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Death, Prestige, and Copper in Bronze Age Cyprus

PRISCILLA SCHUSTER KESWANI

Abstract

From the mid third through the second millennium B.C., Bronze Age communities in Cyprus underwent important social transformations in conjunction with migration, changes in subsistence and technology, the development of a major copper industry, and the emergence of town-centered polities engaged in metallurgical production and long-distance trade. This paper examines mortuary evidence from the formative Early–Middle Cypriot Bronze periods (or the prehistoric Bronze Age) in order to explicate the ways in which social changes were expressed in ritual practices and, reflexively, the ways in which economic and sociopolitical developments were influenced by the dynamics of ritual performances. It is demonstrated that an elaborate suite of funerary rites involving multiple phases of mortuary treatment, collective burial, and costly prestige displays developed during these periods. It is argued that because these rites came to involve both extravagant and escalating levels of copper consumption in some communities, the social and ideological concerns enacted in mortuary practice created an important internal stimulus for the intensification of copper production and the development of local copper exchange networks. This, in turn, helped promote the development of a provisional infrastructure for the rise of elite-dominated, urban copper emporia during the Late Cypriot Bronze Age. Concurrently, the growing importance of exotic valuables within the prevailing prestige system served as an incentive for emergent elites to establish coastal centers in order to control the trade in copper and imported goods.*

INTRODUCTION

In traditional preindustrial societies, the commemoration of the dead through ritual and symbolic representations such as monuments is frequently a central preoccupation of communal life. Funerals may go beyond fulfilling the practical requirements of disposing of dead bodies and addressing the emotional and social repercussions of death. They

may also serve as important occasions for negotiating social hierarchies, affirming social alliances, and expressing (through performance and material symbolism) certain sanctified propositions about the relationships between individuals and groups, between groups and their ancestors, and, ultimately, between the ancestors and the order of the cosmos.¹

There are complex relationships existing between a social order as represented in mortuary practice and the actual hierarchy of power prevailing in contemporary social life. A major tenet of early archaeological forays into mortuary analysis was that the details and relative elaboration of the treatment accorded to the dead would be strongly influenced by the social status and persona of the deceased.² But the dead do not bury themselves, and while ideologies of death, customary practice, and the specific wishes of the deceased may dictate the broad outline of a funeral, mortuary rites are, in the end, social performances staged by the living. Even as the survivors honor and celebrate the deceased, they may also embroider or deny certain dimensions of the dead person's past identity, since the honors accorded to the dead will inevitably reflect upon the status of the funeral's sponsors.³ Consequently, mortuary treatments are not isomorphic representations of the social organization in any specific period of time. Rather, they are expressions of the social order as contemporary human actors have chosen to portray it. Understanding the social structures and cultural meanings associated with ancient mortuary practices is, therefore, strongly contingent upon our knowledge of the broader historical context in which those practices were enacted.⁴

*I am very grateful to Naomi J. Norman and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions about this article. I also thank Paul Åström for permission to reproduce drawings from his (1972) publication.

¹ The ethnographic literature is, of course, vast. Some key references include Radcliffe-Brown 1922; Malinowski 1925; Hertz 1960; Goody 1962; Bloch 1971; Weiner 1976, 1980; Forman 1980; Traube 1980; Bloch and Parry 1982; Metcalf 1982; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984; Watson and Rawski 1988; Damon and Wagner 1989; Kan 1989; Metcalf and Huntington 1991.

² Saxe 1970; Brown 1971; Binford 1972; O'Shea 1981, 1984.

³ Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Morris 1987, 39; Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 150.

⁴ The term "context" has multiple implications. Parker Pearson's (1984) and Cannon's (1989) discussions of cyclical changes in mortuary symbolism emphasize the importance of understanding any given mortuary complex in relation to the earlier and later mortuary practices of the society in question. Context also encompasses sociopolitical organization as inferred from independent, nonmortuary lines of evidence (e.g., the extent to which variations in domestic architecture support or conflict with interpretations of social stratification in funerary data) (Bloch 1971, 112–3; Parker Pearson 1984, 71; Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 110). In addition to these elements of local context, information concerning the regional historical or macroprocessual context (developments in demography, technology, economy, and sociopolitical environment) helps to elucidate the cultural significance or meaning of specific mortuary practices.

As the prescriptions of mortuary tradition are interpreted by individuals acting within specific contexts of local meaning, both the characteristics of those traditions and the ideological significance ascribed to them are subject to ongoing revision. Mortuary ritual is a potentially dynamic cultural forum where living participants may affirm or contest aspects of contemporary social structure; where monuments, cemeteries, and other repositories of social memory⁵ are subject to continuing reinterpretation; and where traditional forms of symbolism may be perpetually modified as participants create new ways of representing prestige and social identity.⁶ In turn, the ramifications of mortuary ritual (and of changes in mortuary ritual) may extend far beyond the actual funerals into other realms of social and economic life. Rather than being confined to an isolated sphere of cultural activity, ritual actions may produce both intended and unintended consequences for sociocultural transformations. This is especially relevant in cases where mortuary rituals are key occasions for the construction of group sociopolitical identities and/or where they involve levels of expenditure that affect the larger economy.

Although incomplete and imperfect in many respects, the mortuary record of Bronze Age Cyprus is nonetheless a rich source for insight into how Cypriot communities constituted their social life in the midst of ongoing cultural change. In this paper, I focus on evidence from the prehistoric Bronze Age, encompassing the Philia facies⁷ and the Early–Middle Cypriot (EC–MC) periods (see table 1 for chronology), when traditional modes of

subsistence production and economy were transformed by the introduction of a cattle-and-plow complex, related elements of the secondary products revolution, the spread of copper metallurgy, and other technological innovations. These developments may have been associated in part with episodes of colonization from the Anatolian mainland, a phenomenon that, in and of itself, would have created a more complex social landscape on the island.⁸ In conjunction with these changes, a distinctive complex of mortuary ritual emerged and became progressively elaborated, involving the use of extramural cemeteries, rock-cut chamber tombs and pit tombs, secondary treatment and collective burial, and substantial outlays in material display. The related funerary celebrations, in which the dead were transformed into powerful immortal ancestors, must also have served as important occasions for the negotiation of social prestige, the expression of social identity, and the creation or reaffirmation of social alliances between the groups participating in the rituals. Consequently, in the course of mortuary rituals, the social relationships among individuals in the living community and between communities in the larger social landscape could have been periodically realigned.⁹

The dynamics of mortuary practices taking place in the EC–MC Bronze Age may have held a further potential for social transformation because they sometimes involved the disposal of large quantities of copper-based artifacts¹⁰ and small quantities of imported prestige goods in the tombs of the dead. Because mortuary rites entailed both extravagant and escalating levels of copper consumption

⁵ On mortuary practices and social memory, see Hendon 2000; Chesson 2001; Silverman and Small 2002.

⁶ E.g., escalating status competition may lead to the eventual rejection of traditional prestige symbols and the innovation of new forms, as discussed by Parker Pearson (1984; Cannon 1989 (see *supra* n. 4)). For examples of the reinterpretation of ongoing traditional practices under changing political conditions, see Bloch 1971; Kus and Raharjaona 2001.

⁷ This terminology is used in Webb and Frankel (1999) to characterize mid third millennium archaeological occurrences accompanied by Philia-type ceramics. Philia sites are found in the northwestern, southwestern, and central parts of the island, and are thought to represent a wave of colonization from southwestern Anatolia. The Philia facies is dated from approximately 2500 B.C. to 2350 B.C. (Knapp 1994a, fig. 1; Webb and Frankel 1999, 5–7). While some temporal overlap of Philia material culture with Late Chalcolithic assemblages may be postulated, the expression “Philia phase” is also used here sometimes for convenience as a chronological designation.

⁸ On the evidence and arguments for colonization and related cultural and technological changes, see Frankel et al. 1996; Webb and Frankel 1999; for a dissenting view, see Knapp

2001. For general discussions of changes in subsistence, settlement organization, and material culture, see Swiny 1989; Knapp 1990.

⁹ Yaeger and Canuto (2000, 4) have criticized the simplistic equation of “community” with the archaeological site. In the context of the present discussion, it seems appropriate to use their definition of community: “an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time” and whose members share “premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities” (Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 5–6).

¹⁰ Compositional analyses have shown that tin-bronzes occurred infrequently in Cyprus prior to the Late Cypriot period (Swiny 1982; Balthazar 1990; Gale et al. 1996). The vast majority of the metal finds from earlier settlement and cemetery contexts were made from either unalloyed copper or arsenical-copper (deriving from impurities in the ore or alloying practices). Consequently, most of the metal objects discussed here are referred to as copper or copper-based artifacts.

Table 1. Chronology of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Periods in Cyprus

Traditional Terminology	Years B.C.	Alternative Designation
Chalcolithic	3900/3700–2400	Erimi culture
Philia facies	2500–2350	preBA I
Early Cypriot I	(?) 2300–2150	preBA I
Early Cypriot II	2150–2100	preBA I
Early Cypriot IIIA	2100–2025	preBA I
Early Cypriot IIIB	2025–1950	preBA II
Middle Cypriot I	1950–1850	preBA II
Middle Cypriot II	1850–1750	preBA II
Middle Cypriot III	1750–1650	proBA I
Late Cypriot I	1650–1450	proBA I
Late Cypriot II	1450–1200/1190	proBA II
Late Cypriot III	1200/1190–1050	proBA III

Absolute dates and terminology are synthesized from Karageorghis 1990; Merrillees 1992, table 2; Knapp 1994a, fig. 1; Webb and Frankel 1999, 5. See also Manning and Swiny 1994; Manning et al. 2001.

in some communities, the social and ideological concerns enacted in mortuary practice most likely created an important internal stimulus for the intensification of copper production, as well as for the growth of local copper exchange networks in Cyprus. This would have contributed to the development of a provisional infrastructure for the rise of elite-dominated, urban copper emporia during the Late Cypriot Bronze Age. In addition, the growing importance of exotic valuables within the prevailing system of prestige symbolism would have served as an incentive for emergent elites to establish coastal centers in order to control the trade in copper and imported goods.¹¹

INTERPRETING THE MORTUARY RECORD: METHODOLOGICAL AND SAMPLING CONCERNS

Interpreting the mortuary record is a complicated task. The material remains of mortuary practices offer a ritualized expression of social structure and ideology; they present a partial, filtered view rather than a clear and extensive panorama. On top of this, many elements of funerary ritual (feasts, processions, songs, and dances) may not be archaeologically vis-

ible, and some practices may even be destructive vis-à-vis the remains of the dead. Those practices that are “materialized” and amenable to archaeological preservation may be subjected to a variety of natural and cultural post-depositional processes that transform their representation in the archaeological record. The deficiencies of sampling, excavation methods, analytical studies, and reporting standards place further limitations on the conclusions that may be drawn from mortuary evidence. It is therefore important to establish at the outset “what portion of the total funerary system is being observed” and the types of questions that can and cannot be addressed with the available evidence.¹²

In Cyprus, the most common mortuary features of the Philia facies and the EC–MC periods are pit and chamber tombs cut through a hard, white, secondary limestone subsoil known locally as *havara* or *kafkalla*; pit tombs were also occasionally dug in a softer matrix of earth and stony conglomerate.¹³ Frequently throughout the island, mortuary features have been damaged or disturbed by ancient and modern looting activities, later building projects, and various environmental processes,

¹¹ For general discussions of the urbanization process, metallurgy, and trade during the Late Cypriot period, see Muhly 1982, 1986, 1989, 1991; Knapp 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1994b, 1996a, 1997; Keswani 1989a, 1993, 1996, 2004; Peltenburg 1996. On the identification of Cyprus with Alashiya, see most recently Goren et al. 2003.

¹² This quote is from O’Shea 1984, 27; see also Clarke 1973. On the destructive nature of certain burial programs, see Braun 1981; Brown 1981. For a detailed discussion of these issues in the Cypriot case, see Keswani 1989b, 38–43, 86–98; 2004, 22–35.

¹³ Regardless of their matrix, pit tombs tend to be relatively small, simple in plan, and are usually entered from the top rather than via an entrance tunnel or dromos; the shallower forms

are sometimes referred to as pit graves. In some instances, their form may have been dictated by the constraints of the local geology, although ground suitable for cutting larger chamber tombs was sometimes located nearby, as was the case at Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi (Stewart 1962a, 322; Georgiou 2002, 62). Where pit tombs or graves occur in proximity to contemporaneous chamber tombs of more elaborate construction, they may belong to a different phase of the ritual system, as discussed further on in the text. On Philia tomb architecture, see Dikaïos 1962, 156, 160, figs. 73, 75–79, XLIX; Stewart 1962a, 216, figs. 86–87; Tournazou 1987, 170–89, 204–5; Webb and Frankel 1999, 8. For discussions of EC–MC tomb architecture, see Stewart 1962a, 217–20, fig. 88; Åström 1972, 6–10, figs. 4–6; Keswani 2004, 55–62.

such as erosion and flooding. Even in the case of tombs found intact or substantially preserved, burial treatments are often difficult to reconstruct. The majority of tombs were used for multiple burials; thus whenever a tomb was opened to insert new burials, the remains of earlier burials were subject to potential displacement, disarticulation, or other physical damage, and the associations between individuals and particular grave goods were often disrupted. Certain types of valuable grave goods (e.g., metal items) may also have been removed from time to time.¹⁴ Because the treatment of specific individuals has so often been obscured by burial disarrangements, the focus of analysis must shift from the comparison of individual burials to the overall study of differences between tomb groups and the associated histories of tomb use.¹⁵

The interpretation of Cypriot burial remains is rendered even more problematic by the historical circumstances of their recovery. Several important prehistoric Bronze Age cemeteries located within or adjacent to the copper-rich zones of the Troodos, including those of Politiko, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, and Alambra (fig. 1), are known mainly from the work of the late 19th-century excavators Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter, who were mostly concerned with obtaining examples of fine pottery, metals, and other valuables for museums and private collections. Needless to say, they paid little attention to details of tomb architecture, burial stratigraphy, the placement and condition of hu-

man skeletal remains, or associations between burials and goods. Only small selections of their finds were published.¹⁶ Although recorded in somewhat more detail, other early excavations (such as those undertaken at Katydhata, Arpera, and Kalopsidha) were similarly compromised by the limitations of the prevailing excavation techniques and objectives of archaeological research.¹⁷ As a result, much information concerning the mortuary practices enacted in the aforementioned cemeteries has simply been lost.

Although the standards of excavation and reporting improved over the course of the 20th century, until quite recently, the recovery and description of grave goods continued to be prioritized over human skeletal remains and their depositional contexts. In the absence of systematic osteological analyses from most excavated cemeteries, our knowledge of tomb demographics, age- and gender-based burial treatments, and details of human health and life expectancy is extremely limited.¹⁸ However, evidence from the few osteological studies that have been undertaken, in conjunction with the inferences that may be drawn from older excavation reports, does indicate that infants and children are highly underrepresented in the EC–MC mortuary sample; this suggests that their mortuary treatment may sometimes have differed from that of adults.¹⁹ It is clear within the existing samples of adult burials that both males and females are represented, but the extent of gender biases, or combined age and gender biases in mortuary practice, is un-

¹⁴ Some of these disturbances may have been “accidents” in the course of making room for later burials, while others may represent secondary phases of mortuary treatment involving the deliberate rearrangement or partial removal of earlier burials. Where it is possible to distinguish these practices from one another and from much later looting activities, the disturbances themselves may offer evidence for mortuary rituals, ideologies, and even economic circumstances (when grave goods are removed, returned to circulation, or cached).

¹⁵ These problems are discussed in Chapman 1977, 26; 1981a, 398, 406.

¹⁶ E.g., Cesnola 1877; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893. For an historical account of early excavations, see Goring 1988.

¹⁷ Myres 1897; Gjerstad 1926; Åström 1989.

¹⁸ Positive exceptions to this statement for the Philia facies and EC–MC periods include the studies of skeletal material from excavations in the Kalavassos area (e.g., Moyer in Todd 1985; Schulte-Campbell 1986) and at Alambra Mouttes (Coleman 1996; Domurad 1996), Marki Alonia (Frankel and Webb 1997, 1999; Moyer 1997), and Sotira Kaminoudhia (Schulte-Campbell 2003; Swiny et al. 2003).

¹⁹ In preindustrial populations, infants and young children may account for as much as 50% of all deaths (Acsádi and

Nemeskéri 1970; Weiss 1972). At Bellapais Vounous and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba, they amount to roughly 5%–6% of the minimum number of burials reported by the excavators. Recent studies of skeletal samples from Kalavassos (Schulte-Campbell 1986), Alambra (Domurad 1996), and Sotira Kaminoudhia (Schulte-Campbell 2003) reveal a similar underrepresentation of the very young. A different picture emerges from recent excavations at Dhenia Kafkalla, where fine mesh sieving resulted in the recovery of a much higher proportion of infant remains (J.M. Webb, pers. comm. 2005). It is possible that some infants and children were exposed or placed in abandoned settlement contexts, as some recent examples from Marki Alonia suggest (Frankel and Webb 1997, 88; 1999, 90; Moyer 1997, 115). Others may have been buried or stored in pithoi, as was the case with some Philia burials at Kissonerga Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al. 1998, 72) and Marki Alonia (Frankel and Webb 2000, 764). It is conceivable that some EC pithos burials were redeposited in chamber tombs at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba (see *infra* n. 32). The latter site also affords some of the earliest examples of the use of “dromos cupboards” (very small chambers or cuttings in the dromos walls) for child burials (Herscher 1978, 703–4).

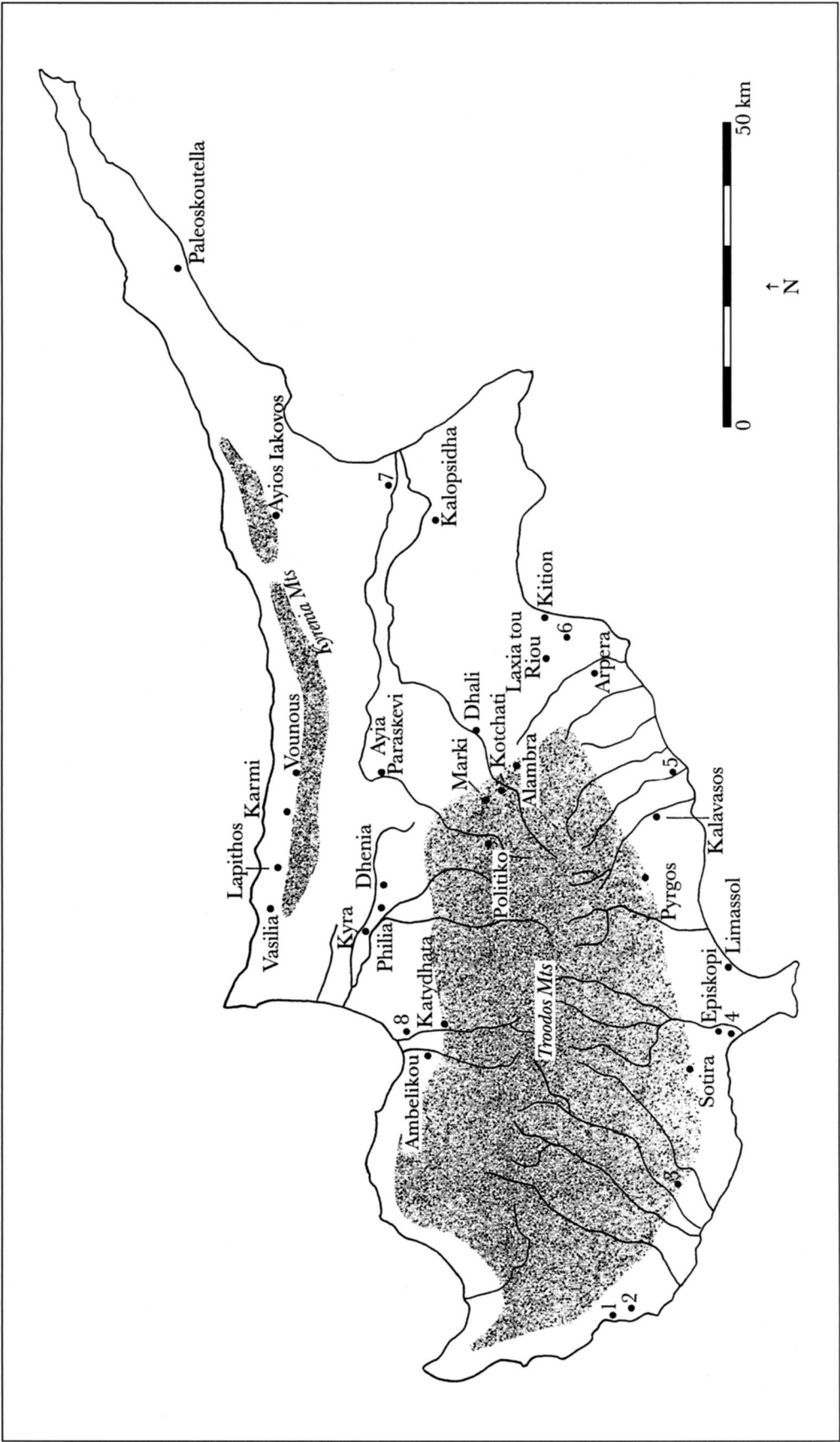


Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus with locations of Bronze Age sites mentioned in the text. Sites from earlier and later chronological periods are indicated with numbers: 1, Kissonerga Mosphilia; 2, Lemba Lakkous; 3, Souskiou Vathyrkakas and Laonas; 4, Kourion Bamboula; 5, Maroni Vournes and Tsarroukas; 6, Hala Sultan Tekke Vizaja; 7, Enkomi Ayios Iakovos; 8, Pendayia Mandres.

known.²⁰ The scarcity of positive identifications regarding an individual's sex often makes variations in the distribution of artifact types and materials such as copper particularly difficult to interpret, as noted later in this discussion.

Other interpretive problems arise from past assumptions concerning the general program of mortuary practice in the prehistoric Bronze Age. Many excavators have taken for granted that all or most of the burials in a tomb occurred as sequential primary interments. Consequently, signs of skeletal disarticulation and/or the incomplete representation of body parts have usually been attributed to the effects of tomb reuse, looting, or flooding, rather than to possible ritual practice.²¹ In some cases, however, the description of burial remains is in fact detailed enough to permit identification of anomalies in bone preservation, articulation, representation, and arrangement that may be attributable to secondary treatment or other ritual practices. Evidence for the emptying of primary burial features (pit graves, tombs, dromos cupboards, and storage jars), along with the chronology and stratification of bones and grave goods in other tombs, further attest to the practice of complex ritual programs.²² The frequencies of such practices are difficult to determine, unfortunately, given the blurring effects of tomb reuse, post-depositional processes, and the methods of archaeological investigation.

Regional sampling biases of well-preserved and well-reported mortuary complexes also place limitations on the conclusions that may be drawn. The EC-MC mortuary sample is dominated by the extensively excavated and relatively well-published cemeteries of Bellapais Vounous and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba, both located on the north coast of Cyprus. It is inevitable that interpretations of funerary ritual and social structure will therefore be dominated by the trends observed at those sites, although the practices of communities in other regions may have dif-

fered from these to some degree. Fortunately, despite the geographical skewing of samples in various time periods, the results of smaller scale excavations at other sites located throughout the island can be used to help define and compare the mortuary practices of different regions. However, the assessment of local variability in these smaller samples is precluded.

