Alexander the Great, the Hellenistic period began for good at the end of the 3rd century B.C., when Paphos was became the capital of Ptolemaic Cyprus.

Cypryjski system ekonomiczny w okresach późnoklasycznym i hellenistycznym.

Analiza oparta na studiach nad ceramiką

Przełom IV i III w. przed Chr., to czas zwany przez greckich historyków *metabole politeion* – okres wielkich przemian ustrojowych. Na Cyprze to moment politycznego pęknięcia. Znikają orientalne monarchie – organizmy polityczne ukształtowane jeszcze w początkach epoki żelaza. W to miejsce wchodzi stopniowo cypryjska *koine* – struktura oparta o obce kulturowo wzorce greckiej *polis*. W języku ekonomistów możemy powiedzieć, że następuje dyskontynuacja w długofalowym cyklu

funkcjonowania całego metasystemu przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu ciągłości historii „wydarzeniowej” – codziennej, w którą uwikłane były losy konkretnych ludzi, urodzonych w pewnym ustalonym porządku kulturowym i gospodarczym. Uległ on jednak zmianie, a nawet załamaniu, zanim dobiegło ich życie. Głównym celem prezentowanej rozprawy doktorskiej była próba analizy porównawczej systemu ekonomicznego Cypru na przełomie dwóch wielkich epok historycznych. Za kluczową zmienną przyjęto ceramikę (najpowszechniejszy typ źródeł archeologicznych). Wstępny etap analizy polegał na zarysowaniu ogólnej charakterystyki struktur systemu ekonomicznego Cypru w oparciu o rozbudowaną ramę źródeł historycznych, tak aby poddane następnie badaniu dane ceramiczne można było umieścić w pewnym określonym kontekście gospodarczym. Wyniki badań zostały zaprezentowane w postaci (a) rozbudowanych schematów/modeli prezentujących ogólne zmiany w strukturach gospodarczych systemu na poziomie makroekonomicznym oraz (b) szeregu modeli szczegółowych prezentujących zamiany na poziomie struktur dystrybucyjnych systemu. Szczególny nacisk, jaki został położony w rozprawie na: (a) rozwój systemu ekonomicznego i problem jego dyskontynuacji, (b) procesy transformacji i (c) dynamiczną naturę immanentną wszystkim systemom wynikał z ogólnego przeświadczenia o sztuczności utartych podziałów i schematów wytyczających ostre granice w post-Droysenowskim świecie idei tego co „klasyczne” i „hellenistyczne”. Po raz kolejny okazało się, że Braudeliańska koncepcja *longue durée* ignoruje te sztuczne podziały wytyczając w przestrzeni gospodarczej antyku własną ścieżkę swoich powolnych i leniwych przemian, „trendów sekularnych”, „cykli ponadstuletnich”, „długich fluktuacji” i krótkich kryzysów. Na Cyprze w sensie ekonomicznym – „ignorującym” *in actu* dokonania Aleksandra Wielkiego – okres hellenistyczny zaczyna się więc na dobre dopiero z końcem III w. przed Chr., kiedy stolicą ptolemejskiego Cypru zostaje Pafos.

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