The deficiencies of the Cypriot mortuary sample have not been lost upon past researchers attempting to analyze prehistoric Bronze Age funerary data.²³ Yet in spite of the problems outlined above, there are nevertheless many insights to be garnered from the existing data. The outlines of a ritual system that sometimes included secondary treatment and collective burial may be discerned in the evidence from a number of sites. Variations in the distribution of prestige goods within and between sites can be observed and interpreted, and important long-term changes in patterns of mortuary expenditure can be defined. In the remaining portion of this paper, I examine the development of ritual programs during the EC-MC periods, the prestige displays associated with those funerary rites, and the ramifications of changing mortuary practices for broader cultural change.

THE ORIGINS AND IDEOLOGY OF MORTUARY PRACTICES IN THE EARLY-MIDDLE CYPRIOT PERIODS

The defining characteristics of EC-MC mortuary practices include the use of extramural cemeteries of rock-cut chamber tombs and pit tombs (forms illustrated in fig. 2), the reuse of tombs for multiple primary and secondary burials, and the regular deposition of grave goods with the dead. These attributes appear to be distinctive—if not entirely unprecedented—when contrasted with prior Chalcolithic traditions, particularly those of Lemba Lakkous²⁴ and Kissonerga Mosphilia,²⁵ the

²⁰ Analyses of small samples of crania from excavations at the EC-MC sites of Bellapais Vounous (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 374) and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba (Fischer 1986, table 2; see also Fürst 1933, 58) suggest a possible bias toward the inclusion of males more often than females; however, if the individuals that could not be sexed with certainty were in fact female, the imbalance in numbers is relatively slight. Another small sample from excavations at Alambra Mouttes reportedly contained either four or five males and two or three females (Coleman 1996, 116–23; Domurad 1996, 515–8). A contrasting pattern is evident in samples from Kalavassos and Sotira Kaminoudhia, where females were more numerous than males among the individuals that could be sexed (Schulte-Campbell 1986, 2003). Frankel and Webb (1999, 90) suggest that adult females may sometimes have been disposed of in abandoned

building contexts.

²¹ The possibility of secondary treatment of the dead has rarely been recognized. Cassimatis (1973) does not discuss it, and Webb (1992, 88 nn. 2, 3) contends that it did not occur, except possibly in the act of sweeping older burials aside. One important recognition of the practice does occur in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's (Gjerstad et al. 1934) account of the cemetery at Korovia Paleoskoutella (see further discussion later in the text).

²² See Keswani (1989b, 87–91; 2004, 31–5) for a discussion of the methodology of reconstructing burial programs.

²³ Bright 1995; Baxevasi 1997; Davies 1997; Sneddon 2002.

²⁴ Peltenburg et al. 1985.

²⁵ Peltenburg et al. 1998.

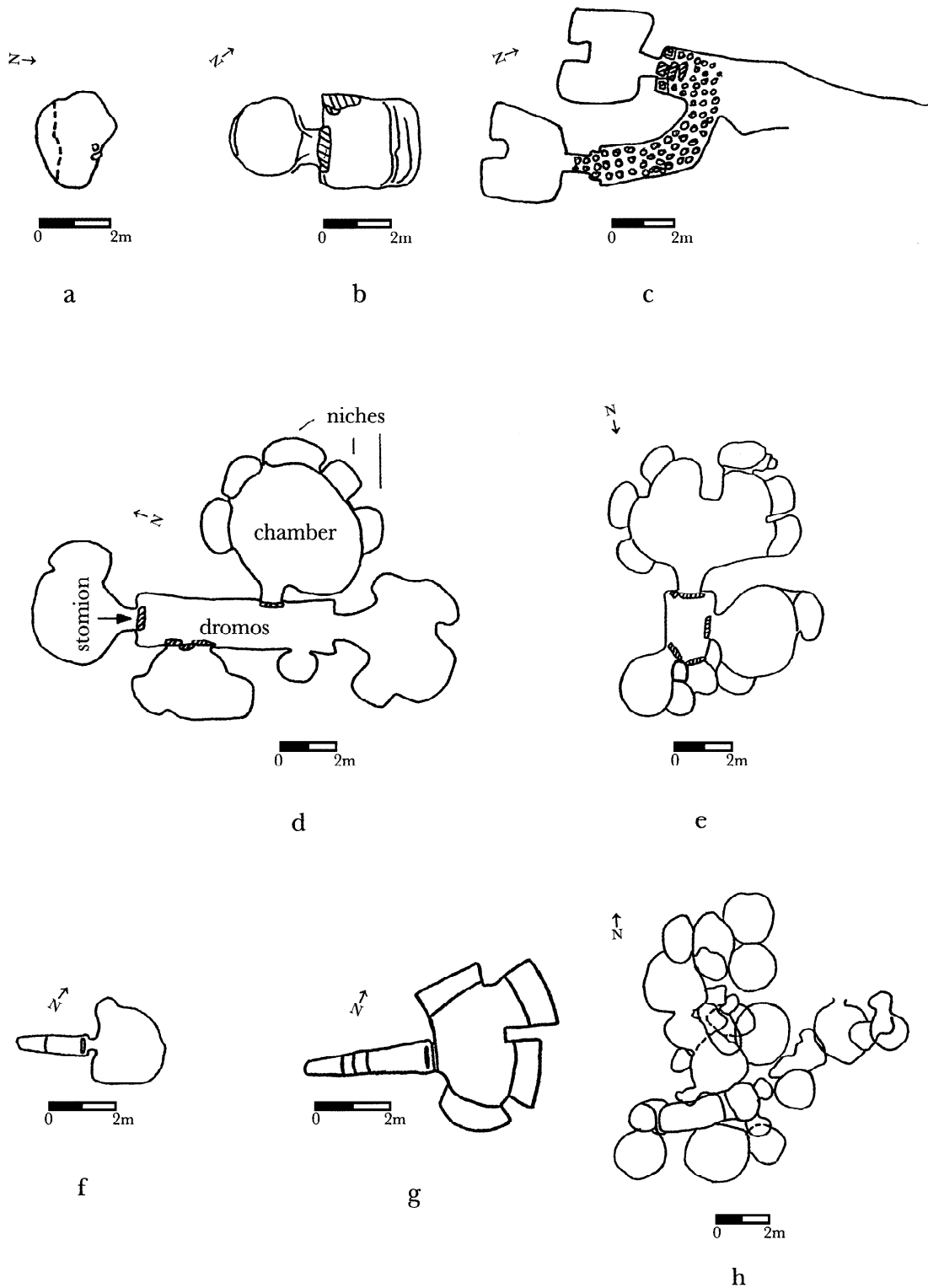


Fig. 2. Diverse tomb plans from Bronze Age Cyprus: *a*, pit tomb from Kyra Kaminia (after Dikaios 1962, fig. 73); *b*, Bellapais Vounous, site A, tomb 87 (after Stewart 1962a, fig. 88:1); *c*, Vasilika Kafkallia tombs 1 and 2 (after Stewart 1962a, fig. 86:1); *d*, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba tomb 322 complex (after Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 53:5); *e*, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba tomb 313 complex (after Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 43:1); *f*, Ayios Iakovos Melia tomb 6 (after Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 125:1); *g*, Korovia Paleoskoutella tomb 7 (after Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 166:8); *h*, Episkopi Phaneromeni tombs in area C (after Carpenter 1981, fig. 3-3). Some structural elements of chamber tombs are labeled on plan 2d.

two most extensively investigated settlements of the Chalcolithic period. Prior to the Late Chalcolithic period, the most common burial treatment for adults at these sites was a single pit grave interment located within a settlement area. Adult burials were rarely accompanied by preserved grave goods, although infants and children were sometimes buried with picrolite pendants and other exotic items.²⁶ However, the Middle Chalcolithic extramural cemeteries of Souskiou Vathykakas and Laonas, 20 km to the east of Lemba and Kissonerga, suggest local precedents for several elements of EC–MC funerary rites. Multiple individuals of mixed ages, some of whom may have been subjected to secondary treatment, were interred at these two sites in bottle-shaped, rock-cut tombs and were accompanied by diverse arrays of ceramics and ornaments made of bone, shell, copper, and picrolite.²⁷ While at present the Souskiou mortuary complex appears exceptional for the Chalcolithic period, it is possible that the use of extramural cemeteries and the practice of such elaborate mortuary rites were more common in that era than is currently recognized.²⁸

Important changes in burial practice seem to have been under way at Kissonerga Mosphilia by the Late Chalcolithic period, when the use of chamber tombs for the burial of two or more individuals first becomes apparent.²⁹ The occurrence of Philia-type pottery with these burials raises the possibility that such practices were intrusive, possibly associated with the arrival of colonists from Cilicia or other parts of Anatolia.³⁰ Although clear parallels for the entire complex of Philia and EC–MC burial practices have yet to be defined in southwestern Anatolia (the proposed heartland of the immigration movement), the use of extramural cemeteries was quite common in mainland areas. In addition, secondary treatment

and collective burial seem to have been well-established mortuary practices in Syria and adjacent regions of the Levant in the third millennium.³¹ The use of pithoi as burial containers, noted in some Philia and possibly in some EC tombs, is also a distinctive characteristic of many Anatolian cemeteries.³² It is therefore probable that the forms and practices of EC–MC mortuary ritual had a dual origin, as the heritage of immigrants blended with the traditions of local communities in an emerging matrix of affiliative and competitive social interactions.

One of the hallmarks of EC–MC mortuary ritual is the use of extramural or spatially separate cemeteries, usually located at least a few hundred meters from the habitation areas of the living community. This practice contrasts sharply with the intermingling of tombs and houses seen in both earlier and later periods of Cypriot antiquity.³³ Some burial sites seem to have been small clusters of tombs probably used by a few closely related kin or residential groups, while others appear to be far more extensive: the Philia period cemetery at Vasilia Kafkallia reportedly extended over at least a mile,³⁴ while the Philia EC–MC site at Dhcnia Kafkalla has been described as “a vast necropolis,” whose size “proclaims it the cemetery of a prominent settlement—unless, indeed, it was the sacred burial ground of a province.”³⁵ Some settlements may have used multiple burial locations either simultaneously or sequentially throughout the course of their occupations.³⁶ Tombs were cut in a variety of topographical settings, often along ridges and hillsides or in low-lying areas visible from nearby settlements. With the exception of the tumulus-covered site of Korovia Paleoskoutella, none of the EC–MC cemeteries known to date can be truly described as monumental; however, with or without above-ground

²⁶ On the grave goods, see Peltenburg 1992; Peltenburg et al. 1998, 91. See Niklasson (1991, 186–7) and Peltenburg et al. (1998, 85) on possible occurrences of secondary treatment in burials of infants and children.

²⁷ See Christou (1989) for a general overview. Adults significantly outnumbered children at Souskiou Vathykakas (Lunt 1994) and may have been subject to rites involving exhumation and reburial (Niklasson 1991, 189; Peltenburg et al. 1998, 85, 246).

²⁸ Peltenburg et al. (1998, 85) suggest that many of the adults residing at Kissonerga Mosphilia in period 3b (equated with the Middle Chalcolithic) may also have been buried off-site, possibly at Souskiou.

²⁹ Peltenburg et al. 1998, 70.

³⁰ Peltenburg 1991, 30; Peltenburg et al. 1998, 90–2.

³¹ E.g., Carter and Parker 1995, 110; Chesson 1999; Porter 2002; for much earlier examples, see Wright 1978; Byrd and Monahan 1995.

³² For examples of pithos burials in Early Bronze Age Anatolia, see Wheeler 1974; Carter and Parker 1995. Examples of pithos burials in Philia facies Cyprus include those at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al. 1998, 72) and Marki Alonia (Frankel and Webb 2000, 764); both involve children. Other such burials are alluded to at Philia Laxia tou Kasinou, originally known as Philia Vasiliko, and Vasilia Kafkallia (Dikaio 1946; Hennessy et al. 1988, 29). At EC–MC Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba, skeletal remains were found on top of or mixed with pithos sherds in tombs 801, 809A, 817B, 823, 825, 826A, 829C, 831, 833C, 305B, 311B, and 318 (see Herscher 1978, 786–7 and n. 27).

³³ Swiny 1981, 79 and nn. 91, 92; Coleman 1996, 18.

³⁴ Hennessy et al. 1988, 25.

³⁵ Åström and Wright 1962, 225; see also Frankel et al. 2003.

³⁶ This certainly seems to have been the case around Marki (Frankel and Webb 1996a, 11; Sneddon 2002); see also Swiny (1981) on settlements and cemeteries in southwestern Cyprus.

markers, the tombs must have served as important local landmarks and persistent reminders of the dead.³⁷

The widespread shift to extramural burial and other changes in mortuary practice was probably connected to a much broader complex of ideological and socioeconomic developments. The introduction of plow agriculture would almost certainly have been accompanied by patterns of wealth accumulation and transmission that differed significantly from those of the Chalcolithic era, when hoe cultivation was prevalent.³⁸ As the establishment of households became ever more dependent on the inheritance of farmland, draft animals, and other forms of property, the ideological importance of ties to the ancestors would have been considerable; making permanent memorials or homes for the dead in publicly visible spaces could have been one expression of this concern. Additionally, increasing populations, the larger land areas required for plow cultivation and cattle pasturage, and the inherent complexities of a social landscape shaped by periodic migrations may have contributed to a perception of land scarcity and a growing emphasis on social boundaries or group membership.³⁹ In such a context, burial areas may well have served as reference points by which both indigenous and immigrant communities could affirm their social identities and their ancestral rights to the land.⁴⁰

The ongoing importance of "ancestors"⁴¹ in the ideological world of prehistoric Bronze Age communities is substantiated by other lines of mortuary evidence. For example, while most of the pit and chamber tombs of the Philia facies and the EC period were fairly simple in form,⁴² there are several

key instances of architectural embellishment that suggest tombs were viewed as shrines for the ancestors rather than mere repositories of the dead. At the ECI Vounous site A, tombs 114, 116, and 117 have entrances with carved facades depicting vertical uprights and horizontal lintels, which may have been similar to those that framed doorways in settlement architecture.⁴³ Other decorated tomb facades have been found at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba,⁴⁴ Vasilia Kafkallia,⁴⁵ and KarMI Palealona.⁴⁶ Vertical panels carved in the dromos of tomb 6 at KarMI have elicited comparisons with the unprovenienced ceramic "shrine" models from Kotchati and Kalopsidha in central and eastern Cyprus.⁴⁷ The two well-preserved models from Kotchati (one of which is illustrated in fig. 3) show a woman standing beside an amphora in front of a structure with three vertical uprights surmounted by bull heads.⁴⁸ Additionally, in the dromos of tomb 6 at KarMI, a human is cut in bas-relief; this may be a representation of the dead or a portrayal of a person paying homage to the ancestors.⁴⁹ The stylized and sexually ambiguous anthropomorphic figurines known as plank idols sometimes found in tombs of later EC and MC date (see examples in fig. 4) may also represent generic ancestor images.⁵⁰

Whether the Kotchati models represent homage being made to the dead (in the form of libations or other gifts), reverence to a divinity of fertility (symbolized by the bulls' heads), or other cultural phenomena remains a matter for speculation.⁵¹ What is perhaps most significant is that certain tombs were constructed to resemble places where offerings were made. As the dead received grave goods and animal sacrifices in the course of their funerary

³⁷ As Webb (1992, 94) suggests, some above-ground markers may have been destroyed as a result of erosion and plowing.

³⁸ On the socioeconomic transformations associated with the shift from hoe- to plow-based agriculture, see Boserup 1970; Goody 1976; Sherratt 1981; Knapp 1990; Bogucki 1993. The use of cattle as draft animals is well attested in ceramic representations of plowing scenes from Bellapais Vounous (Dikaïos 1940, pls. 9, 10, 18; see also fig. 5 in the text).

³⁹ The development of social boundaries is suggested by the rise of diverse regional ceramic traditions (Frankel 1974; Herscher 1976, 1981, 1991).

⁴⁰ Goldstein 1976, 1981; Renfrew 1976; Chapman 1981a, 1981b, 1995; Charles 1995.

⁴¹ See Whitley (2002) for a critique of archaeological invocations of the ancestors.

⁴² The chamber tombs of Vasilia Kafkallia, with their rectangular chambers, pillar-like buttresses, rectangular wall niches, and lime-plastered dromoi up to eight meters in length, are important exceptions to this (Stewart 1957, 1962a, figs. 86–87; Hennessy et al. 1988, figs. 33, 81, 37, 40).

⁴³ Stewart 1939a; Stewart and Stewart 1950, 152, figs. 111–

112; 158, figs. 120, 124b; 162–3, fig. 123.

⁴⁴ Herscher 1978, 705 and n. 14.

⁴⁵ Stewart 1962a, 216.

⁴⁶ Stewart 1962b, 197; Åström 1988, figs. 3, 4.

⁴⁷ Frankel and Tamvaki 1973.

⁴⁸ Karageorghis 1970; 1991, 142–3, pls. 102:2–3, 103:1–2.

⁴⁹ Karageorghis (1977, 44) interprets the figure as a representation of the Cypriot mother goddess.

⁵⁰ The flat rectangular figurines referred to as plank idols have often been viewed as representations of females (Gjerstad et al. 1934; Myres 1940–1945, 81–4), but Talalay and Cullen (2002) have recently interpreted them as generic ancestor figures of ambiguous gender. One such figurine from Swedish tomb 322D was made of marble rather than clay (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 150, cat. 2). Plank idols are most plentiful at Lapithos but are also found in smaller numbers at Vounous B, Dhenia Kafkalla, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, Alambra Mouettes, and Politiko (A Campo 1994, 199–208).

⁵¹ See Åström (1988) for a review of the various interpretations and related bibliography.

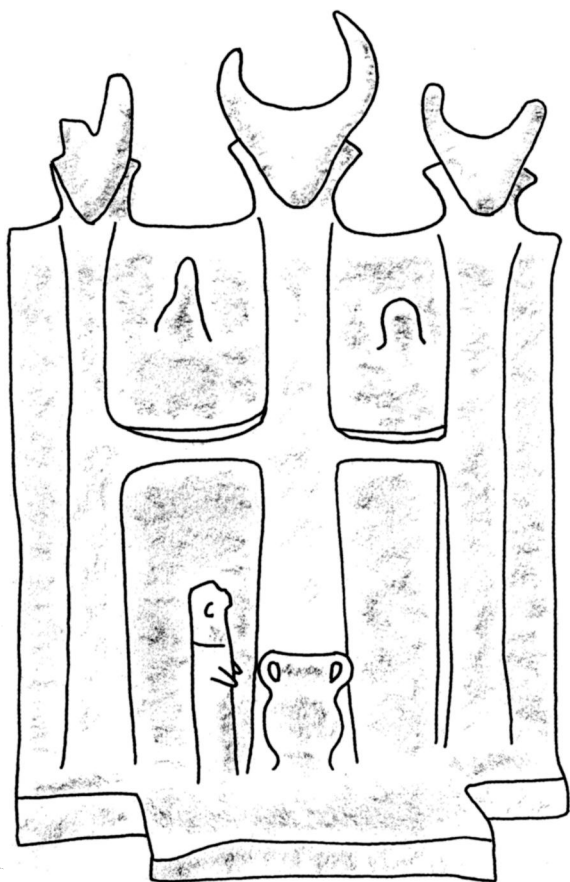


Fig. 3. A Red Polished shrine model from Kotchati. Height 19 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, no. 1970/V-28/1. (After Karageorghis 1970, pl. 1; 1991, pl. 102:2)

celebrations, and occasionally subsequent offerings were placed in the tomb dromos,⁵² it is probable that they were venerated as powerful entities. Such honorific treatment may not only have legitimized the rights of succession and social status claimed by the sponsors of their funerals, it may also have been deemed essential in securing the fertility and

prosperity of the living. The inclusion in EC-MC tombs of ceramic models and pottery vessels with coroplastic genre scenes depicting agricultural scenes (fig. 5), food-processing activities, and images relating to human reproduction (women holding babies, embracing couples, men and women in bed together) may be an indication of the intermediary role ancestors played in ensuring the well-being of their descendants.⁵³

A further indication of the social and ideological importance with which the ancestors were invested is the development of practices involving secondary treatment of the dead. Mortuary systems involving “dual obsequies” have been recognized in ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological studies of societies from North America and Europe to Indonesia and Madagascar. As first defined by Hertz,⁵⁴ these mortuary complexes usually involve an initial phase that emphasizes the individuality of the corpse, the pollution and deterioration of the flesh, and the separation or removal of the deceased from the society of the living. This is followed by a liminal or transitional period and then by a terminal celebration in which the predominant themes are the purification of the deceased, his or her reunion with the immortal ancestors, the reproduction of the living society, and the end of mourning. The transitional period between the primary and secondary funerals allows the corpse to undergo the transformation from perishable flesh to immutable bone or spirit, and effects a distancing between the actual social persona of the deceased and her/his role as an ancestral spirit.⁵⁵ This period between death and the final ceremonies may also shift the focus of secondary rituals from the mourning of the deceased to the political interests of the living; these interests often center on assertions of social prestige and the negotiation or renegotiation of social alliances jeopardized by an individual’s death. Furthermore, the

⁵² See Stewart 1962a, 294; Hennessy et al. 1988, 25, 38; ceramic items were deposited in some dromoi at Vounous; pottery and copper objects were found in the dromoi at Vasilia Kafkallia.

⁵³ A plowing scene is illustrated in fig. 5. For illustrations of various scenes probably related to breadmaking, see Karageorghis 1991, pls. 72–84; for plank figures holding infants, see fig. 4c here and Karageorghis 1991, pls. 44–47; for scenes of couples, see Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. 148:5; Dikaios 1940, pl. 35:a; Morris 1985, figs. 506–507. It should be noted that two of the ostensible bread-making scenes alluded to above have been subject to an alternative interpretation. In the wake of Koucky’s and Steinberg’s (1982) highly controversial argument for the practice of hydrometallurgy in Bronze Age Cyprus, Merrillees (1984, 11) suggested that the coroplastic genre

scene on the unprovenanced Red Polished (RP) III Sèvres Jar might actually represent the leaching of copper ores (see also Morris 1985, 280–1). This metallurgical interpretation has also been extended to the unprovenanced Oxford Bowl (Morris 1985, 273–4), and to the large RPI cutaway spout jug from Bellapais Vounous, site A, tomb 164A (no. 45, see fig. 6n). Incised, dot-filled circles on the latter object are interpreted by Morris (1985, fig. 487) as copper-leaching structures. However, the viability of hydrometallurgy for extracting copper from the sulfide ores found in Cyprus, and/or the likelihood of its ever having been practiced on any significant scale, has been repeatedly challenged (Constantinou 1982, 22; Muhly 1986, 52–3; Given and Knapp 2003, 69).

⁵⁴ Hertz 1960 (originally published in 1907).

⁵⁵ Bloch 1982, 223–4; Kan 1989, 289.

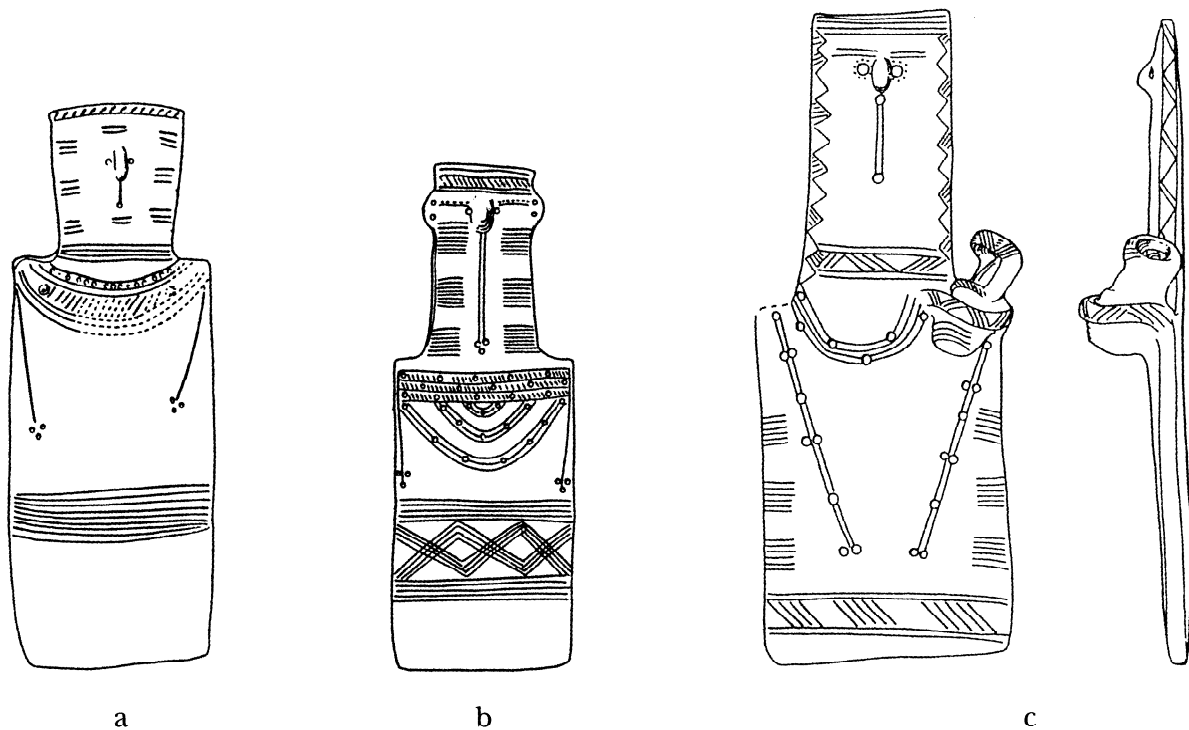


Fig. 4. Red Polished III plank figurines from Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba: *a*, tomb 313A, no. 93, height 24.9 cm; *b*, tomb 313A, no. 40, height 22.3 cm; *c*, tomb 313B, no. 40, height 29.5 cm. (Stewart 1962a, figs. 92:2, 92:3, 94:2, respectively)

staging of a secondary funeral usually allows the heirs the time to amass considerably more resources (man-power and material for the construction of monuments, food for feasting, gifts for distribution to the living or for disposal with the dead) than may be available at the actual time of a death, thus facilitating higher levels of consumption in the hospitality accorded to guests and in prestige-related treatments of the deceased.⁵⁶ It appears that dual obsequies entailing the exhumation and subsequent reinterment of one or more individuals in chamber or pit tombs occasionally took place in Cyprus during the EC period, and that these practices became more elaborate through time.

The Evidence for Secondary Burial Practices in the Early–Middle Cypriot Bronze Age

As noted above, most interpretations of prehistoric Bronze Age mortuary data reflect the assumption that all burials were primary inhumations, with subsequent episodes of tomb reuse, looting, flooding, and other post-depositional processes being

responsible for poor preservation and disarticulation of skeletal remains. Although in many instances this assumption is probably correct, there are a significant number of cases throughout the island where the condition of the burial remains and/or related burial features cannot be explained without reference to more complex ritual activities.

The most extensive evidence for EC mortuary practice comes from the north coast cemetery of Bellapais Vounous, where, during the 1930s, 164 tomb complexes were excavated in two discrete areas, known as site A (with tombs dating almost exclusively to ECI) and site B (with tombs dating mostly from ECII–MCII).⁵⁷ At site A, approximately two-thirds of the in situ burials were placed in flexed positions on their left sides; many of these burials seem to have been articulated and were probably primary inhumations. At site B, all but a few of the articulated burials were laid out in dorsal positions, some with both legs extended and others with one or both legs flexed. Many of these may also represent primary inhumations; however, the skeletal remains from several tombs at

⁵⁶ Metcalf 1982; Metcalf and Huntington 1991.

⁵⁷ Excavations were conducted by Dikaïos in 1931–1932 (Dikaïos 1940), Schaeffer in 1933 (Schaeffer 1936; Merrillies 1988; Dunn-Vaturi 2003), and Stewart and Stewart in 1937–

1938 (Stewart and Stewart 1950). For tomb chronology, see Stewart 1962a, 387–9; Dunn-Vaturi 2003. Roughly 107 of these chambers appear to have been intact.

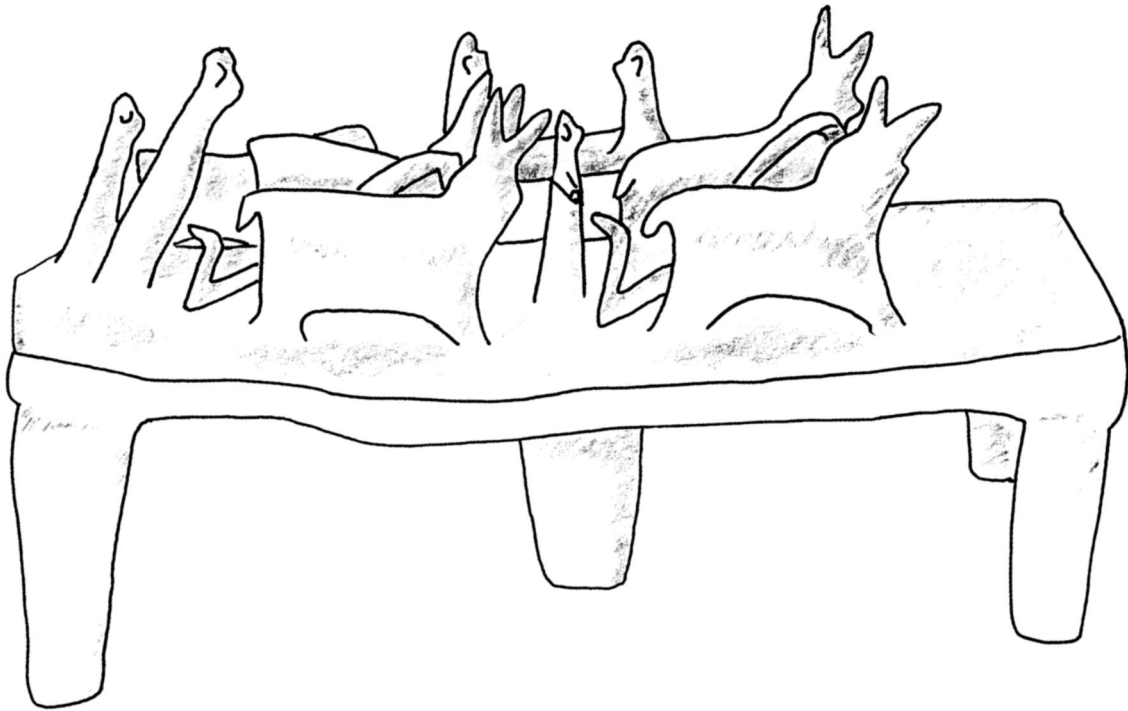


Fig. 5. A ceramic model of a plowing scene from an unnumbered tomb (special series 1) at Bellapais Vounous, site B. Height 19 cm. (After Dikaïos 1940, pls. 9, 10:a)

both sites attest to other ritual treatments. In some cases, individuals were represented mainly by skulls; few if any postcranial parts were present;⁵⁸ in other instances, simultaneous, possibly secondary burials had taken place.⁵⁹ In addition, deliberate disarticulation and rearrangement of body parts was sometimes apparent. In tomb 164A at Vounous A, for example, two largely complete skeletons were found with their skulls curiously repositioned in front of the bodies, most likely in the course of pre- or post-interment rituals.⁶⁰ In Vounous B tomb 36, an unusually large burial group of nine individuals was found, all apparently disarticulated, with the exception of a single, seemingly in situ, skeleton found beneath many pots in the lower stratum of the burial deposits.⁶¹ It is possible that the disarticulated burials in this tomb represent multiple secondary interments introduced after a primary inhumation.

Multiple sequential or simultaneous secondary interments may also have occurred in Vounous B tomb 143, where eight skulls and scanty postcranial remains were noted.⁶² Other ritual practices involving the deliberate rearrangement of disarticulated bones may be represented in Dikaïos' tomb 31, where three skeletons were reportedly found decomposed and disorderly, one in the southwest and the others toward the front of the tomb. Their positions were unclear because, according to Dikaïos, "most of the long bones were found grouped together."⁶³

The evidence from both Vounous A and B suggests that a program of secondary treatment, placing special emphasis on the manipulation and curation of the skull, was practiced for at least some individuals. Secondary treatment sometimes seems to have been associated with individuals who were provided with large tombs and outstanding assem-

⁵⁸ At Vounous A, see tombs 82B, 118, 153 (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 55, 164, 186). At Vounous B, see tombs 44, 50a, 125, 141, 143, 146, 156 (Dikaïos 1940, 88; Stewart and Stewart 1950, 264, 317, 324, 328, 346, 357–8, fig. 242; Dunn-Vaturi 2003, 5). In some of these cases, it might be argued that postcranial remains had been removed to make room for additional burials, leaving only the skulls of earlier burials behind. However, there are several instances (e.g., tombs 82B, 125, 141, 146, 156) where one or two skulls were the only skeletal remains found in the chamber, and these probably represent second-

ary burials in which the skull was the focus of the ceremonies.

⁵⁹ See Vounous A tombs 84 and 90 (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 68, 94). Unless the pairs of individuals buried in these tombs died at the same time, at least one member of each pair must have been removed from some form of primary storage and reburied with the other individual.

⁶⁰ Stewart and Stewart 1950, 226–7, fig. 165.

⁶¹ Dikaïos 1940, 72–4.

⁶² Stewart and Stewart 1950, 324, 328, fig. 242.

⁶³ Dikaïos 1940, 65.

blages of grave goods, as in the case of tomb 164A. This tomb had the largest chamber floor area observed at Vounous A,⁶⁴ and contained an impressive assemblage of grave goods, including a “cult vessel,” a ceramic horn, considerable quantities of ox bones, and four copper knives (figs. 6, 7a, 8a).⁶⁵ Similarly, tomb 36 at Vounous B contained a diverse array of ceramic items, including two horns, a ring vase, and several vessels with modeled bull heads, snakes, birds, and horned animals, as well as a large part of an ox skeleton and other faunal remains.⁶⁶ Tomb 143 at Vounous B yielded 11 copper-based artifacts, two kernoï and a stemmed bowl, the remains of sheep or goat, and an unusual stone axe amulet (fig. 8f).⁶⁷ However, not all cases of ostensible secondary treatment were associated with elaborate tomb construction or distinctive concentrations of metal objects and other valuable grave goods, as is evident in the cases of site A, tomb 82B, and site B, tombs 31, 44, 125, 141, and 146.⁶⁸ It is possible that some individuals received multiple stages of mortuary treatment regardless of their wealth and prestige (or that of their kin) relative to other members of the community.

The north coast cemetery of Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba is located approximately 20 km to the west of Bellapais Vounous, and was used during the ECII–MCIII periods (with tombs overlapping and slightly postdating those of Vounous B).⁶⁹ Despite the effects of flooding and tomb reuse, the burials preserved in the Lapithos tombs reveal a considerable diversity of mortuary practices. The majority of the

individuals whose postures could be determined seem to have been interred in lateral flexed or contracted positions, with roughly equal numbers placed on the right and left sides. A few dorsal burials with legs flexed and burials in squatting positions were also noted.⁷⁰ As at Vounous, many of these burials were probably primary interments, but secondary treatment was clearly practiced here as well; this is evident from the deliberate disarticulation and/or incomplete representation of the skeletal remains in cases where post-depositional disturbances cannot satisfactorily explain their condition.⁷¹ In contrast to the situation at Vounous, where all of the mortuary features seem to represent the final phase of mortuary processing for the deceased, Lapithos burial features represent both the preliminary and final phases of mortuary treatment and ritual. A series of shallow rectangular features in regular rows, found in the western area of the Pennsylvania excavations, may represent the use of pit graves for primary interments. These pits were sometimes cut by the dromoi of later chamber tombs after having been covered with a layer of soil for at least a few years; it is possible that the original pit burials were exhumed and subsequently reburied in these chamber tombs.⁷² Another preliminary form of mortuary treatment, perhaps particularly (but not exclusively) used for younger individuals, entailed the storage of the body in a pithos that was later broken and partially reinterred in a chamber tomb.⁷³ Infant burials in dromos cupboards may also have been exhumed and reinterred in the larger

⁶⁴ The chamber floor was approximately 8.5 m² in area, as calculated from the published plan (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 227, fig. 165). The mean chamber floor area for tombs at Vounous A was 3.7 m², with a standard deviation of 1.7 and a range of 1.0–8.5 m² (n=44).

⁶⁵ Stewart and Stewart 1950, 228, 230–7.

⁶⁶ Dikaïos 1940, 72–6.

⁶⁷ Stewart and Stewart 1950, 327–36.

⁶⁸ Keswani 2004, tables 4.7a–c.

⁶⁹ Approximately 75 tombs were investigated by Myres in 1913 (Myres 1940–1945) and Markides in 1917 (Gjerstad 1926). Subsequently, a total of 61 multi-chambered tomb complexes were excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1927–1928 (Gjerstad et al. 1934) and the University of Pennsylvania expedition in 1931–1932 (Grace 1940; Herscher 1975, 1978). Approximately 96 individual chambers from the latter two projects were either intact or substantially preserved.

⁷⁰ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 72; Myres 1940–1945, 79–80; Herscher 1978, 786 and n. 23.

⁷¹ Examples include Swedish tomb 302B, where four burials were found in disarticulated or partly disarticulated bone piles in different parts of the chamber (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 42); Swedish tomb 306A, where a single individual represented only by fragments of the head, neck, and arms was observed (Gjer-

stad et al. 1934, 60); and Swedish tomb 312A, where one of two individuals present was only represented by fragments of the vertebral column (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 84, 77, fig. 37:7). In other cases, such as Swedish tomb 322A (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 147–56) and Pennsylvania tombs 809A, 812A, 813B, 818, and 826B (Herscher 1978), where the skeletal remains of two or more individuals were found in extremely variable states of preservation, it is possible that the incompletely preserved remains had also been subjected to some form of secondary treatment.

⁷² Herscher (1978, 818–9) noted that the cuttings were large enough to have served as shallow pit graves for contracted burials, but because they were all found empty, she concluded that they were agricultural. A plan showing the spatial relationship between the pit graves and chamber tombs can be seen in Herscher 1975.

⁷³ In several tombs, fragmentary skeletal remains were found lying on top of or mixed up with pithos sherds; the sherds were sometimes embedded in the chamber floor or propped up with small stones (e.g., tombs 801, 809A, 817B, 823, 825, 826A, 829C, 831, 833C, 305B, 311B, 318; Herscher 1978, 786–7 and n. 27). One individual in tomb 311B (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 79–80) and another in tomb 823 (Herscher 1978, 468) were clearly identified as children.

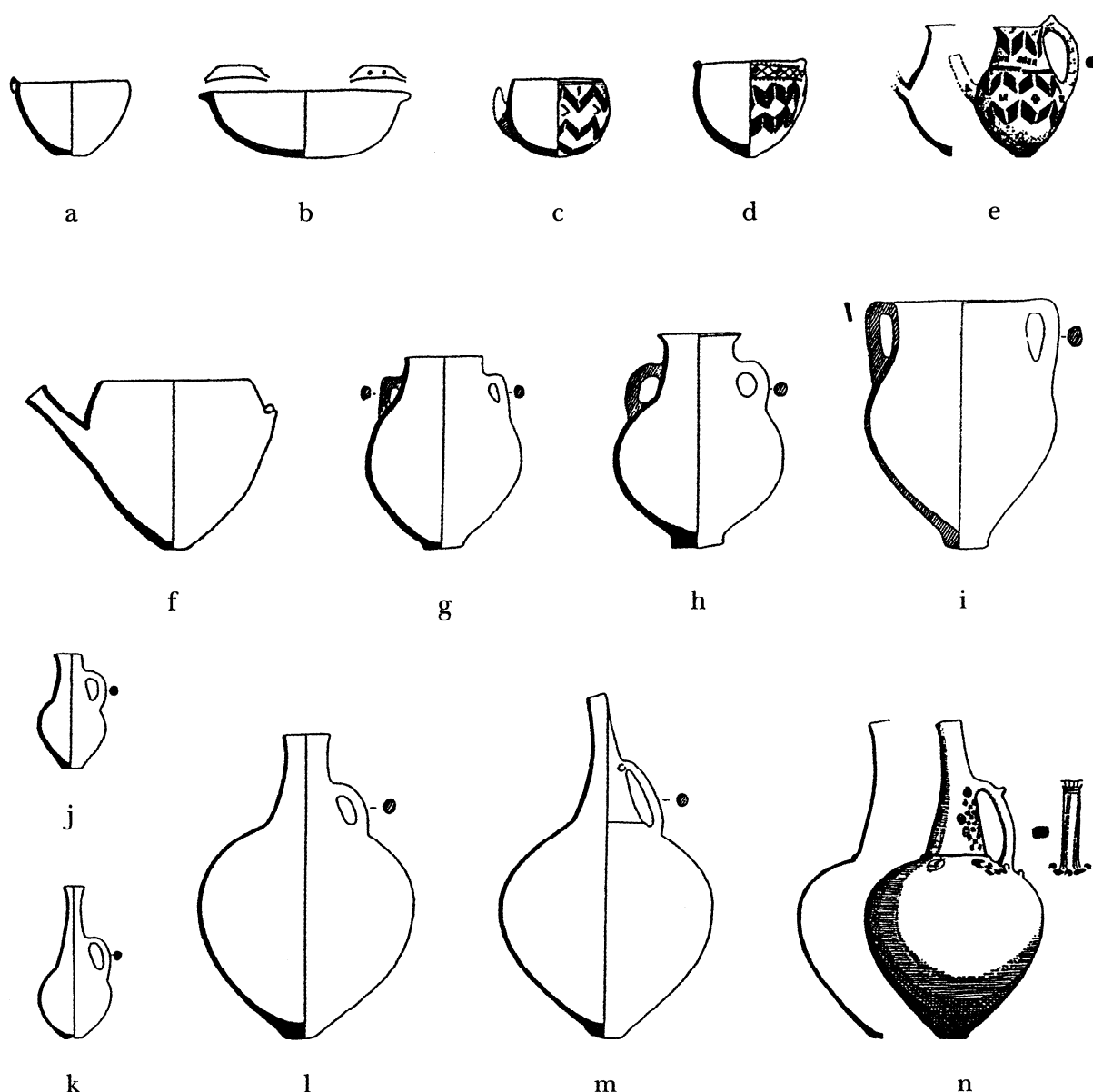


Fig. 6. Red Polished (RP) and Black Polished (BP) pottery from Bellapais Vounous, site A, tomb 164A: *a*, RPI knob-lug bowl with flat base, no. 58, height 9.3 cm; *b*, RPI dish, no. 31, height 8.4 cm; *c*, RPI decorated horn-lug bowl, no. 50, height 9.3 cm; *d*, BP tulip bowl, no. 25, height 11.9 cm; *e*, RPI juglet with wide mouth and side-spout, no. 7, height 16.3 cm; *f*, RPI-II spouted milk bowl, no. 51, height 32 cm; *g*, RPI store jar, no. 14, height 46.5 cm; *h*, RPIII store jar, no. 5, height 51.3 cm; *i*, RPI coarse amphora, no. 44, height 59.4 cm; *j*, RPI coarse juglet with cutaway spout, no. 20, height 27.9 cm; *k*, RPI jug with narrow neck, no. 42, height 37.4 cm; *l*, RPI jug with broad neck, no. 43, height 73.4 cm; *m*, RPI jug with cutaway spout, no. 36, height 82.1 cm; *n*, RPI jug with cutaway spout and incised decoration, no. 45, height 54.9 cm. (Stewart 1962a, pls. 138:35, 143:28; 138:8, 153:15, 98:3, 125:4, 109:5, 110:5, 120:4, 72:6, 77:4, 75:1, 56:7, 59:3, respectively)

tomb chambers, possibly when these were opened to accommodate adult burials.⁷⁴

There were a number of tombs in which two or more simultaneous and probably secondary inter-

ments seem to have taken place. Some of these were associated with small- to medium-sized tombs that were relatively poor in metal artifacts,⁷⁵ which suggests that multistage ritual programs were not the

⁷⁴This would account for the fact that so many of the cupboards were found emptied. Examples include Pennsylvania tomb 804 (with 17 of 18 cupboards containing finds but no bones), tombs 829D, E, F, and tomb 835C as described by Her-

scher (1978, 91–3, 571–2, 661) and Swedish tombs 307, 315, 316, 318, 322C, as described by Gjerstad et al. (1934, 63, 106, 115, 126, 144).

⁷⁵E.g., Pennsylvania tombs 812A, 826A, 832A.

exclusive prerogative of high-status groups. However, one of the most extraordinary examples of collective secondary burial comes from Swedish tomb 313A of probable MCI date. This tomb had an exceptionally large chamber, an estimated floor area of 20.4 m², and a rich collection of grave goods that included 80 copper-based artifacts. Fifteen individuals were carefully placed in the tomb's six niches and in a circle upon the floor, with no evident stratigraphic separations or signs of tomb reuse.⁷⁶ It is possible that one, or at most two, extremely ostentatious mortuary events took place in this chamber, with several individuals having been exhumed and reburied at the same time. Other complex postmortem rituals may be represented in the approximately contemporaneous Swedish tomb 322A. This chamber had the largest floor area among those calculated for Lapithos (measuring 27 m²) and was one of the richest chambers found at the site, with 53 copper-based artifacts and a few small ornaments of gold and silver as well. The skeletal remains, however, reportedly consisted of only a few bones on the floor and some finger bones—which have a low aptitude for archaeological preservation and recovery—in the niches.⁷⁷ It may be speculated that pre-interment processing (such as primary burial and exhumation) and/or tertiary post-interment rituals (involving the handling and partial removal of skeletal remains) contributed to the sparse preservation of human bones in this otherwise intact chamber tomb.

The existing sample of mortuary data from Lapithos suggests that secondary treatment of the dead was practiced often, although not invariably, at the time the cemetery was established and throughout its subsequent use. The attendant practices appear to have been elaborated through time, with a marked increase in ostentation occurring at the outset of the MCI period. This is apparent not only from the collective burials and complex ritual practices seen in chambers such as Swedish tombs 313A and 322A but also in the levels of mortuary expenditure exhibited throughout the community (as discussed in more detail below). Unfortunately, very little information was recorded about the burial treatments in the later tombs of MCII–MCIII at Lapithos, but it is possible that the very dearth of well-preserved remains from these tombs is related to the ritual practices as well as to post-depositional disturbances. The labor and material resources invested in the latest tomb complexes certainly im-

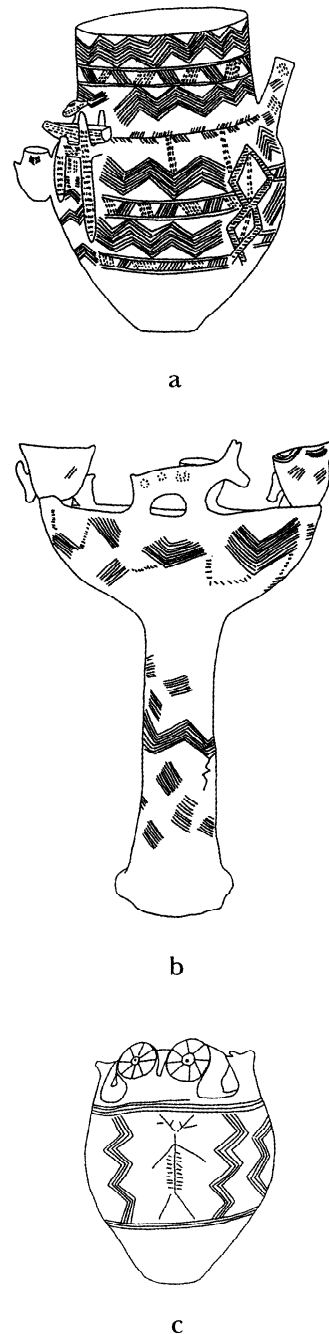


Fig. 7. Diverse Red Polished (RP) cult or ceremonial vessels from Bellapais Vounous site A: *a*, spouted bowl with modeled trough, jug, and miniature of parent vessel, tomb 164A, no. 13, height 32.8 cm (after Stewart and Stewart 1950, pls. 87–88; Morris 1985, fig. 509); *b*, stemmed bowl with three quadrupeds and three bowls mounted on rim, tomb 160A, no. 17, height 52.9 cm (after Stewart and Stewart 1950, pl. 84; Morris 1985, fig. 90); *c*, deep tulip-shaped bowl with incised figure, modeled bulls' heads, and discs, tomb 91, no. 14, height 17.2 cm (after Stewart and Stewart 1950, pl. 79:c)

⁷⁶ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 87, fig. 43.

⁷⁷ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 143–4, fig. 56.

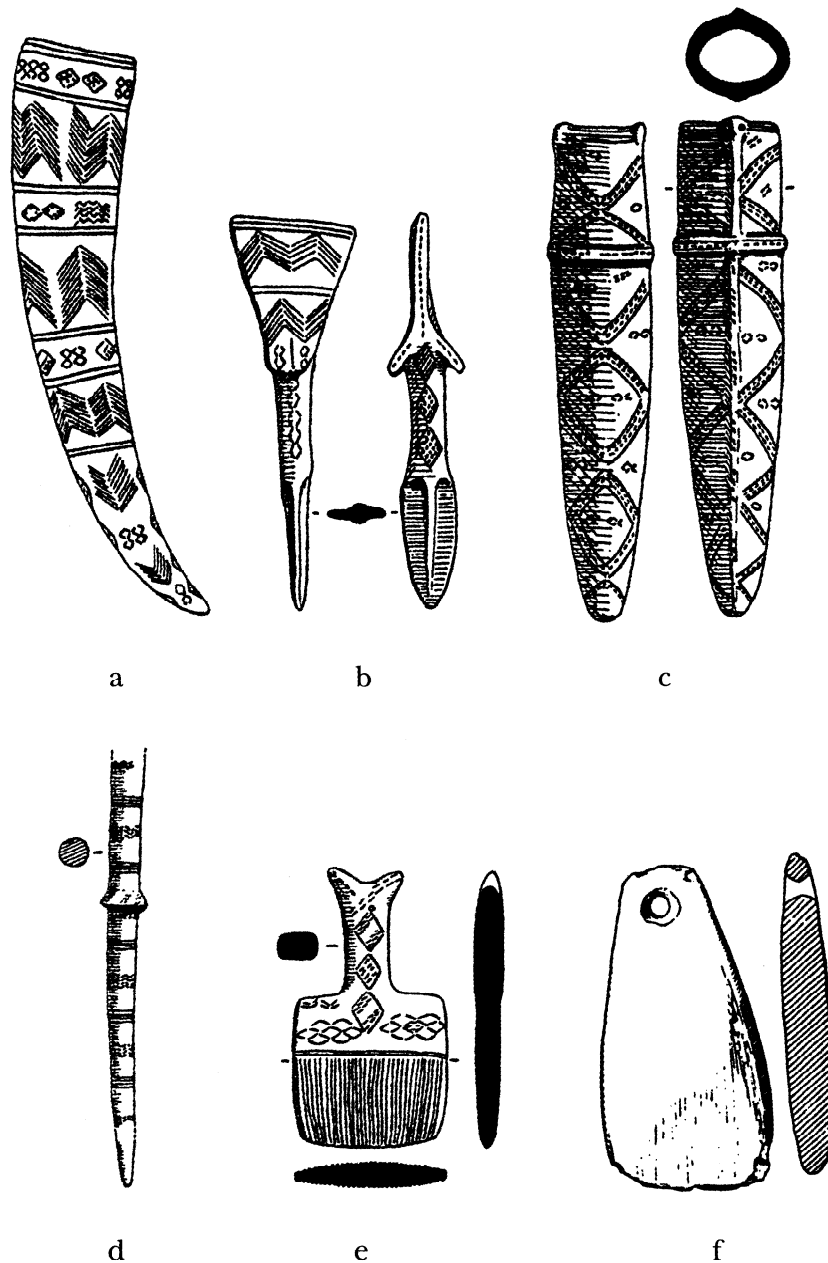


Fig. 8. Red Polished (RP) models and a stone axe amulet from Bellapais Vounous: *a*, RPII horn model, site A, tomb 164A, no. 61, length 27.5 cm; *b*, RPII dagger model, site B, tomb 145, no. 6A, length 18.3 cm; *c*, RPII sheath model, site B, tomb 145, no. 6B, length 23.4 cm; *d*, RPI spindle model, site A, tomb 92, no. 6, preserved length 20.7 cm; *e*, RPII brush or comb model, site B, tomb 121, no. 42, length 13.4 cm; *f*, stone axe amulet, site B, tomb 143, no. 44, length 6.3 cm. (Stewart 1962a, figs. 91:9, 91:5, 91:7, 90:6, 90:5, 105:15, respectively)

plies a substantial level of preparation that may have entailed protracted, multistage programs of ritual treatment.⁷⁸

Mortuary practices similar to those of Lapithos appear to have been undertaken at the distant

northeastern site of Ayios Iakovos Melia during the MC period.⁷⁹ The configuration of burial remains in Ayios Iakovos tomb 6 is suggestive of collective secondary interments similar to those inferred from Lapithos tomb 313A. This tomb, dated from Late

⁷⁸The mean estimated chamber floor area for tombs in this chronological group was 11.2 m, more than double the mean for earlier tombs at the site.

⁷⁹The Swedish Cyprus Expedition investigated a group of 14 tombs used between MCII and LCII, among which nine seem to have been undisturbed since antiquity (Gjerstad et al.

MCI to Early MCIII,⁸⁰ had a large, roughly circular chamber in which the excavators discerned a total of 15 burials. Eleven skeletons were found along the walls of the chamber, and four others were arranged in the center.⁸¹ At least three individuals (skeletons VII, VIII, and IX) seem to have been interred in crouching positions, and as each of the 15 burials occupied a space of only 70 x 90 cm, the excavators suggested that all of the skeletons must have been similarly arranged.⁸² The burials were surrounded by tomb goods showing no signs of disturbance, which is curious, considering the limitations of space in the chamber. There was no apparent stratigraphic separation between the burial deposits, or any evidence for multiple episodes of clearance and refilling in the dromos.⁸³ The wide chronological range of the finds could have resulted from the exhumation and collective, simultaneous reburial of several persons of different generations.

Burial remains in Ayios Iakovos tombs 1 and 4 may represent other types of post-interment ritual. In tomb 1, the skeletal remains of 10–12 individuals were gathered along the south wall on top of a layer of silt.⁸⁴ The silt contained some small pots, which were the only finds from the tomb. The stratification of the dromos suggested that the tomb was deliberately resealed after an episode of disturbance, leading the excavators to speculate that this was not a typical looting incident but rather an episode of “house-cleaning” in anticipation of future burials that never occurred.⁸⁵ A similar suggestion was made regarding tomb 4, where both the principal chamber and the side chamber contained very few finds and only fragmentary skeletal remains.⁸⁶ It is possible that portions of the tomb 1 and 4 burials and some of the associated goods were removed to inaugurate the use of a later chamber tomb.⁸⁷ In

the course of such rituals, some of the human remains and grave goods may have been selectively transferred to new tombs while others were left behind or discarded. Alternatively, some items, especially metal objects and other valuables, could conceivably have been returned to use by the living. Such practices would account for the highly variable condition of burials in many chamber tombs of EC–MC date, including the four approximately contemporaneous burials in Ayios Iakovos tomb 7, two of which were fragmentary and two of which were relatively complete.⁸⁸

The cemetery of Korovia Paleoskoutella on the Karpass peninsula affords perhaps the most complete evidence for secondary treatment and collective burial during the Cypriot Bronze Age from any single locality. The site dates to the MCIII or LCIA periods⁸⁹ and is remarkable for its diverse array of mortuary features, including simple and elaborate chamber tombs, as well as other complexes probably associated with a multistage program of mortuary ritual. All of these burial features were covered with earth and stone tumuli; the entire cemetery originally contained about 20 such tumuli, seven of which were investigated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The largest, tumulus 7, lay at the center of the burial ground and was surrounded by smaller tumuli spaced at regular distances from one another.⁹⁰ Tumulus 7 was three to four times larger than the others, measuring 22.0 x 17.5 x 3.1 m, and was built up in multiple layers of clay and stone surmounted by concentric casings of rubble.⁹¹ Its construction may have taken place over a period of several years, possibly in the course of periodic ritual observances. While the construction of tumuli and other ritual practices inferred at Paleoskoutella have long been regarded as evidence for some atypical and catastrophic event,⁹² closer consideration

1934, 302–55). Six of these appear to have been cut in MCII or MCIII, while the others may have been first used in LCI. The later tombs (8, 10, 14) are renowned for their so-called mass burials, which probably represent large-scale events of secondary treatment and collective reburial rather than catastrophic casualties of warfare or epidemic (Keswani 1989b, 272–8; 2004, 91–2).

⁸⁰ Åström 1972, 179, 189.

⁸¹ Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 124:2.

⁸² Skeleton VII, which was particularly well preserved, was reportedly positioned with the knees drawn up at a sharp angle, the tibia partly covered by other bones, and the skull lying near the wall.

⁸³ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 315–7.

⁸⁴ Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 119:1.

⁸⁵ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 304.

⁸⁶ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 311, fig. 124:1.

⁸⁷ In the case of the Merina of Madagascar, Bloch (1982, 213) notes that skeletal remains may be removed from an ostensibly final and permanent collective tomb in order to inaugurate the use of a new one, since an individual may not be placed alone in a tomb.

⁸⁸ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 322–5, fig. 125:5.

⁸⁹ Cf. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 437–8; Catling 1963, 157, no. 99; Merrillees 1971; Åström 1972, 194; Webb 1992, 92–3.

⁹⁰ See Gjerstad et al. (1934, plan IV:1). A few instances of earthen tumuli were observed over Late Cypriot tombs at Enkomi (Swedish tombs 7, 10, 11, 13, 21; see Gjerstad et al. 1934), and some EC–MC tombs at Alambra Mouttes were reportedly covered by mounds of earth and stones (Decker and Barlow 1983, 83), suggesting that the use of such markers was not entirely uncommon.

⁹¹ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 429–30.

⁹² Gjerstad et al. 1934, 438; Webb 1992, 94.

suggests that mortuary practices at this site were similar to those postulated for Lapithos and Ayios Iakovos.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated four chamber tombs at Paleoskoutella. Tombs 2 and 5 were both relatively small, crudely cut chamber tombs probably used for primary burials that were subsequently exhumed. At the time of excavation, the tombs appeared to have been cleared of all burial remains and goods, except for a few sherds, with the overlying tumuli being partially or entirely displaced when the tombs were emptied.⁹³ The chamber and dromos of tomb 5 had been systematically packed with rubble. On the basis of this filling and the complete removal of bones and artifactual material, the excavators proposed that the emptying of the tombs was a deliberate ritual act rather than an instance of recent looting.⁹⁴ The burials removed may have been reinterred in more elaborate chamber tombs, such as tombs 4 and 7. Tomb 4 contained two poorly preserved burials, thought to have been interred simultaneously.⁹⁵ Tomb 7, which bears a strong resemblance to Lapithos tomb 313A in plan, seems to have been used for a total of 14 simultaneous burials, some of which were fragmentary. Two skeletons in lateral, flexed positions were found in three of the four niches, while the fourth niche contained a single burial. Seven other skeletons were arranged on the chamber floor below the niches, apparently in similar positions. The excavator, E. Sjöqvist, noted that the placement of two skeletons in each of three of the niches was highly unusual. None of the 14 skeletons appeared to have been displaced to make room for subsequent burials; several of the burials seemed to have been introduced to the tomb as decomposing corpses or skeletal remains, including three of the individuals on the floor, which should have been among the latest and best-preserved burials. These anomalies led to the conclusion that all 14 burials had been interred simultaneously.⁹⁶ One of the Plain White sherds found in tomb 2 came from the same jar as a sherd found in the main trench dug through tumulus 7; this fact offers direct evidence for the transferral of burial deposits.⁹⁷

Tumuli 1, 3, and possibly 6, along with their underlying features, may represent other activities associated with the ritual treatment of the dead. The complex of cuttings beneath tumulus 1 was the largest and most intricate, extending over an area of 9.10 x 5.50 m and consisted of two sections where a number of pits (possibly postholes) were found. The finds included a Black Slip II jug, a spindle whorl, and 725 sherds mainly from shallow bowls. Several pits contained strata of "mouldered organic material" and/or bits of burned animal bone.⁹⁸ The presence of burned animal bone and the large quantity of shallow bowls suggest that food preparation and feasting occurred in this area, lending support to Sjöqvist's interpretation of the features associated with tumuli 1, 3, and 6 as cult places where sacrifices and other religious ceremonies were carried out.⁹⁹ It might also be suggested that some of these features were used for the processing of human remains between episodes of primary and secondary burial; treatments involving exposure and defleshing of the deceased could have taken place on structures such as platforms, scaffolding, or hammocks, for which postholes were required. Some of the pits with the "mouldered organic material" could have been used to collect or burn the secretions of decaying corpses. The use of the features associated with tumuli 1, 3, and 6 as processing facilities for human remains might also explain the presence of thick layers of white clayey earth and rock matter prior to the construction of the mounds. Calling this preparation "desecration" is questionable,¹⁰⁰ as many cultures practicing secondary treatment view decaying flesh as unclean or profane.¹⁰¹ It is possible that the white deposits in fact represent acts of ritual purification or cleansing rather than desecration.

Although the best-documented examples of secondary treatment and reburial come from the sites just discussed—Vounous and Lapithos in the northwest, Ayios Iakovos and Paleoskoutella in the northeast—other likely occurrences of such treatment may be discerned at various localities throughout the island. The cemeteries of Dhenia Kafkalla and Dhenia Mali, for example, are characterized by dis-

⁹³ Gjerstad et al. 1934, figs. 163:9, 166:3.

⁹⁴ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 421–2, 426–8, 438.

⁹⁵ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 423–5; 427, fig. 166:1.

⁹⁶ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 431, 438.

⁹⁷ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 438.

⁹⁸ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 416–9. The complex of features beneath tumulus 3 was roughly similar but smaller in scale (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 423, 420, fig. 163:11–13). Tumulus 6 covered

a rectangular shaft with an apsidal niche at the southeast corner, a circular pit in the northwest corner, and a low north-south rubble wall two courses high dividing the shaft into two unequal portions (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 427, fig. 166:4–6).

⁹⁹ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 419, 423.

¹⁰⁰ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 437–8.

¹⁰¹ E.g., Metcalf 1982, 178.

tinctive variation in mortuary features that may have resulted from multistage ritual treatment. Several tombs in these cemeteries were small, shallow features measuring no more than 2 m in length; although they appear to have been unaffected by modern looting activity, they contained notably few finds or human bones *in situ*.¹⁰² Their use would have overlapped with other much more elaborate chamber tombs at Dhenia Kafkalla, such as tomb 48, tomb G.W.1, and tomb 6. These tombs, although disturbed, contained large collections of pottery and were used for multiple burials. All of them had large, niched chambers.¹⁰³ Given the evidence from other EC–MC sites discussed above, it is possible that the disturbance and emptying of the other smaller, poorer mortuary features in the Dhenia cemeteries resulted from the exhumation and reinterment of primary burials in larger and more elaborate chamber tombs. The recent discovery of senet- and mehen-type gaming boards cut in the bedrock at Dhenia Kafkalla¹⁰⁴ suggests that funerals were occasions for social activity and entertainment, as in other societies that practice dual obsequies.

Other possible instances of secondary treatment and collective burial may be discerned in the cemeteries of Politiko Lambertis, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, and Kalopsidha in the central and eastern regions of Cyprus, as well as in Kalavassos village and Sotira Kaminoudhia on the south coast of the island. Politiko Lambertis tomb 18, one of the larger tombs found at this site and also one of the few in which silver objects were reported, contained a “mass burial” of 12–15 individuals.¹⁰⁵ Other “mass burials” have been attributed to Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi tomb 13 (a small feature in which Stewart observed nine skulls, some long bones, a few small pots, and metal ornaments dating to MCIII¹⁰⁶) and Kalopsidha tomb 28 (where Myres reported a thick layer of bones, including three skulls¹⁰⁷). Several tombs with buri-

als represented mainly by skulls were excavated by the Department of Antiquities in the ECIII–MCIII cemetery in Kalavassos village,¹⁰⁸ and other intact tombs containing only disarticulated human remains were excavated by the Vasilikos Valley Project (VVP).¹⁰⁹ At the earlier Philia–EC cemetery of Sotira Kaminoudhia, located further to the west, the practice of secondary treatment was indicated by the fact that articulated skeletal remains were found in only a few of the 21 tombs excavated. It is also possible that infant burials were exhumed from several small cist graves containing artifacts but no human bones.¹¹⁰

Social and Ideological Implications of Secondary Treatment and Collective Burial

The mortuary evidence discussed above suggests that, in addition to primary inhumation, many complex programs of mortuary treatment were undertaken in Cypriot prehistoric Bronze Age communities. In some cases, as in the cemeteries of Bellapais Vounous and Kalavassos village, rituals emphasizing the curation and reburial of the skull seem to have been practiced for some individuals. Further post-interment rituals involving the removal and repositioning of the skull and the grouping of long bones from multiple individuals, along with possible occurrences of collective secondary burial, seem to have taken place at Vounous. Modes of secondary treatment involving the exhumation and reburial of remains from pit graves, pithoi, and dromos cupboards were probably practiced at the cemetery of Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba, where several instances of simultaneous, collective burials have also been noted. Other collective secondary burials, sometimes referred to as mass burials, seem to have taken place at Ayios Iakovos Melia, Korovia Paleoskoutella, and perhaps in the cemeteries of Dhenia, Politiko, Ayia Paraskevi, and Kalopsidha. While there was probably considerable variation in

¹⁰² See Kafkalla tombs 49, 163, 167–169; Mali tombs 24–26 (Nicolaou and Nicolaou 1988). No dates were proposed for Mali tombs 25 and 26, but the others all seem to have been used between ECIII and MCI or MCII, making them contemporaneous with the larger chamber tombs.

¹⁰³ Tomb 48 (Nicolaou and Nicolaou 1988, fig. 2) contained at least 10 skulls and over 277 objects of ECIII–MCIII date. Tomb G.W.1 (Åström and Wright 1962, fig. 6) measured approximately 5 x 4 m and was reported to have been used for several burials of MCII date. Tomb 6 (Åström and Wright 1962, fig. 8) was an even larger complex (9 x 4 m) representing the fusion of two tombs and containing approximately 175 objects of MCI–MCIII date.

¹⁰⁴ Herscher 1998, 320.

¹⁰⁵ It measured 3.50 x 3.50 x 0.75 m (Gjerstad 1926, 81).

¹⁰⁶ Hennessy et al. 1988, 20–1.

¹⁰⁷ Myres 1897, 146.

¹⁰⁸ Tombs 1, 8, 9, 11, and possibly 5 in Karageorghis 1958.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., tombs 39–40, Todd 1986, 28–30.

¹¹⁰ See Swiny et al. (2003, 143–4) for a discussion of alternative possibilities. It now seems more likely that the triangular arrangement of two humeri and a femur on the floor of unit 16, along with the presence of another femur and a pelvis in area 6 of the settlement (Schulte-Campbell 2003, 436; Swiny et al. 2003, 27), resulted from scavenging by animals in the aftermath of an earthquake (Swiny 2004, 2) rather than from the intentional human manipulation of skeletal remains in habitation contexts (cf. Keswani 2004, 49).

the details and frequencies of these practices among different communities and regions, the extraordinary collective interments in Lapithos tomb 313A, Ayios Iakovos tomb 6, and Paleoskoutella tomb 7, each consisting of 14–15 carefully arranged burials, would seem to attest to a widely shared complex of mortuary ritual and ideology. The staging of such large-scale funerary events seems to have escalated during the MC period, when energy expenditure in tomb construction and material expenditure in grave goods were also on the rise.¹¹¹

It is important to note that like other cultures practicing elaborate forms of dual obsequies, Cypriot communities did not necessarily accord such treatment to all individuals. At Vounous, Lapithos, and other sites, single or sequential primary interments, as well as mixed primary and secondary burials, seem to be represented. In addition, not all secondary burials were distinctively rich, nor were all rich burials clearly secondary.

Metcalf's study of funerary rituals among the Berawan of Borneo helps elucidate some of the practical considerations affecting the execution of dual obsequies, and may serve as a provisional model for Cypriot ritual observances. The Berawan believe that the souls of the deceased do not come to rest in the land of the dead permanently until the flesh has decomposed and the bones are dry. Their ideal sequence of mortuary rites, known as *nulang*, entails primary burial followed by a much more elaborate and extended second funeral in which the deceased is exhumed and reburied. This second funeral completes the journey of the dead, and many guests are invited to participate in feasting and singing songs for the deceased person. Yet it should be noted that *nulang* is accorded to a relatively small proportion of individuals. This does not necessarily mean that others do not undergo the same journey or transition, only that their transformation is not celebrated.¹¹² *Nulang* is undertaken mainly when aspiring leaders decide to construct a new and elaborate mausoleum as a display of social prestige, or when seasonal and economic constraints prevent the family from staging an appropriate celebration at the time of death.¹¹³ When a suitable tomb is already available, and the family has sufficient resources to stage a "grand" funeral immediately, secondary treatment is not practiced.

Similar practical contingencies may have affected the choice of burial programs in Bronze Age Cyprus.

The construction of large rock-cut chamber tombs (some with floor areas in excess of 20 m² at Lapithos and Dhenia), the marshalling of resources for communal or pan-communal feasting and hospitality (livestock and other foodstuffs), and the accumulation of grave goods (especially pottery and copper-based objects) to be disposed of with the dead are all factors that may have necessitated a delay in the final commemoration of the deceased. In some cases, secondary mortuary celebrations may have involved lavish displays of wealth and largesse; in others, the overall levels of expenditure may have been lower but no less costly for the sponsoring groups in terms of the efforts required relative to household wealth. Secondary funerals in which multiple individuals were reburied at the same time may have necessitated particularly demanding and extended preparations for both richer and poorer groups alike.

The extent of the ideological similarities between the Berawan and Bronze Age Cypriot mortuary complexes is more difficult to reconstruct. Among the Berawan, the separation of the flesh from the bones (commemorated in rituals of secondary treatment and collective burial) marks the separation of the soul of the deceased from the living and its incorporation into the spiritual world of the ancestors. However, notions about the journey of the soul and the afterlife are variable in contemporary societies that practice dual obsequies. Among the Bara of Madagascar, such beliefs are seldom directly articulated; the reburial of the deceased in the collective patrilineal tomb ("from mother's womb to father's tomb") may be interpreted instead as a means of restoring the imbalance between death and the vitality essential to natural fertility and human reproduction.¹¹⁴ Cypriot communities, far removed both culturally and geographically from Indonesia and Madagascar, undoubtedly had unique beliefs of their own. However, the concept of an afterlife and the power exercised by the ancestors as intermediaries between the natural and supernatural worlds may have formed part of those beliefs. The members of Cypriot Bronze Age communities clearly believed the dead wanted or needed many of the same goods, provisions, tools, and ceremonial regalia that were used by the living. In addition, ceramic models or representations of themes relating to human reproduction and subsistence were sometimes among the burial items. By providing the dead with the goods they required and staging the ap-

¹¹¹ On the social implications of energy expenditure in mortuary practice and monumental construction, see Tainter 1973, 1975, 1978; Trigger 1990.

¹¹² Metcalf 1982, 103, 155–7.

¹¹³ Metcalf 1982, 159.

¹¹⁴ Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 111–3.

propriate sequence of ritual treatment, the living funeral sponsors may well have believed they were transforming their dead relatives into powerful ancestors whose favor would assure the ongoing fertility and prosperity of their kin.

Another distinctive feature of EC–MC mortuary practice is the increasing emphasis on tomb groups rather than individual burials, with mean burial group size rising. Most of the ECI tombs at Vounous A were used for burial groups of one to two individuals, with a mean of 1.6 burials per chamber. The later burial groups at Vounous B were generally larger, with a mean of 2.9 burials per chamber. Similarly at Lapithos, mean burial group size was 2.2 within the chambers of the EC and transitional ECIIIB/MCI periods, rising to 4.2 in chambers of MC date. A few very rich chambers of the later period had unusually large burial groups of 10–15 individuals. This visible increase in group size is attributable not only to the growing numbers of concurrent burials but also to the protracted reuse of tombs over multiple generations, which in turn suggests a long-term identification of kin groups with their ancestors. Concurrently, at Vounous and other sites there seems to have been a shift away from mainly single-chambered tombs toward dual- or multi-chambered tomb complexes.¹¹⁵ Such multi-chambered complexes were prevalent in the north at Lapithos, and in the south at Erimi Kafkalla, Evdhimou Shilles, Paramali Mandra, Paramali Pharkonia and Episkopi Phaneromeni.¹¹⁶ At Episkopi Phaneromeni, one extraordinary “trench dromos” measured 7–8 m in length and opened onto a complex of 9 to 12 chambers. The chambers were arranged in four pairs on the long sides of the dromos, their doors almost opposite each other.¹¹⁷ Like the overall increase in burial group size, the construction of multi-chambered tomb complexes probably represents the emergence of strong interests in expressing lineal or other kin ties among group members and links to their ancestors in a highly visible, material, and permanent fashion.

The social and biological relationships of the individuals interred in common tombs are all but completely unknown, largely due to the dearth of scientific studies of human skeletal remains. In the

case of paired burials, we can rarely even say whether male–female couples or same sex pairs are represented. At least one male–female couple was reported in Vounous A tomb 90,¹¹⁸ but other pairs may have been differently constituted. Similarly, in the case of larger burial groups, we do not know how the individuals were related (biologically or by a combination of descent and other social ties, such as marriage) or whether there were closer biological relationships among the males or the females included in the same tomb chambers. However, ethnographic evidence suggests that persons buried together within a particular tomb were more likely to have been linked by kinship or other social ties rather than unrelated individuals who simply happened to die at the same time.¹¹⁹ The construction of ornate niched chambers such as Lapithos tomb 313A and Paleoskoutella tomb 7 suggests prior architectural planning was undertaken with the intention of accommodating specific individuals in a carefully structured fashion, perhaps with forebears assigned to the niches and their descendants arranged below on the chamber floor. Likewise, the symmetrical arrangement of chambers along trench dromoi at Episkopi Phaneromeni may be another indication of burial accommodations planned for specific members of a social group. Thus it may be argued that meaningful, collectively acknowledged, and probably kin-based social entities were associated with particular tombs; unfortunately, the basis upon which those groups were defined (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, or bilateral kinship ties) cannot be determined at present.

The emphasis on collective rather than individual identities in EC–MC mortuary celebrations was probably consistent with the exigencies of social and economic life. Regardless of the extent to which individuals or individual households might have augmented their wealth and social prestige (through the production of agricultural surplus, the manipulation of alliance and exchange networks, and the elaboration of their personal paraphernalia), status claims must ultimately have been underwritten by kin group support. The importance of intergenerational transfers of wealth in establishing and maintaining individual house-

¹¹⁵ Single-chambered tombs predominated at Vounous A, but multi-chambered complexes made up at least one-third of the tomb sample at Vounous B. One particularly interesting complex at Vounous B may be seen in Schaeffer (1936, fig. 10) and Dunn-Vaturi (2003, fig. 23), illustrating the intersecting or overlapping dromoi of tombs 70, 73, 75, and 78. Not all of these dromoi seem to have been deliberately joined, but

the cutting of several tombs in such close proximity to one another may well have had some symbolic significance.

¹¹⁶ Weinberg 1956; Carpenter 1981; Swiny 1981, 82–3.

¹¹⁷ Weinberg 1956, 121, fig. 13.

¹¹⁸ Stewart and Stewart 1950, 94.

¹¹⁹ See Keswani 1989b, 82–6. For a different view, see Webb 1992, 88.

hold groups may have been one of the factors contributing to this dependency. Another factor may have been the need for cooperation in agricultural labor, especially at the harvest and other periods of intense activity. Kin group support may also have been crucial in meeting ritual responsibilities such as the sponsorship of large-scale mortuary celebrations and the fulfillment of marriage payments. Furthermore, it would have enabled households to pool or borrow resources so as to participate in the regional network of exchange in metal, livestock, marriage partners, and other goods.

The kinship ties noted above would have been celebrated in mortuary ritual, reinforcing the consciousness of lineage or descent group identity through the commemoration of the group's common ancestors. An important corollary to these expressions of group identity was the public affirmation of a group's social status and wealth, an affirmation that was subject to public evaluation based on the costliness of the mortuary festivities. There is strong evidence to suggest that levels of mortuary expenditure increased through time as mortuary ritual became an ever more important arena for the creation and negotiation of social prestige; this is discussed in the following section.

MORTUARY RITUAL AND PRESTIGE IN THE EARLY–MIDDLE CYPRIOT PERIODS

The social structure of EC–MC communities has been the subject of conflicting interpretations in recent years. On one side of the debate are those who argue that social and economic life during this time was dominated by “status-conscious” and “weapon-bearing” elites¹²⁰ with “sustained and inheritable power.”¹²¹ Knapp hypothesizes that elite power groups emerged and held sway in the northern regions of Cyprus by approximately 2000 B.C., or the onset of the MC period.¹²² This occurred in conjunction with the secondary products revolution, the development of a local copper industry, and the associated changes in the social relations of production. He finds evidence for the development of socioeconomic inequality in the high concentration of copper artifacts in a small number of tombs at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba. Manning interprets the metal-rich cemeteries of Vasilia Kafkallia and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba as the exclusive burial

grounds of hereditary elites who made use of a distinctive prestige assemblage, notably copper weaponry, in emulation of Anatolian elites. Manning additionally argues that elite groups made use of elaborate ceramic vessels in their burial assemblages; alcoholic beverages were produced under elite supervision and consumed on occasions of elite-sponsored hospitality and largesse.¹²³ Both Manning and Peltenburg have also argued for a highly stratified social order based on their interpretations of the symbolism of the “sacred enclosure” bowl model from Vounous tomb 22. According to Manning, the representation within the bowl of a male seated on a raised chair and presiding over a ritual scene attests to “an institutionalized, secular form of power concentrated in, or expressed by, a key individual.” Based on his interpretation of the bowl, he concludes that “one may recognize an hereditary elite and all the ingredients for further development into entities like polities or states.”¹²⁴ Peltenburg similarly views the Vounous bowl as the expression of an hierarchical social order dominated by a ritually sanctified leader, drawing structural comparisons between the arrangement of male, female, and animal figures arranged inside the Vounous bowl and the depiction of nature, mankind, the king, and the goddess on the famous alabaster relief vase from the E-anna precinct of Mesopotamian Uruk.¹²⁵

On the other side of the social structure debate are those who argue that EC–MC society was characterized by a relatively low level of socioeconomic differentiation. Swiny has commented on the lack of evidence for a “Chieftdom Stage” prior to the emergence of urban communities in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age; he contends that prior to the 17th century B.C., copper production was not extensive enough in scale to encourage foreign trade, local wealth accumulations, or the “creation of status-conscious elites.”¹²⁶ Coleman, in summarizing the significance of excavations at the MC settlement of Alambra Mouttes, notes the absence of any distinctively large public or private buildings and the lack of “any particular focus of authority or wealth in the village layout.” He suggests that while authority figures such as the large male depicted in the Vounous bowl possibly existed, their realm of influence may have been limited to their extended households.¹²⁷ Frankel draws a similar conclusion

¹²⁰ Peltenburg 1994, 158–9.

¹²¹ Manning 1993, 45.

¹²² Knapp 1990, 161.

¹²³ Manning 1993; Manning and Swiny 1994. On tombs as elite monuments, see also Ribeiro 2002, 207.

¹²⁴ Manning 1993, 45–6.

¹²⁵ Peltenburg 1994. See Moortgart (1969, 13) for the Uruk vase.

¹²⁶ Swiny 1989, 28.

¹²⁷ Coleman 1996, 329.

based on excavations at the Philia-EC-MC settlement at Marki Alonia, where he finds minimal differentiation in the scale or quality of housing and no evidence for supra-household-level storage, accumulated wealth, or social stratification.¹²⁸ Extending his consideration to the cemeteries of the period, Frankel finds “no identifiable symbols of power or prestige,”¹²⁹ and little evidence for patterned inequality, except for some concentrations of metalwork. Davies, based on his study of EC-MC mortuary data, has likewise argued for “a model of broad homogeneity in mortuary practice throughout the prehistoric Bronze Age, consistent with a low level of socioeconomic differentiation.”¹³⁰

The reality, or lived experience, of social structure in EC-MC communities probably lay somewhere between these contrasting views. Careful consideration of architectural and artifactual variations between tomb groups suggests that there were significant differences in status and wealth both within and between communities from the onset of the EC period. However, the increase in both tomb size and the quantities of grave goods consumed, and the primarily quantitative (not qualitative) differences observed in burial assemblages, suggest that a high level of prestige competition was under way throughout the EC-MC periods, and that differences in status were graded and negotiable rather than rigidly hierarchical. Analyses of the mortuary assemblages from Vounous and Lapithos and comparisons with other cemeteries help illustrate dynamic changes in mortuary consumption and display over time.

Mortuary Display at Bellapais Vounous

Burial goods from the Vounous tombs included a rich and diverse array of Red Polished pottery; lesser quantities of Black Polished and White Painted wares; a variety of copper-based weapons, ornaments, and tools; other artifacts, such as spindle whorls and whetstones; and the remains of sheep, goat, and cattle. Figure 6 illustrates some of the more typical shapes of Red Polished and Black Polished bowls, storage jars, and jugs deriving from tomb 164A, mentioned in the previous section. Figure 7 illustrates some of the highly distinctive pots

from site A described by the excavators as “cult vessels” and herein referred to more generally as ceremonial vessels.¹³¹ These include the unusual vase with a modeled pouring scene from tomb 164A (fig. 7a), along with stemmed and tulip-shaped bowls with coroplastic ornaments from tombs 160A and 91, respectively (fig. 7b, c), forms which recur in a number of tombs. Other unusual ceramic items, such as models of bull horns, spindles, daggers, and sheaths, were found in tombs at site A, with additional forms, such as brush models, plank idols, and genre scenes, occurring at site B (figs. 5, 8). New types of ceremonial vessels came into use at Vounous B, such as composite vessels, ring vases, double- and triple-necked jugs, other jugs and bowls with elaborate modeled and incised decoration, pyxides and askoi (sometimes representing birds, boats, etc.), as illustrated in figure 9. Figures 10 and 11 illustrate two of the richest groups of copper finds from sites A and B, respectively. At Vounous A, the assemblage of copper-based artifacts consisted mainly of knives, axes, and hook-tang weapons.¹³² At Vounous B, these same artifact types were found along with pins, razors or scrapers, tweezers, and other copper-based objects. Imported Levantine pottery, faience beads, and gold ornaments were found in a few rare instances in tombs at both cemeteries, though more commonly at Vounous B.

The differences in wealth among tomb groups at Vounous A (dating mainly to ECI), the earlier tomb groups at Vounous B (dating mainly between ECII–ECIIIA), and the later tomb groups of Vounous B (dating mainly between ECIIIB–MCII) are summarized in tables 2–4. The data presented in each table derive primarily from tombs that were deemed intact at the time of excavation or, in a few instances, from those that had substantially preserved collections of grave goods despite some signs of disturbance. In each table, roughly contemporaneous tomb groups are divided into three or four tiers of wealth, based on the number of copper items per chamber, with the first tier including tombs with no copper objects, and the subsequent tiers including tomb groups with small and progressively larger quantities of copper. The divisions between tiers are purely arbitrary and should not be equated with

¹²⁸ Frankel 2002, 173.

¹²⁹ Frankel 2002, 174.

¹³⁰ Davies 1997, 22.

¹³¹ Many simpler shapes may of course also have been used in ceremonial as well as more mundane contexts, as witnessed by the depiction of the pouring jug in fig. 7a and the jug and bowls found on the ceramic offering table illustrated in fig. 9d.

However, I use the term “ceremonial vessels” here to refer to complex forms that seem more likely to have been displayed and used in ritual and/or convivial contexts than in daily, utilitarian activities.

¹³² These items have often been described as daggers or swords but are more likely to have served as spearheads; see Philip 1991, 67–72.

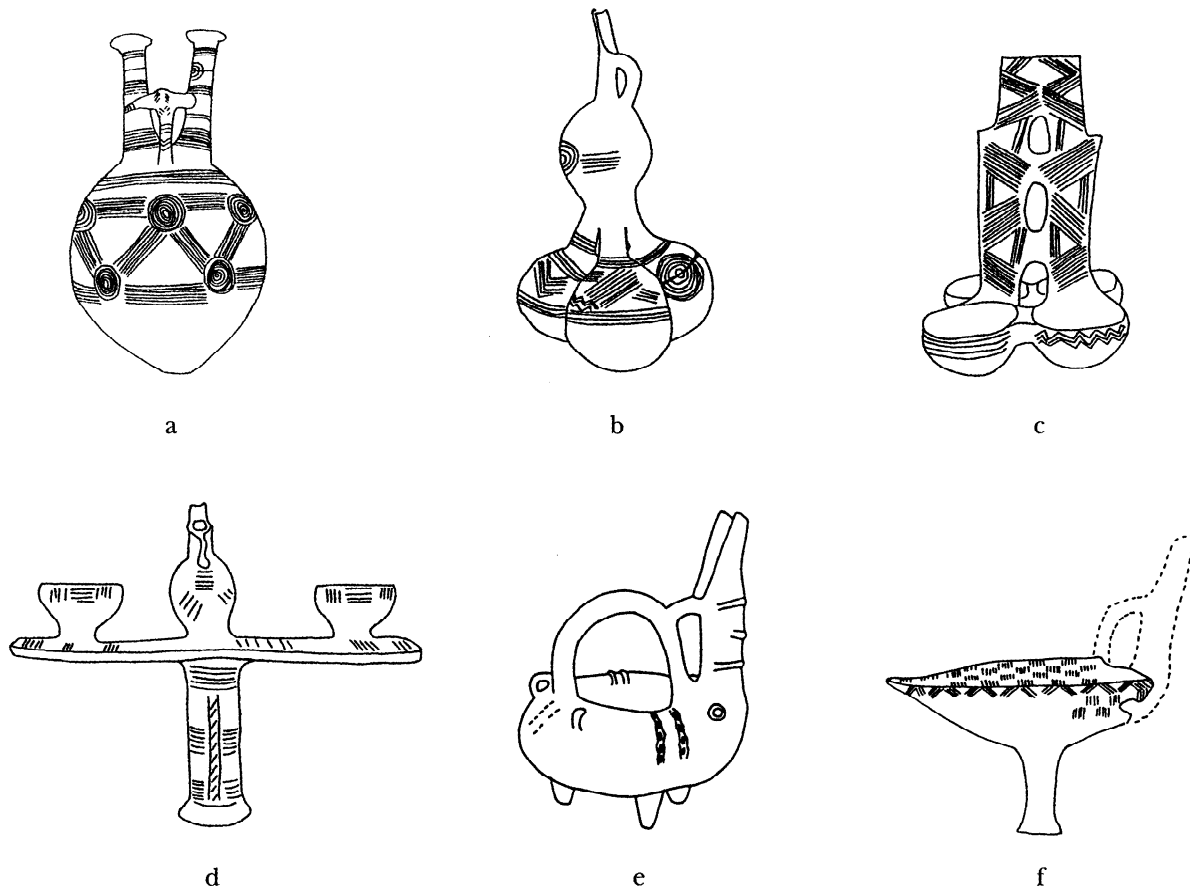


Fig. 9. Diverse Red Polished (RP) cult or ceremonial vessels from Bellapais Vounous, site B: *a*, double-necked jug, tomb 9, no. 161, height 55 cm; *b*, composite jug with cutaway spout, tomb 9, no. 149, height 18 cm; *c*, composite vessel with four bowls, tomb 9, no. 84, height 30 cm; *d*, offering table with jug and bowls, tomb 9, no. 63, height 17 cm; *e*, ring vase, tomb 56, no. 87, height 13.4 cm; *f*, askos with bird-shaped body, tomb 56, no. 91, preserved height 8 cm. (After Morris 1985, figs. 8, 57, 70, 97, 3; Dunn-Vaturi 2003, pl. 23, respectively)

an order of stratification within the living society. The tiers serve as an heuristic illustration of the extent to which other measures of wealth and energy expenditure (such as the number of pots per chamber or chamber floor area) rose in conjunction with both the increasing copper wealth and the increasing number of burials per chamber. They also illustrate the distribution of particular categories of prestige goods (ceremonial vessels, ceramic models, and imported goods), along with the consumption of large fauna (cattle, sheep, and goat) in groups of varying wealth.

Some interesting disparities in mortuary expenditure within the cemetery at Vounous A are illustrated in table 2. Exactly 50% (20 out of 40) intact tomb chambers at this locality contained no metal

items. These tombs also had the lowest means of pots per chamber and chamber floor area relative to the other tiers. However, the percentages of ceremonial vessels, ceramic models, and large faunal remains contained in the tombs of the first tier were closely comparable to the second tier. It is extremely unfortunate that we cannot assess the degree to which the demographic variables (age and gender) of the burials may have affected wealth expenditure, particularly of copper items, in the first tier.¹³³ Yet even if the absence of metal and the relatively small quantities of pottery observed were linked to one or both of these variables, a comparison of the second and third tiers suggests that there were also differences in wealth and prestige-related consumption within the “metal-eligible” segments of

¹³³ On the basis of the burials that Rix identified by sex (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 374), it can only be said that at least one of the intact tombs in the first tier (tomb 116) contained a male burial, and two looted tombs with no copper items (tombs 127 and 153) also contained one or more male burials. Stewart and Stewart (1950, 174) also noted the presence of a child aged 6–12 years in tomb 120. In the second tier, one of two burials in tomb 107 was reportedly a female aged 11–13 years; both of the burials in tomb 83 were said

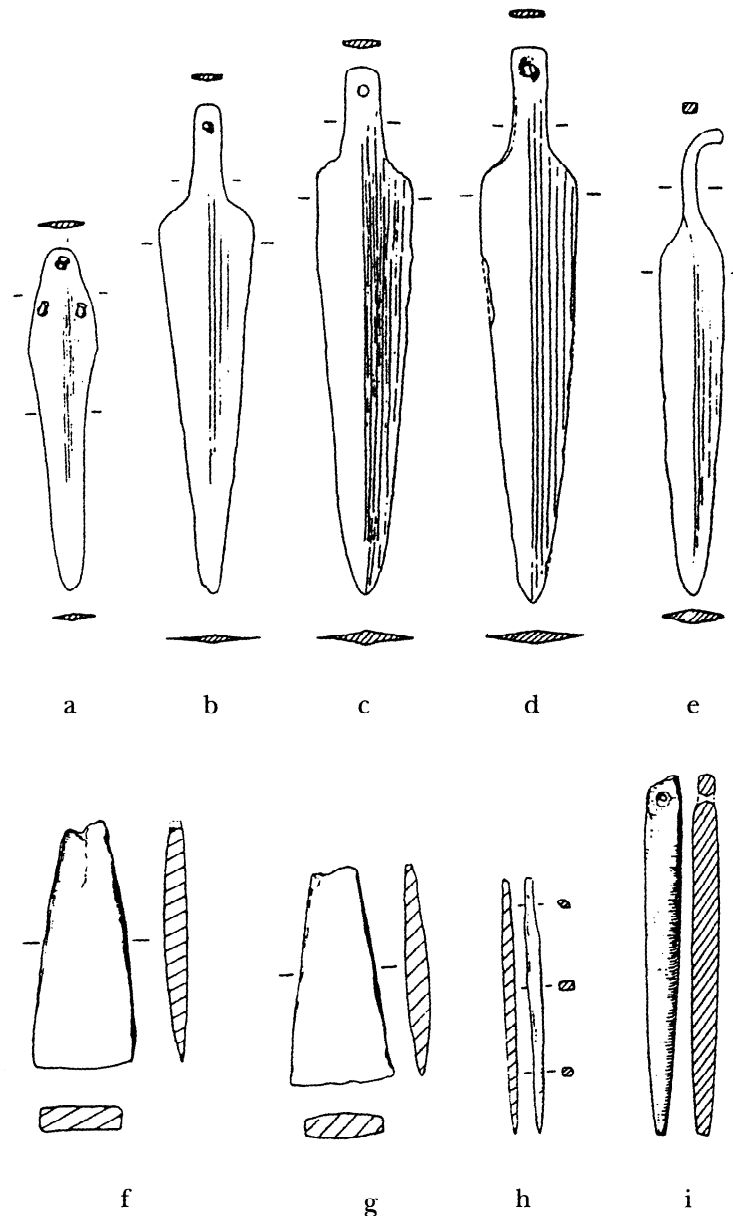


Fig. 10. Copper objects and a whetstone from Bellapais Vounous, site A, tomb 105: *a*, tangless knife, no. 23, length 9 cm; *b*, flat-tanged knife, no. 25, length 15.2 cm; *c*, flat-tanged knife, no. 34, length 16.6 cm; *d*, flat-tanged knife, no. 33, length 17.4 cm; *e*, hook-tang weapon, no. 24, length 14.7 cm; *f*, axe, no. 30A, length 6.8 cm; *g*, axe, no. 30B, length 6 cm; *h*, awl, no. 32, length 6.9 cm; *i*, whetstone, no. 27, length 19.2 cm. (Stewart 1962a, figs. 100:5, 98:13, 98:14, 98:15, 97:8, 100:21, 100:22, 100:26, 103:13, respectively)

the community. The twofold disparity in mean pots per chamber and mean chamber floor area between the second and third tiers may have been partially, although not entirely, correlated with increasing burial group size (table 5). However, the low corre-

lation value of 0.293 in table 5 also shows that at Vounous A, the quantities of copper items per chamber varied independently of the number of burials per chamber; indeed, overall, only one or two burials were present in each of the three richest tombs:

to be male, and the single burial in tomb 160A was also apparently male. Stewart and Stewart (1950, 94) further identified the two individuals in tomb 90 as a male and a female. In the third tier, one of the four burials in tomb 118 was reportedly male. These scanty data do not permit any age- or gender-related inferences.

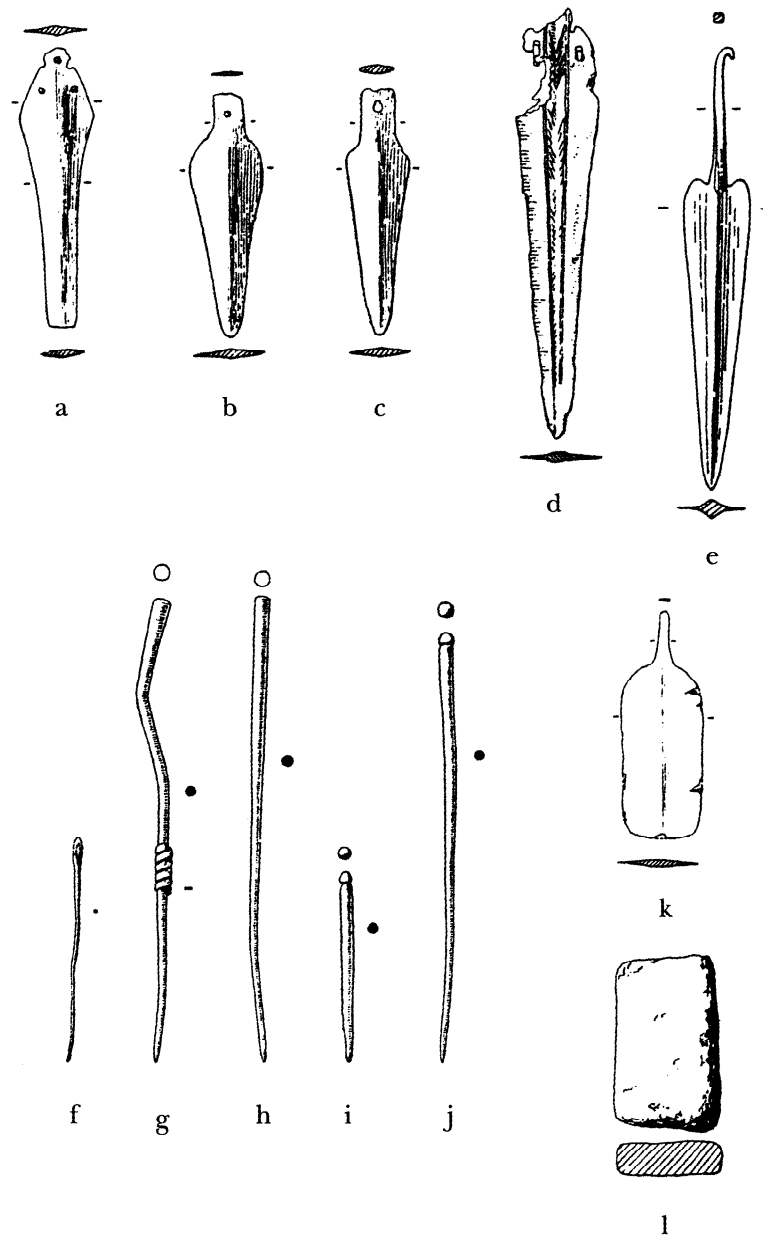


Fig. 11. Copper objects and a whetstone from Bellapais Vounous, site B, tomb 143: *a*, tangless knife, no. 43, length 11.7 cm; *b*, flat-tanged knife, no. 58, length 10.4 cm; *c*, flat-tanged knife, no. 112, length 10.3 cm; *d*, Minoan dagger, no. 32, length 17.8 cm; *e*, hook-tang weapon, no. 54, length 21.7 cm; *f*, needle, no. 128, length 7.2 cm; *g*, pin, no. 111, length 15.9 cm; *h*, pin, no. 40, length 15.7 cm; *i*, pin, no. 129, length 6.5 cm; *j*, pin, no. 39, length 14.6 cm; *k*, razor/scrapper, no. 53, length 9.3 cm; *l*, whetstone, no. 127, length 14.6 cm. See Catling and Karageorghis (1960, 110–1) on the Minoan dagger. (Stewart 1962a, figs. 100:6, 100:1, 100:2, 100:8, 98:2, 102:3, 102:4, 102:5, 102:14, 102:15, 100:16, 103:14, respectively)

164A, 161, and 105 (4, 5, and 10 copper items, respectively). The same three tombs were also among the largest in terms of chamber floor area, and they were located along the highest contour interval of the cemetery. In short, the concentration of copper artifacts in these tombs and its cooccurrence with both large tomb size and patterned location suggest that wealth and status differentials existed within the Vounous community as early as ECI.

These differences in wealth are quantitative rather than qualitative. The metal goods, distinctive ceramic items (ceremonial vessels and models), and the large faunal remains that occurred in the third tier also occurred in the second and (with the exception of metal) first tiers, albeit with lower frequencies. Such patterning may reflect a system of status differences based on seniority within the local kin group structure and enhanced by individual wealth

Table 2. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among the ECI Tombs of Vounous A

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Ceramic Models	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with No Copper (Tier 1) N=20	mean=13.8 std. dev.=6.3 range=5-27	7 35%	2 10%	4 20%	-	mean=2.6 std. dev.=1.0 range=1.0-5.1	mean=1.3 std. dev.=0.5 range=1-2
Intact Tombs with 1-2 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=14	mean=20.4 std. dev.=11.8 range=4-43	5 36%	1 7%	4 29%	1 7%	mean=3.2 std. dev.=0.9 range=1.9-4.8	mean=1.5 std. dev.=0.5 range=1-2
Intact Tombs with 3-10 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=6	mean=41.0 std. dev.=14.9 range=18-56	5 83%	2 33%	5 83%	-	mean=6.5 std. dev.=1.8 range=4.0-8.5	mean=2.0 std. dev.=1.2 range=1-4

Table 3. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among the Earlier (Mainly ECII-ECIIIA) Tombs of Vounous B

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Ceramic Models	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with No Copper (Tier 1) N=19	mean=29.7 std. dev.=15.9 range=5-64	6 32%	4 21%	4 21%	-	mean=4.9 std. dev.=2.0 range=2.2-7.8	mean=1.8 std. dev.=1.2 range=1-3
Intact Tombs with 1-2 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=5	mean=44.4 std. dev.=12.6 range=23-56	2 40%	2 40%	2 40%	-	mean=4.6 std. dev.=n/a range=4.0-5.2	mean=3.3 std. dev.=1.0 range=2-4+
Intact Tombs with 6-7 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=2	mean=51.0 std. dev.=n/a range=50-52	2 100%	1 50%	1 50%	-	no data ^a	mean=n/a std. dev.=n/a range=?-6

^a The absence of published tomb plans for tombs in this tier precludes calculation of floor areas.

Table 4. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among the Later (Mainly ECIIB–MCII) Tombs of Vounous B

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Ceramic Models	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with No Copper (Tier 1) N=13	mean=29.4 std. dev.=19.2 range=4–69	3 23%	1 8%	4 31%	–	mean=4.4 std. dev.=n/a range=2.8–5.9	mean=1.6 std. dev.=1.1 range=1–4
Intact Tombs with 1–3 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=13	mean=41.1 std. dev.=23.8 range=9–91	8 62%	1 8%	5 38%	–	no data ^a	mean=2.0 std. dev.=0.7 range=1–2?
Intact Tombs with 4–9 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=18	mean=79.7 std. dev.=36.9 range=26–149	16 89%	3 17%	9 50%	2 11%	mean=8.7 std. dev.=1.3 range=7.8–10.2	mean=4.0 std. dev.=2.6 range=1–9
Intact Tombs with 11–24 Copper Items (Tier 4) N=7	mean=125.3 std. dev.=32.4 range=70–165	7 100%	3 43%	2 29%	4 57%	1 observation: 8.1	mean=6.0 std. dev.=2.0 range=4–8

^a The absence of published tomb plans for tombs in this tier precludes calculation of floor areas.

Table 5. Correlation Coefficients (Pearson's r), showing the Relationships Among Various Measures of Wealth, Energy Expenditure, and Burial Group Size in Different Chronological Periods at Vounous

	Burials per Chamber	Est. Chamber Floor Area	Pots per Chamber	Copper Items per Chamber
Vounous A (ECI)				
Burials per Chamber	1	—	—	—
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.456	1	—	—
Pots per Chamber	0.503	0.774	1	—
Copper Items per Chamber	0.293	0.564	0.574	1
Vounous B Early (ECII–ECIIIA)				
Burials per Chamber	1	—	—	—
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.559	1	—	—
Pots per Chamber	0.685	0.573	1	—
Copper Items per Chamber	0.643	0.741	0.520	1
Vounous B Late (ECIIIB–MCII)				
Burials per Chamber	1	—	—	—
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.360	1	—	—
Pots per Chamber	0.821	0.709	1	—
Copper Items per Chamber	0.631	0.722	0.664	1

and accomplishments (e.g., alliances and trading partnerships yielding access to copper) rather than a system dominated by an elite enjoying exclusive access to certain types of prestige goods. Moreover, the only instances of imported goods came from a chamber in the middle tier of overall wealth, tomb 164B, where pieces of sheet gold and a jug of probable Palestinian origin were found.¹³⁴ Thus there is no evidence to suggest that foreign valuables were either monopolized or deployed as exclusive prestige symbols by the richest “tier 3” groups at this time.

The patterns of mortuary expenditure seen at Vounous B are strikingly different from those at Vounous A; in addition, there are also notable differences between the earlier and later tombs of Vounous B. As shown in table 3, the ECII–IIIA tombs of Vounous B are quite poor in metal in comparison both to the earlier ECI tombs of Vounous A (table 2) and to the later ECIIIB–MCII tombs of site B (table 4). A total of 73% (19 out of 26) of the tombs contained no copper items, five tombs had one to two items per chamber, and two tombs had six to seven copper items.¹³⁵ An actual shortage of metal during this period rather than changes in

prestige symbolism and mortuary consumption patterns may account for the scarcity of copper artifacts in the ECII–ECIIIA tombs. This is suggested by the large quantities of ceramics deposited in tombs of all tiers, coupled with the occurrence of ceramic models of metal daggers and sheaths. The correlations among the number of burials per chamber with variables such as chamber floor area, pots per chamber, and copper items per chamber are all fairly strong (table 5), which suggests that variations in mortuary expenditure among tomb groups were probably related as much, if not more, to burial group size as to pronounced differences in wealth and prestige. In addition, as was the case at Vounous A, ceremonial vases, ceramic models, and the remains of large fauna were found in both the richer and poorer tombs.

In the later tombs of Vounous B, all forms of mortuary consumption escalated markedly. Nearly 75% (38 out of 51) of the tombs in this group contained one or more copper artifacts. Table 4 illustrates the distribution of the types and quantities of finds within four broad tiers: 13 tombs have no copper items, 13 tombs have 1–3 copper objects per chamber, 18 tombs each have 4–9 copper items, and 7

¹³⁴ For extensive discussion on the origins of this pot, see Stewart 1939b; Amiran 1971, 1973; Ross 1994.

¹³⁵ The Stewarts' tomb 146 contained the poorest of all the burials (identified as a female by Rix) with no copper items and only five pots. At least some male burials were also lacking

in copper, however, as observed in the Stewarts' tombs 132 and 141 (see Rix' identifications in Stewart and Stewart 1950, 374). There is no information regarding the sexes of burials with copper in the earlier tombs of Vounous B.

tombs have 11–24 copper items per chamber.¹³⁶ As shown in table 5, the correlations among the number of copper items per chamber, pots per chamber, chamber floor area, and the number of burials per chamber are generally as strong as or stronger than those in the earlier chronological groups (except in the case of chamber floor area and burial group size). However, the increase in ceramics and metal goods consumed in the latest period at Vounous B were not only related to the increasing number of burials per chamber but also to rising levels of mortuary expenditure within the community at large. This is evident when the mean per capita values of pots per burial (the number of pots in each chamber divided by the number of burials observed) and copper items per burial (similarly calculated) are compared with the per capita values of Vounous A and the early tombs of Vounous B. As illustrated in table 6, the mean pots per burial rose steadily through the three chronological groups defined. Copper items per burial dropped in the earlier tombs of Vounous B but increased considerably in the later Vounous B tombs. The median values for both of these indices also increased from the earliest to the latest periods at Vounous, suggesting that kin groups throughout the community were increasing their mortuary outlays in the context of competitive displays.

This same trend is evident in the labor invested in tomb construction. Mean chamber floor area rose from 3.7 m² at Vounous A to 5.3 m² in the earlier tombs at Vounous B, and then to 8.3 m² in the later tombs at Vounous B (table 6). As previously noted, the correlation between chamber floor area and the number of burials per chamber is weakest for the later Vounous B tombs, suggesting that the increasing effort devoted to tomb construction was at least partially independent of increasing burial group size. As median floor areas rose, it seems that energy expenditure in tomb construction was increasing throughout the community; this in turn may have been related to the growing importance of mortuary ritual as an arena for social display and prestige competition.

As was the case in Vounous A and early Vounous B, the wealth of the later Vounous B tomb groups tended to be differentiated by the quantity rather than the specific types of prestige goods accompanying the dead. The same types of metal goods occurred in both richer and poorer tombs; the main difference is that the richer tombs tended to have a broader representation of types and multiple examples of particular types.¹³⁷ Similarly, ceremonial vessels, ceramic models, and large faunal remains occurred in all tiers of copper wealth but were more ubiquitous among the richer groups. This suggests that a high level of status competition, rather than ascribed rank or hierarchical control of prestige good access, accounts for the patterns of mortuary consumption observed. The only goods that display any level of exclusivity in distribution are the small number of imports (including a gold earring, varying quantities of faience beads, two Levantine MBIIA pithos jars, and two Minoan daggers) found in tombs of middling to high copper wealth.¹³⁸ It would not be surprising to find that groups of greater wealth were more likely to participate in long-distance exchange transactions, but the rarity of imported valuables among even the richest tomb groups at Vounous A and B raises the question of whether they were critical components of prestige symbolism at this time. Most lines of evidence suggest instead that the most important elements of mortuary ritual involved the display and disposal of goods (ceramics, metals, and valuable domestic animals) and the extension of lavish hospitality to guests from within and beyond the local community in funerary feasts;¹³⁹ such practices served as a means of actively creating status distinctions in the context of mortuary ritual rather than as a de facto expression of well-entrenched, hereditary social stratification.¹⁴⁰

Mortuary Display at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

Burial assemblages at Lapithos mainly consisted of Red Polished, White Painted, and Black Polished ceramics (figs. 12, 13); copper-based artifacts (figs. 14, 15); spindle whorls, whetstones, and other

¹³⁶ As in previous periods, age–sex information is extremely limited. However, it is evident that at least one female was present in each of two large and comparatively rich burial groups where mortuary rites involving secondary treatment seem to have been practiced. These were Dikaio's tomb 36 (9 or more burials and 4 copper items; see Fischer 1986, 28 for the sex identification) and the Stewarts' tomb 143 (8 burials and 11 copper finds; see Rix' identification in Stewart and Stewart 1950, 374).

¹³⁷ For a detailed illustration of this, see Keswani 2004, table 4.7c.

¹³⁸ The gold earring came from Schaeffer's looted tomb 59. Faience beads or necklaces were found in Dikaio's tombs 2, 15, and 19, and in Schaeffer's tomb 59, 64, and 72. The Levantine jars (Syrian according to Ross 1994, 22) were found in Schaeffer's tombs 64 and 68. The Minoan daggers came from Dikaio's tomb 19 and the Stewarts' tomb 143 (Catling and Karageorghis 1960, 110–1).

¹³⁹ Manning 1993, 45; Keswani 1994, 270–1; Steel 2004, 287–8.

¹⁴⁰ See discussions in Shennan 1986; Knapp 1990.

Table 6. Diachronic Increases in per Capita Wealth Expenditure and Energy Investment in Tomb Construction at Vounous

		Vounous A (ECI)	Vounous B Early (ECII–ECIIIA)	Vounous B Late (ECIIIB–MCII)
Pots per Burial	N	38	18	26
	mean	14.4	17.9	19.2
	std. dev.	7.9	8.6	10.0
	median	13.0	15.0	18.0
Copper Items per Burial	N	38	18	26
	mean	0.7	0.2	1.2
	std. dev.	1.2	0.4	1.3
	median	0.0	0.0	1.0
Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	N	44	15	25
	mean	3.7	5.3	8.3
	std. dev.	1.7	2.2	4.7
	median	3.4	4.8	7.8

One-way analysis of variance shows that the chronological differences in the means for floor area and copper items per burial are statistically significant, with *p* values of 0.000 and 0.017, respectively. High variation in the values of pots per burial within each chronological period resulted in a higher (or less significant) *p* value of 0.085 for the differences in the means for pots per burial. However, the rising median is a strong indicator of rising per capita expenditure in pottery.

stone artifacts; faunal remains; and occasional occurrences of exotic goods, such as gold, silver,¹⁴¹ lead, faience, and imported bronzes and ceramics. When compared to the goods found at Vounous,¹⁴² the ceramic goods at Lapithos were disposed of in smaller quantities, and ceremonial vessels of ornate or peculiar type were less common (fig. 13). Ceramic models of objects such as daggers, sheaths, horns, and spindles typical of Vounous have not been reported at Lapithos, but ceramic plank idols (fig. 4) and (less commonly) zoomorphic figurines were found in some tombs.¹⁴³ Bones of cattle, sheep, and goats occurred less frequently than at Vounous and seem to have been absent (or unidentified) in the latest tomb chambers; however, other interesting remains have been reported, including dog bones in Swedish tombs 303A and 322D, and horse bones in Swedish tomb 322B.¹⁴⁴ In contrast, metal artifacts were more plentiful in the Lapithos tombs from the onset of the cemetery's use, and their quantities increased markedly through time.

The differences in wealth among Lapithos tomb groups dating to ECII–ECIIIA/B, ECIIIB–MCI, and MCI–MCIII are summarized in tables 7–9 (us-

ing the same format employed in the analysis of the Vounous cemeteries). Tombs included in the analysis were either intact or had substantially preserved collections of grave goods despite possible disturbance. As with the Vounous tables, the division of Lapithos tomb chambers into tiers of wealth based on the number of copper items present is strictly an heuristic means of illustrating the relationships among various indicators of wealth and burial group size. The divisions are arbitrary and should not be equated with culturally cognized ranks or *de facto* social classes.

The earliest tombs of Lapithos (table 7), dating to ECII–IIIA/B, were the poorest in terms of metal consumption. However, with copper artifacts occurring in approximately 40% (14 out of 35) of all chambers, the quantity of metal disposed of was greater than that observed in contemporaneous tombs at Vounous B (table 3). Tombs with no copper had the lowest mean number of pots per chamber, but, curiously, they also had the highest frequency of large faunal remains. As was also the case at Vounous, the scarcity of osteological studies unfortunately makes it difficult to determine the

¹⁴¹ Gale et al. (1996, 397) have indicated that a number of items described as silver-lead alloys are actually pure lead.

¹⁴² See also Davies 1997, 18.

¹⁴³ On the plank idols, see *supra* n. 50. Zoomorphic ceramic

figurines include a bird (probably from the rim of a large bowl) from Pennsylvania tomb 802A and a bull figurine from Pennsylvania tomb 804A (Herscher 1978).

¹⁴⁴ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 49, 143, 147; Reese 1995, 38.

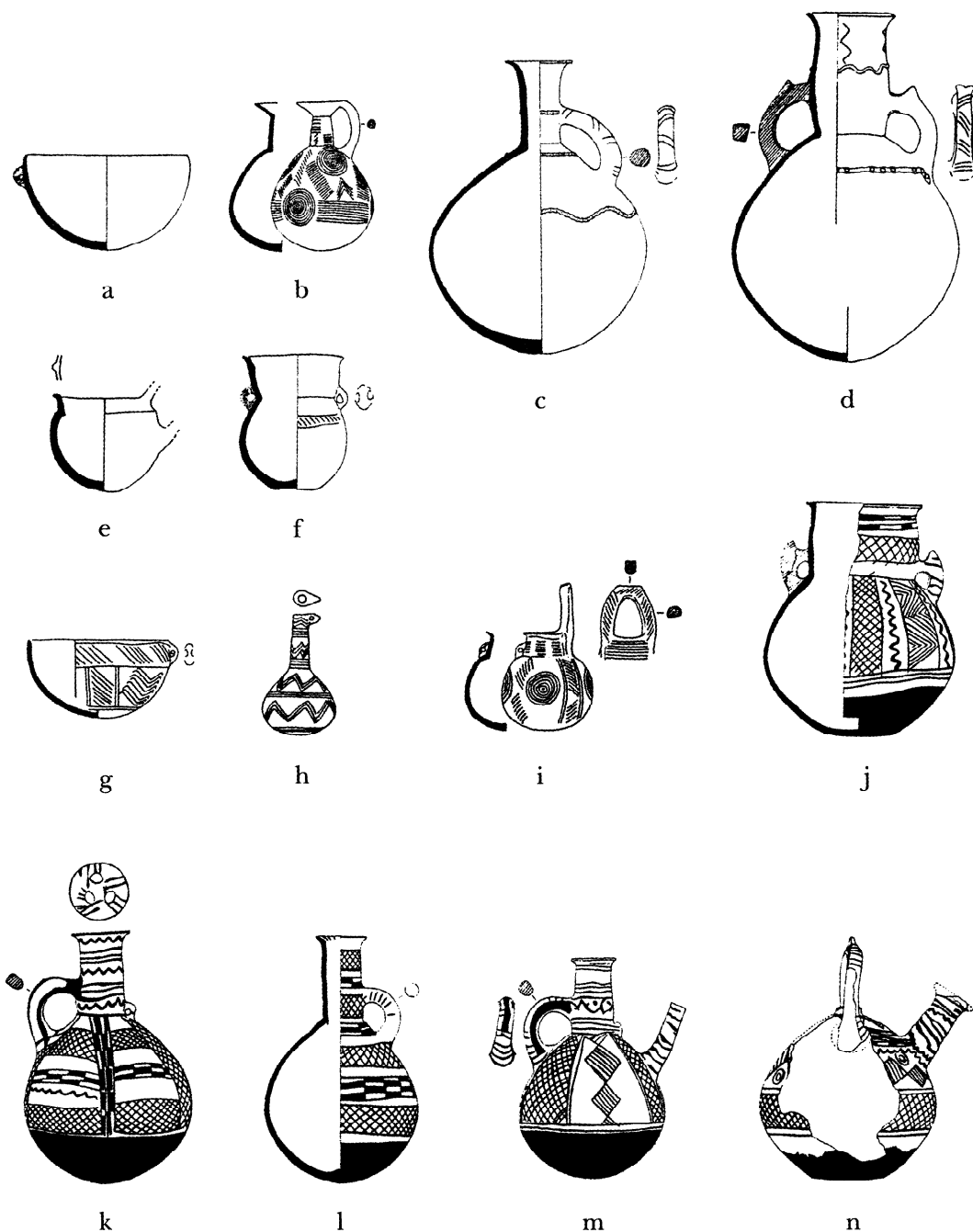


Fig. 12. Red Polished (RP), Black Polished (BP), and White Painted pottery from Lapithos tomb 313A: *a*, RPII black top knob-lug bowl, no. 32, height ca. 11 cm; *b*, RPIII gourd juglet, no. 46, height 13.6 cm; *c*, RPIII jug, no. 48, height 27.6 cm; *d*, RPIII store jar, no. 86, height 58.5 cm; *e*, RPIII coarse cooking dipper, no. 45, height ca. 7.5 cm; *f*, RPIII amphora, no. 34, height 13.0 cm; *g*, BP knob-lug bowl, no. 92, height ca. 5.2 cm; *h*, BP gourd flask, no. 61, height 7.9 cm; *i*, BP juglet, no. 41, height 10.1 cm; *j*, WPII amphora, no. 114, height 25 cm; *k*, WPII strainer jug, no. 47, height 24.0 cm; *l*, WPII jug, no. 71, height 23.0 cm; *m*, WPII spouted jug, no. 22, height 23.5 cm; *n*, WPII askos, no. 113, height 20.7 cm. (Stewart 1962a, pls. 139:40, 91:4, 88:7, 111:7, 123:4, 117:1, 154:4, 153:1, 152:13; Åström 1972, pls. 5:4, 4:2, 4:1, 4:6, 5:5, respectively)

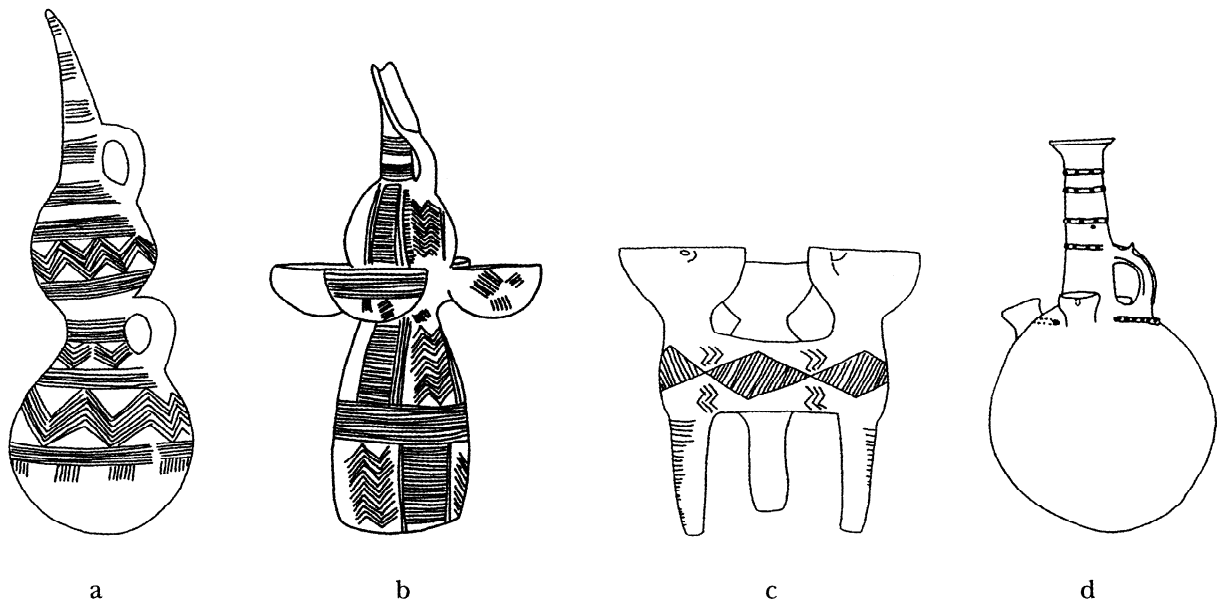


Fig. 13. Ceremonial vessels from various chambers of Lapithos tomb 322: *a*, Red Polished (RP) III composite jug, tomb 322D, no. 7, height 43 cm; *b*, RPIII composite jug with attached bowls, tomb 322D, no. 6, height 42.5 cm; *c*, RPIII ring vase, tomb 322D, no. 1, height 20.3 cm; *d*, RPIII jug with attached bowls, tomb 322E, no. 28, height 69.3 cm. (After Morris 1985, figs. 37, 73, 2; Stewart 1962a, pl. 83:3, respectively)

extent to which the occurrence of metal was related to differences in the age-sex compositions of the burial groups in question.¹⁴⁵ An intermediate group of eight tombs had one to two copper items per chamber, including knives, hook-tang weapons, razors or scrapers, and one awl. Rich tombs with three to six copper items contained the same type of goods, as well as tweezers, pins, and needles. The mean number of pots per chamber increased considerably between each of these tiers, and measures of wealth and energy expenditure (pots per chamber, copper items per chamber, and chamber floor areas) were strongly correlated in this period (table 10). Tomb size and ceramic wealth were also highly correlated with burial group size. However, the number of copper items per chamber seems to have varied independently of the number of burials per chamber, suggesting that some groups had more favorable access to copper supplies than others. It is also perhaps significant that ceremonial vessels were found only in three of the richest tombs. In short, at least modest differences in wealth and perhaps in ritual status may have developed among kin groups at Lapithos during this time.

Among the tombs dating to the ECIIB/MCI transitional period (table 8), copper was much more widely distributed, occurring in 74% (28 out of 38) of all chambers—comparable to the frequency observed in the latest group of tombs at Vounous B. As in the previous period, the mean number of pots per chamber and mean chamber floor area rose markedly with tier of copper wealth, although the correlations among these variables are somewhat lower than in the previous chronological group (table 10). Differences in material and energy expenditure were rather weakly correlated with burial group size, suggesting that wealth and prestige differences were also partially independent of kin group size. Quantitative differences in copper wealth between the second and third tiers seem especially pronounced or discrete, with 1–5 copper items per chamber in the former and 8–14 in the latter. The high frequency of imported goods within the richest tombs is also noteworthy. However, two of the tombs from the poorest tier contained distinctive ceremonial vessels, as did nearly half of the tombs in the middle tier—a slightly higher frequency than was observed within the rich-

¹⁴⁵ Swedish tomb 311B contained the burials of three children who received no metal goods but a fairly large collection of 21 pots (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 79–81). However, similar assemblages were found with other burial groups of comparable size in which no children were recognized by the excavators. While it is likely that some of the poorer burial assemblages in this and other chronological groups at Lapithos were associated with children, others almost certainly belonged to adults of unknown gender.

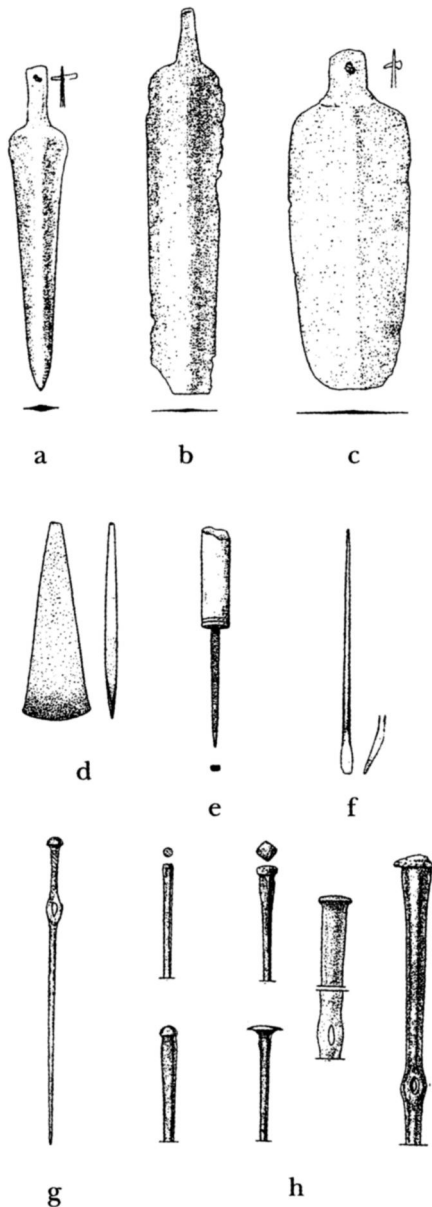


Fig. 14. Copper-based objects from Lapithos tomb 313A: *a*, knife, no. 104, length 14 cm; *b*, razor/scrapper, no. 76, length 15.7 cm; *c*, razor/scrapper, no. 8, length 14.7 cm; *d*, axe, no. 110, length 8.8 cm; *e*, awl, no. 3, length 9.6 cm; *f*, spatula, no. 36, length 11.0 cm; *g*, toggle pin, no. 115b, length 13.8 cm; *h*, assorted pin fragments, nos. 115e, 78b, 54, 73b, 38, 53, preserved lengths 12–30 cm. For examples of hook-tang weapons from this tomb, see fig. 15c, f. (Åström 1972, figs. 10:7; 11:2, 3; 10:1; 11:16, 17; 13:8; 12:1, 9, 19, 22; 13:12, 7)

¹⁴⁶ The three or more burials in Swedish tomb 309A were accompanied by 46 pots, 12 copper pins, a fragmentary copper sheet, a ceramic plank figurine, and a spindle whorl (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 70–4). The three burials in Pennsylvania tomb 806A were accompanied by 10 pins, 1 pair of tweezers, 2 knives, and 1 hook-tang weapon (Grace 1940, 47–9), as well as other objects summarized in the text. There is no osteological informa-

est tier. What is perhaps most distinctive about the seven richest tombs is the high frequency of exotic goods found therein.

In the third tier, two tombs (309A and 806A) had unusually high concentrations of copper-based pins and a dearth of weaponry, which might be indicative of a concentration of rich female burials.¹⁴⁶ Tomb 301C contained a notably rich single (possibly male) burial, equipped with 3 knives, 2 hook-tang weapons (1 of which was unusually long, measuring 63.6 cm), 1 razor or scraper, and 2 pairs of tweezers. This person was distinguished by the number and the elaboration of the metal goods present, not by the use of goods differing in kind from those available to other people, as all of these metal types were present in the second tier. Yet despite the wealth of metal objects, only 7 pots accompanied this burial.¹⁴⁷ Tomb 806A was used for at least 3–4 burials and contained a massive accumulation of 110 pots, including several ceremonial vessels and a Minoan bridge-spouted jar; cattle bones; 14 copper-based artifacts; and several small ornaments of gold, silver, and faience.¹⁴⁸ Tomb 322B contained a total of 9 copper-based objects, including 2 knives, 2 hook-tang weapons (1 of which was unusually large, measuring 58.6 cm), 1 razor or scraper, and 3 pairs of tweezers. Although only 20 pots were recovered from the tomb, 2 of them were ceremonial or cult vessels. Other finds included small ornaments of imported silver and faience and bones identified as horse.¹⁴⁹ The range and quantity of items found in these tombs and others of comparable metal wealth suggests that the groups who made use of them enjoyed greater access to local and long-distance exchange networks than did other members of the community. Yet the metal and ceramic types associated with these groups were also broadly distributed amongst other, poorer groups.

In the latest (MCI–MCIII) phase of the Lapithos cemetery (table 9), 96% (22 out of 23) of the chambers contained copper-based artifacts. The 7 poorest tombs had less than 6 copper artifacts; 9 tombs of intermediate wealth had 6–22 copper items, and the 7 richest chambers had remarkable collections of 40–80 copper artifacts each. Yet even though some tombs appear extraordinarily rich, it should

tion pertaining to the gender of the burials in these tombs.

¹⁴⁷ Gjerstad et al. 1934, 36–7.

¹⁴⁸ Grace 1940.

¹⁴⁹ The identification was made by H. Wallengren of Lund (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 143). Other MC occurrences of equid bones and teeth have been noted at Politiko Chomazoudhia, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, and Kalopsidha (Myres 1897, 135, 138;

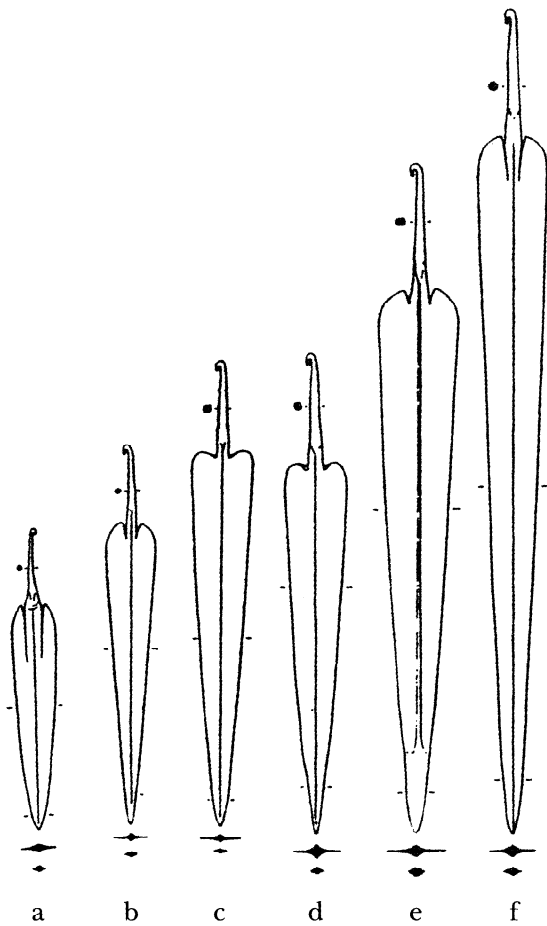


Fig. 15. Size variation in hook-tang weapons from Lapithos: *a*, tomb 313B, no. 93, length 23.8 cm; *b*, tomb 320, no. 60, length 30.9 cm; *c*, tomb 313A, no. 66, length 37.6 cm; *d*, tomb 320, no. 19, length 38.7 cm; *e*, tomb 315B-C, no. 40, length 56.3 cm; *f*, tomb 313A, no. 11, length 66.2 cm. (Åström 1972, figs. 9:8, 7, 1, 6, 2, 3, respectively)

be noted that the quantities of copper present in each chamber were highly correlated with the numbers of burials present (Pearson's $r=0.858$, see table 10). Chamber floor area was also moderately correlated with burial group size and, more noticeably, copper wealth. However, it is interesting that the

number of pots per chamber was not significantly correlated with burial group size or other wealth measures, probably reflecting the lesser importance of ceramic goods in prestige symbolism at Lapithos compared to Vounous and other sites.

The metal types found in first tier tombs included rings, knives, hook-tang weapons, razors or scrapers, tweezers, and pins. These same types were also found in tombs assigned to the second and third tiers of copper wealth, though in general, a somewhat broader range of metal and imported goods occurred in the richer tombs of the second and third tiers than it did in the poorer tombs. Some of the richest tombs also contained copper axes, awls, spatulas, chisels, and needles. The presence of axes in particular may be noteworthy, as they may have functioned as ingots in prehistoric Bronze Age exchange networks;¹⁵⁰ their disposal in the mortuary context may therefore have constituted a particularly flamboyant display of wealth and prestige. The inclusion of smaller utilitarian items, such as awls, spatulas, chisels, and needles, may also have been related to the general wealth of the related kin groups, who conspicuously disposed of any and every metal type used in domestic life. Ceremonial vessels, plank idols, and imported goods, such as silver or silver-lead rings and faience beads, occurred in both richer and poorer tombs, but some imports (e.g., Minoan bronzes, gold spirals, and a possible Syro-Cilician vessel) seem to have occurred in only a few of the very richest tomb chambers.¹⁵¹ As was suggested in the case of Vounous, it is perhaps not surprising that groups with greatest access to copper resources were most likely to participate in exchanges of valuable goods with traders from abroad.

As at Vounous, levels of mortuary expenditure at Lapithos escalated significantly over time and throughout the community. While the number of copper items per chamber was strongly correlated with the number of burials present, per capita metal expenditure was also on the rise. Table 11 illustrates the continuous increases in both the means

Gjerstad 1926, 81; Karageorghis 1965a, 286; Åström 1972, 245; Buchholz 1973, 304 n. 29; see also Reese 1995, 38). Because the only preserved skeletal remains from this chamber belonged to an adult female aged 18–24 years, Fischer (1986, 29) has referred to tomb 322B as the tomb of a female warrior or “Amazon.” However, because the chamber was either looted or considerably disturbed by post-interment rituals, it is likely that other burials, some possibly male, were originally present in the chamber’s four niches or on the floor (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 143).

¹⁵⁰Three axe or axe-shaped ingot molds have recently been recovered from Philia and ECIII/MCI contexts in the settle-

ment at Marki Alonia (Fasnacht and Wagner 2001, 41; Frankel and Webb 2001, 35–6).

¹⁵¹Three imported gold spirals were found in Swedish tomb 322A. Bronze daggers believed to be of Minoan origin were found in Swedish tombs 313CD and 322A; the latter chamber also contained a razor thought to be of Minoan manufacture (Catling and Karageorghis 1960, 110–2). Branigan (1966, 1967) contends that other supposedly Minoan daggers from Myres’ tombs 2, 18A, and 18B were actually products of Byblos in Syria. A possible Syro-Cilician jug was found in Pennsylvania tomb 805 (Herscher 1978, 160, 802–3).

Table 7. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among Tombs Dating Mainly to ECII–III A/B at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Figurines ^a	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with No Copper (Tier 1) N=21	mean=13.2 std. dev.=7.2 range=2–25	–	–	6 29%	–	mean=5.1 std. dev.=1.4 range=3.4–6.6	mean=2.0 std. dev.=1.0 range=1–4
Intact Tombs with 1–2 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=8	mean=21.6 std. dev.=11.5 range=3–38	–	1 13%	1 13%	–	1 observation: 2.8	mean=2.5 std. dev.=1.2 range=1–4
Intact Tombs with 3–6 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=6	mean=38.3 std. dev.=25.8 range=10–81	3 50%	–	1 17%	–	1 observation: 11.4	mean=2.6 std. dev.=1.9 range=1–6

^a This category includes plank idols and zoomorphic figurines.

Table 8. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among Tombs Dating Mainly to ECIIIB–MCI at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Figurines ^a	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with No Copper (Tier 1) N=10	mean=10.9 std. dev.=8.3 range=3–28	2 20%	–	–	–	mean=3.6 std. dev.=1.7 range=2.4–6.1	mean=2.1 std. dev.=1.1 range=1–4
Intact Tombs with 1–5 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=21	mean=27.8 std. dev.=15.2 range=9–72	10 48%	1 5%	4 19%	2 10%	mean=5.9 std. dev.=1.4 range=3.5–8.0	mean=2.3 std. dev.=1.0 range=1–4
Intact Tombs with 8–14 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=7	mean=47.7 std. dev.=40.3 range=7–110	3 43%	1 14%	3 43%	4 57%	mean=7.1 std. dev.=3.1 range=3.4–10.6	mean=3.0 std. dev.=1.2 range=1–4

^a This category includes plank idols and zoomorphic figurines.

Table 9. Variations in Mortuary Expenditure Among Tombs Dating Mainly to MCI-III at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

	Pots Per Chamber	No. Tombs with Ceremonial Vessels	No. Tombs with Figurines ^a	No. Tombs with Large Faunal Remains	No. Tombs with Imported Goods	Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	No. Burials
Intact Tombs with 0-5 Copper Items (Tier 1) N=7	mean=26.9 std. dev.=20.3 range=7-62	2 29%	1 14%	-	2 29%	mean=5.0 std. dev.=4.6 range=1.8-10.3	mean=1.8 std. dev.=1.3 range=1-4
Intact Tombs with 6-22 Copper Items (Tier 2) N=9	mean=38.2 std. dev.=25.2 range=15-85	5 56%	4 44%	-	4 44%	mean=8.4 std. dev.=4.7 range=4.0-13.4	mean=2.9 std. dev.=1.7 range=1-6
Intact Tombs with 40-80 Copper Items (Tier 3) N=7	mean=55.0 std. dev.=41.4 range=14-135	3 43%	6 86%	-	7 100%	mean=15.9 std. dev.=7.6 range=9.4-27.0	mean=7.4 std. dev.=3.4 range=4-15

^a This category includes plank idols and zoomorphic figurines.

Table 10. Correlation Coefficients (Pearson's r), showing the Relationships Among Various Measures of Wealth, Energy Expenditure, and Burial Group Size in Different Chronological Periods at Lapithos

	Burials per Chamber	Est. Chamber Floor Area	Pots per Chamber	Copper Items per Chamber
Lapithos (ECII–ECIII A/B)				
Burials per Chamber	1	–	–	–
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.854	1	–	–
Pots per Chamber	0.720	0.888	1	–
Copper Items per Chamber	0.295	0.745	0.680	1
Lapithos (ECIIIB–MCI)				
Burials per Chamber	1	–	–	–
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.299	1	–	–
Pots per Chamber	0.364	0.441	1	–
Copper Items per Chamber	0.236	0.418	0.607	1
Lapithos (MCI–MCIII)				
Burials per Chamber	1	–	–	–
Est. Chamber Floor Area	0.565	1	–	–
Pots per Chamber	0.277	-0.078	1	–
Copper Items per Chamber	0.858	0.693	0.283	1

and medians of pots per burial and copper items per burial in the Lapithos tombs. Meanwhile, the level of energy invested in tomb construction (as measured by chamber floor area) more than doubled in the latest period of the cemetery's use. Means went from 5.2–5.3 m² in tombs predating MCI to 11.2 m² during the MCI–MCIII periods, when some of the largest chambers covered areas of more than 20 m².¹⁵² This floor area increase can be explained not only by rising burial group size (Pearson's $r=0.565$, see table 10) but also by increasing levels of ritual ostentation and mortuary display. Because the means and medians for pots per burial, copper items per burial, and chamber floor area all rose steadily through time, this phenomenon seems to have been broadly based within the community (as it was at Vounous).

Mortuary Display at Other Sites

Although Vounous and Lapithos displayed similar trends in mortuary consumption, it must be considered whether the phenomena observed in these cemeteries were typical of other communities within and beyond the north coast region. For the most part, the evidence is problematic because few well-preserved tombs have been properly excavated else-

where, and neither synchronic nor diachronic variations in the treatment of the dead can be inferred from the existing samples. However, interesting similarities and differences in practices of display can nonetheless be discerned at sites throughout the island.

The cemetery of Karmi Palealona is located midway between the cemeteries of Vounous and Lapithos. Most of the 13 tombs investigated here by Stewart seem to have been similar in plan to the tombs of Vounous, with one to three round or oval chambers of varying size entered via rectangular or bathtub-shaped dromoi.¹⁵³ Tomb 3A had a comparatively elaborate plan, with four semicircular burial niches similar to those seen to the west at Lapithos and in northeastern Cyprus at Korovia Paleoskoutella and Ayios Iakovos Melia. Tomb 6 is notable for the sculpture of a human figure in bas-relief in the dromos, as mentioned earlier. The only intact burial that Stewart published was found in tomb 11B, or the "Tomb of the Seafarer," a small (1.4 x 1.0 m) chamber with an extremely cramped single burial equipped with a knife, a hook-tang weapon, a faience bead, six locally made pots, and an imported Minoan Kamares cup.¹⁵⁴ This burial is of particular interest because it attests to the inclu-

¹⁵² It is worth noting that the floor plans of many of the Lapithos tombs were extremely elaborate, with intricate structural features such as buttresses, lobes, and semicircular raised burial niches cut back from the chamber walls, as illustrated in

fig. 2 here.

¹⁵³ Stewart 1962b, fig. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Stewart 1962b, figs. 2–12, pls. 1–11.

Table 11. Diachronic Increases in per Capita Wealth Expenditure and Energy Investment in Tomb Construction at Lapithos

		Lapithos (ECII–ECIIIA/B)	Lapithos (ECIIIB–MCI)	Lapithos (MCI–MCIII)
Pots per Burial	N	35	34	21
	mean	8.3	12.2	13.7
	std. dev.	4.1	9.0	9.0
	median	8.0	10.0	12.0
Copper Items per Burial	N	35	34	21
	mean	0.5	1.6	4.9
	std. dev.	0.9	2.1	3.0
	median	0.0	1.0	4.0
Chamber Floor Area (m ²)	N	6	14	12
	mean	5.3	5.2	11.2
	std. dev.	3.4	1.9	7.1
	median	4.0	6.0	10.0

One-way analysis of variance shows that the chronological differences in the means for floor area, pots per burial, and copper items per burial are statistically significant, with *p* values of less than 0.01. The rising medians of each variable suggest that increases in energy and material expenditure were not limited to a few very rich groups but were broadly based within the community.

sion of both metal and imported goods in an otherwise modest mortuary context.

Far more lavish mortuary festivities may have been undertaken in the community of Vasilia Kafkallia, located west of Lapithos along the north coast. Five tombs with rectangular chambers, pillar-like buttresses, rectangular wall niches, facades decorated with rectangular pillars, and lime-plastered dromoi up to 8 m in length were investigated by Stewart at this site.¹⁵⁵ Although unique stone transverse walls were built in the dromoi, apparently to impede access to the burials, the tombs were partially looted. The grave goods remaining included a “magnificent” deposit of copper objects, including three heavy armbands, a unique dagger, two knives, two toggle pins, alabaster vases, gold earrings, and large quantities of smashed pottery. Unfortunately, the dating of the Vasilia tombs has long been controversial.¹⁵⁶ Following Stewart, Hennessy et al. have argued that the complex architecture of the tombs and the sophisticated metal finds from the dromos

of tomb 1 imply a date of ECIII or the late third millennium B.C.¹⁵⁷ If correct, the elaboration of the Vasilia tombs appears consistent with the trend toward increasing mortuary expenditure and competitive displays evident at Lapithos and in the later tombs of Vounous. Yet based on the anomalous tomb architecture and the tomb finds, Webb and Frankel have recently argued that the Vasilia tombs are part of the much earlier Philia facies, concurrent or perhaps even earlier than the ECI tombs of Vounous.¹⁵⁸ If so, this would suggest that Vasilia had highly elaborated mortuary rites from the onset of the Bronze Age, along with significant access to copper resources and other valuables consumed in mortuary display.

Other indications of large-scale mortuary expenditure come from communities of the central Mesaoria plain and the northern Troodos foothills. Approximately half of the EC–MC tombs excavated at Katydhata and the nearby cemeteries of Linou Alonia and Ayii Saranta contained copper artifacts, and the range and quantities (up to 14 items per

¹⁵⁵ See Stewart 1957, 1962a; Hennessy et al. 1988. A number of pit tombs have also been reported nearby (Hennessy et al. 1988, 25). Manning (1993, 45) sees the co-occurrence of these relatively simple burial features with the more elaborate chamber tombs nearby as evidence for well-developed social hierarchy. Unfortunately, the pit tombs were never investigated and it is unclear if they were contemporaneous with the chamber tombs. If they were, they might alternatively repre-

sent another example of a multistage ritual system in which the dead were initially interred in relatively simple burial features and then exhumed and reinterred in more elaborate tombs at a later date.

¹⁵⁶ Swiny 1985, 116; 1986a, 30; 1989, 26.

¹⁵⁷ Hennessy et al. 1988, 26, 41.

¹⁵⁸ Webb and Frankel 1999, 8, 11.

chamber) of metal types was comparable to the distributions observed at Vounous B and the middle chronological group of tombs from Lapithos.¹⁵⁹ It is more difficult to assess the scale of metal consumption in the vicinity of Dhenia, where so many of the tombs have been looted over the years. It is clear that some of the most architecturally elaborate tombs at Dhenia Kafkalla had large deposits of pottery and other small finds, presumably deposited in conjunction with costly mortuary festivities.¹⁶⁰ Although the contents of most of the 50 EC–MC tombs opened by Ohnefalsch-Richter in the vicinity of Politiko have never been completely reported,¹⁶¹ it is apparent that some of the tombs in this area were extremely rich. Politiko Lambertis tombs 16 and 18 contained silver bracelets, and tombs 16 and 21 contained small gold ornaments.¹⁶² Politiko Chomazoudhia tomb 3, a relatively small (1.60 x 1.40 x 1.40 m) tomb dated to MCII and used for at least 10 burials, yielded approximately 500 pots; 60 copper-based objects, including daggers, flat axes, tweezers; 1 tin-bronze shafthole axe of possible foreign workmanship; and horse and dog bones.¹⁶³ The rich hoard of copper and bronze objects, including 2 shafthole axes allegedly from nearby Pera (and possibly deriving from one or more looted tombs),¹⁶⁴ may also have been deposited in extravagant mortuary displays.

A similar picture emerges from sites located further to the east, despite the problems of looting and the scanty recording of many early excavations conducted here. Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi tomb 8 (of MCII–III date) appears to have been quite rich in ceramics (more than 300 in its principal chamber), lead (20 spiral ring fragments), and faience (608 beads), despite being fairly poor in copper finds.¹⁶⁵ The presence of even richer mortuary complexes may be signaled by the alleged discovery of 2 tin-bronze shafthole axes in the Nicosia area¹⁶⁶ and the well-documented occurrence of a shafthole axe in the looted Dhali Kafkallia tomb G (which also

yielded an undecorated bronze “warrior” belt) (fig. 16).¹⁶⁷ Other occurrences of shafthole axes have been reported in the Alambra region.¹⁶⁸ Finds from Alambra Mouttes tomb 102, a relatively small and unimpressive tomb containing one disarticulated and one in situ burial, are also of considerable interest as they comprise many items found in far more elaborate tombs. The goods from this tomb included 14 pots, 1 copper-based axe, 1 hook-tang weapon, 1 pair of tweezers, 1 scraper or razor, 1 tin-bronze spiral ring, 1 whetstone, 2 bone needles, and cattle bones. These finds were apparently associated with the intact and later burial identified as an adult male.¹⁶⁹ The evidence from this tomb and the “Tomb of the Seafarer” at Karmi suggests that the associated status goods were not the exclusive paraphernalia of a “weapon-bearing elite” but were, instead, prestige items to which most adult members (perhaps males in particular) of EC–MC communities aspired to own and take with them to their graves. Finally, the reported occurrence of horse teeth and bones in Kalopsidha tomb 9 and the recovery of a number of copper-based items and imports of silver or lead and faience in Kalopsidha tomb 11¹⁷⁰ offer parallels for the type of mortuary consumption observed at Lapithos and Politiko to the west and north.

The burial assemblages known from the northeastern cemeteries of Korovia Paleoskoutella and Ayios Iakovos Melia appear remarkably poor relative to those of the northern and eastern sites just described.¹⁷¹ At both sites, large and elaborate tomb complexes were constructed, and collective secondary burial celebrations were evidently staged. At Paleoskoutella, the two burials in tomb 4 were provided with only 14 pots and 2 spindle whorls, with no metal items. The 14 burials in tomb 7 were provided with 102 pots of local origin, 11 small copper-based ornaments, 1 knife, 1 lead whorl, and other nonexotic small finds. Among the MC tombs of Ayios Iakovos, the quantities of valuables disposed of were also lim-

¹⁵⁹ See catalogues in Åström 1989; Flourentzos 1989.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., tomb 6, with 175 objects (Åström and Wright 1962) and tomb 48 with 277 (Nicolaou and Nicolaou 1988).

¹⁶¹ For summary information, see Gjerstad 1926; Buchholz 1973; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996.

¹⁶² Åström 1972, 151–2.

¹⁶³ Gjerstad 1926, 81; Åström 1972, 245; Buchholz 1973, 304–9; 1979, 77–8; Courtois 1986, 73.

¹⁶⁴ Åström 1977.

¹⁶⁵ Kromholz 1982, 16–8, 32–9.

¹⁶⁶ Buchholz 1979, 78–9; see also Swiny 1982, 73–4; Courtois 1986, 73–4; Philip 1991, 80–3.

¹⁶⁷ Overbeck and Swiny 1972. Similar pairs of finds dating to

ca. 1700 B.C. have been observed in Palestinian tombs, such as Jericho tomb J3 and Tell el Farah tomb A, and also in tomb LVII at Ras Shamra (Philip 1991, 85; 1995; see also Courtois 1986, 74–9). Both Philip and Courtois have interpreted the occurrence of these objects, singly and in pairs, as an indication of the Cypriot adoption of “the standard symbols of power of the Levantine MBA” (Philip 1991, 85, 1995; see also Courtois 1986, 74–9; Keswani 1989a, 512–4).

¹⁶⁸ Cesnola 1877, pl. 5; Buchholz 1979, 79–80.

¹⁶⁹ Decker and Barlow 1983, 83; Coleman 1996, 118–9.

¹⁷⁰ Myres 1897.

¹⁷¹ See Gjerstad et al. (1934) for the relevant catalogues.

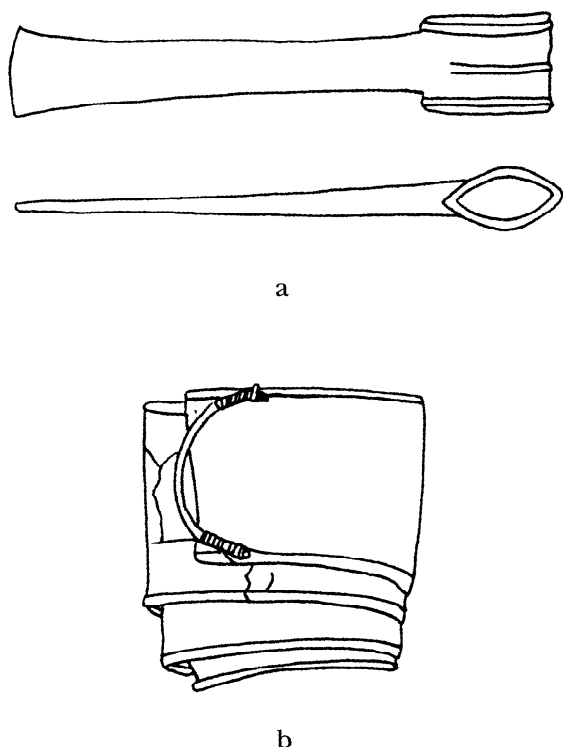


Fig. 16. Bronze shaffthole axe and coiled warrior belt from Dhali Kafkallia tomb G: *a*, axe, no. 1, length 20.5 cm; *b*, belt, no. 3, length ca. 72.0 cm, width 6.7–7.2 cm. (After Overbeck and Swiny 1972, figs. 3, 5)

ited. Tomb 6 appears to have been the richest, with 134 pots (roughly 9 pots per burial) and 26 copper-based artifacts associated with its 15 burials (roughly 1.7 copper items per burial). The metal finds included circular metal discs with relief decoration, which have been identified as part of a Levantine type “warrior” belt.¹⁷² An unusually large concentration (approximately 238) of faience beads was also found in this tomb, although exotic goods were otherwise extremely scarce throughout the cemetery. In general, it would seem that the remote locations of Paleoskoutella and Ayios Iakovos served to isolate these communities from the major sources of copper, as well as from long-distance exchange contacts. This may have limited the availability of metal and exotic goods and, in turn, the propensity to remove them from circulation in mortuary contexts.

¹⁷² Philip 1991, 84; 1995, 145.

¹⁷³ Karageorghis 1974.

¹⁷⁴ Herscher 1988.

¹⁷⁵ Buchholz 1979, 82.

¹⁷⁶ Philip 1991, 85; Courtois 1986, 75 and n. 33. The knife, hook-tang weapon, and pin recovered from an ECIII/MCI tomb

Variable levels of mortuary consumption are also apparent along the south coast of the island. Impressive collections of Red Polished pottery were found in the ECIII tombs excavated at Kition Chrysopolitissa and Kathari¹⁷³ and in the MCI–II tombs found at Kition Ayios Prodromos. However, as Herscher has noted, metal objects were relatively scarce in comparison to those at Lapithos.¹⁷⁴ Whether this is attributable to looting or to regional differences in wealth and mortuary customs remains unresolved, but it may be worth noting that another unproven example of a shaffthole axe is attributed to the Larnaca area,¹⁷⁵ and fasteners derived from a bronze “warrior” belt are alleged to have been found in the vicinity of Klavdhia.¹⁷⁶

Further to the west, at Kalavassos, the tremendous accumulations of wealth characteristic of some of the Lapithos tombs are also absent. However, basic measures of material expenditure, such as the mean numbers of pots and copper items per chamber (37.2 and 8.7, respectively) and mean numbers of pots and copper items per burial (22.0 and 3.9, respectively), compare favorably with and in some cases exceed the figures reported for Lapithos and Vounous. The two or more burials in tomb 37, dated to the MCII period, were provided with a total of 26 pots, 111 faience beads, 2 whetstones, and 17 copper-based objects, including 3 knives, 3 hook-tang weapons, 2 flat axes, 1 razor/scrapper, 2 pairs of tweezers, 1 pin or needle, 2 bracelets, and 3 unidentified objects.¹⁷⁷ An even more impressive MCII assemblage was found in conjunction with the seven or more burials in tomb 36; although only half excavated, this tomb yielded 20 copper-based artifacts, including 3 knives, 2 hook-tang weapons, 3 razor/scrapers, 1 awl, 1 pair of tweezers, 2 pins, 1 clothing ornament, and 7 other items of jewelry. Other finds included 2,608 faience beads, 1 macehead, and 1 whetstone.¹⁷⁸ Among the ceramic finds from this tomb was a remarkable Red Polished III mottled-ware bowl with modeled figures possibly depicting scenes of breadmaking or winemaking,¹⁷⁹ similar to other elaborate coroplastic ceremonial vessels found in northern communities such as Vounous and Marki.

The collections of metal and other grave goods reported in the multi-chambered complexes of southwestern Episkopi Phaneromeni seem modest

excavated at Tersephanou near Arpera (Flourentzos 2001) further attest to the availability of copper in this region.

¹⁷⁷ Todd 1986, 141–2, 163.

¹⁷⁸ Todd 1986, 139–141, 163.

¹⁷⁹ Todd 1986, 151–4, fig. 25:2, pls. 19:3, 19:4, 20–23.

in comparison to those of Kalavassos. Although Weinberg recovered roughly 80 pots from the 12 tombs he investigated, he found only a sparse quantity of metal items.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, the 13 tombs rescued by the VVP in Kalavassos in 1978 yielded a total of 465 registered objects, of which over 50 were metal artifacts. Mortuary expenditure at Episkopi may therefore have been focused more intensively on tomb architecture than on the disposal of material wealth. However, a somewhat different picture emerges from the Limassol area, where communities may have enjoyed more favorable access to metal sources. Among the four tombs excavated at the locality of Limassol Ayios Nikolaos in the 1940s, tomb 1 had a fairly rich array of finds, including 21 pots, 3 spindle whorls, 4 copper-based pins, 2 needles, 1 knife, a dagger, 1 pair of tweezers, and 1 elaborate necklace made of blue-paste beads and cylindrical spiral bronze beads.¹⁸¹ Also in the Limassol region, an impressive collection of copper-based artifacts was recovered from tomb 21, a single burial tomb in the large EC–MC cemetery near Pyrgos Mavrorachi; finds included 2 axes, 3 knives, 2 pairs of tweezers, 2 chisels, 1 awl, 1 scraper, 1 necklace, 1 bracclet, and 1 ring.¹⁸² Recent archaeometallurgical analyses employing energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence have identified 7 of these items as tin-bronze alloys.¹⁸³ Among the other finds from this tomb were approximately 70 pots, a faience necklace, several whetstones and mace-heads, and a grinding stone. Belgiorno suggests that this may have been the burial of a coppersmith, given the presence of so many groundstone tools that could have been used in finishing metal objects, and the seemingly perfect condition of some of the metal finds. If this is the case, it is interesting to note that hook-tang weapons were not provided, suggesting that such items were not an integral part of a craftsman's burial complement. This rich array of goods seems to illustrate the special prestige associated with metallurgical expertise and a strong propensity for conspicuous mortuary consumption.¹⁸⁴

Mortuary Ritual, Prestige Displays, and the Construction of Social Status in the Early–Middle Cypriot Periods

The mortuary evidence from the cemeteries of Bellapais Vounous and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

strongly suggests that differences in wealth and social prestige existed within these communities throughout the EC–MC periods. Some of the tomb complexes at these sites are truly outstanding in terms of their size and architectural elaboration, as well as in the quantity and diversity of the metal, ceramic, faunal, and imported goods they contained. The burial assemblages of these tombs are distinctive, but not because they contain particular prestige symbols that were unattainable by other members of the community.¹⁸⁵ Qualitative differentiation in status paraphernalia between groups is difficult to discern, with most of the items (except for imported goods) present in the richest complements overall being broadly distributed throughout the cemeteries. Instead, two factors distinguish the richest tombs from others of lesser wealth: (1) the presence of diverse arrays of items that may be classified as valuable, exotic, or ceremonial in nature; and (2) the overall quantity and redundancy of metal types present. Both of these distinctions—diversity and quantity—were probably significantly affected by the number of burials in the tomb chamber, as well as by the relative wealth of a group. Even though the quantitative variations in metal wealth between tomb groups may seem remarkable (e.g., the range of 0–80 copper-based items per chamber observed among the latest tombs at Lapithos), the differences between groups appear graded and continuous rather than discrete or stepped (especially in the latest period) when variation in the number of burials per chamber is controlled (fig. 17). This kind of distribution of wealth and status symbols tends to be found in communities with fluctuating hierarchical relations between groups and a high degree of social competition rather than in societies characterized by a rigid status hierarchy.¹⁸⁶

It is also evident that mortuary expenditure, as measured both by energy investment in tomb construction and material outlays, increased over time. The median and mean values for chamber tomb floor area, pots per burial, and copper items per burial rose dramatically between the earlier and later periods at both Vounous and Lapithos, suggesting that the propensity for increasing mortuary

¹⁸⁰ Weinberg 1956, 121. Swiny (1986b, 88) also notes the paucity of metal in unlooted or partially unlooted tombs excavated by the Missouri and Kent State expeditions; overall, there were only three burials with weapons and seven burials with a total of seven pins and one needle.

¹⁸¹ Karageorghis 1958, 143–6.

¹⁸² Belgiorno 1997; Giardino 2000, 28–9.

¹⁸³ Giardino et al. 2002; see table 13 here for types.

¹⁸⁴ For other disturbed tombs excavated between 1941 and 1954, see Belgiorno 2002.

¹⁸⁵ This contrasts sharply with the distribution of prestige symbols in Late Cypriot mortuary contexts, where the highest order valuables such as gold signet rings, Mycenaean pictorial craters, and ivories with carved pictorial designs display an extremely restricted distribution; see Keswani 1989a, 1989b, 2004.

¹⁸⁶ See discussion in Rathje 1973; Shennan 1986.

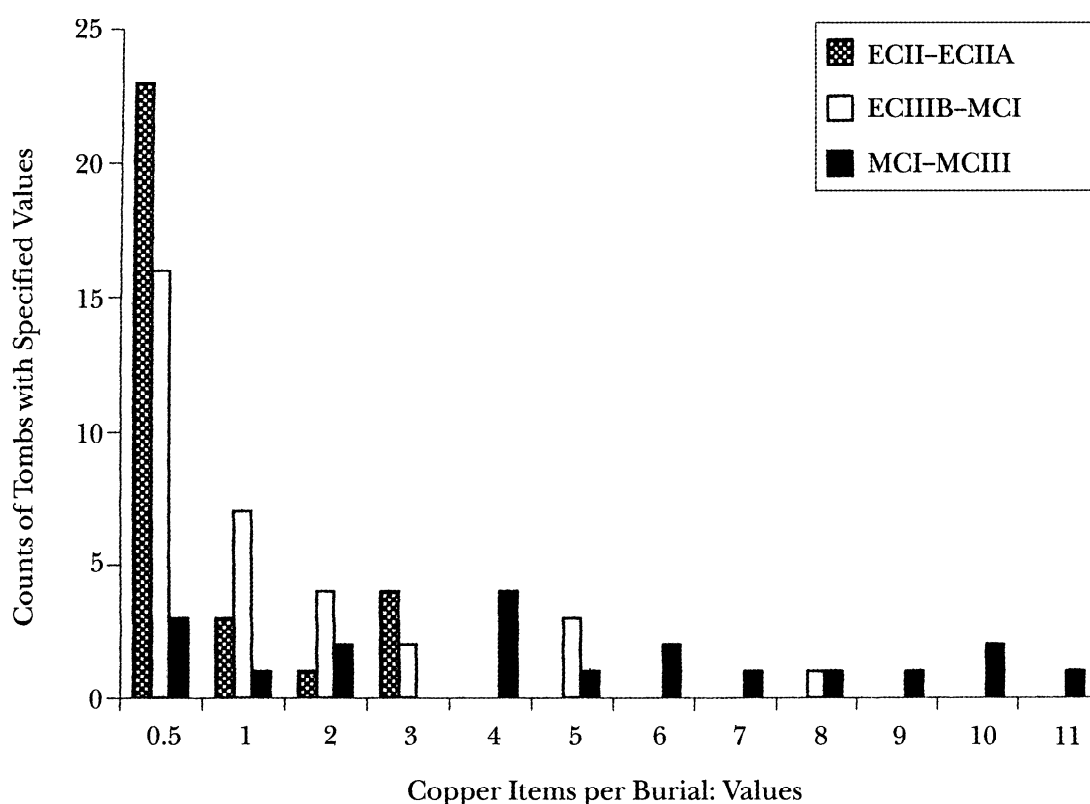


Fig. 17. Copper wealth at Lapithos. This graph illustrates the increasing number of copper items per burial through time, calculated by dividing the total number of copper items in each chamber by the estimated number of burials in each chamber.

expenditure was broadly based within the community. It is not simply the case that a few elite groups were expending a great deal more in material display in the later periods; rather, a large number of kin groups were expending more over time. These gross increases in mortuary expenditure, like the increasing elaboration of mortuary ritual in general, would seem to reflect rising levels of prestige competition within the community at large and the growing centrality of mortuary ritual as an arena for the construction of social status.

The ongoing process of prestige competition is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the increases in

the frequencies of particular metal types. Another indication is the size patterning of the so-called hook-tang weapons (fig. 15), which were the heaviest, most ubiquitous, and most impressive items of copper found in EC–MC tombs.¹⁸⁷ Table 12 shows that copper items in general, and most individual copper types, became more widely distributed at Vounous and Lapithos over time. Figure 18 details the frequencies of hook-tang weapons by length in successive chronological periods at Lapithos. Not only did the frequencies of these weapons increase through time, but the mean size of the weapons and the variation in size also increased. Apparently, as

¹⁸⁷ As noted earlier (supra n. 132), these objects have been interpreted most convincingly as spearheads (Philip 1991). Philip (1991, 68–9) suggests that they may have been (male) gendered status symbols associated with hunting or warfare. It might be speculated, very tentatively, that their use or display was associated with the attainment of a certain age or age group membership; the prestige of individuals within these groups may have depended on achievements in hunting or some other challenge rather than elite status or identity. The ongoing importance of hunted animals in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus is attested by ceramic figurines of deer and figures of deer attached to pots (Karageorghis 1991, 102–5, 148–50), as well as in the frequent occurrence of fallow deer remains (*Dama mesopotamica*) in settlement contexts. Deer bones, for example, comprised approximately one-fifth of the faunal assemblages, representing at least as much if not more of the total meat consumed, at Sotira Kaminoudhia, Marki Alonia, and Alambra Mouttes (Croft 1996, 223; see also Reese 1996; Croft 2003). However, identified occurrences of deer in mortuary contexts are rare; the animals offered to the dead, and probably also consumed by the funeral guests, were most often cattle, sheep, or goats (Keswani 1994; 2004, tables 4.7a–c, 4.11a–c).

Table 12. Percentages of Tombs at Vounous and Lapithos with Particular Artifact Types

Artifact Type	Vounous A ECI N=45	Vounous B ECII–ECIIIA N=26	Vounous B ECIIIB–MCI N=52	Lapithos ECII–ECIIIA/B N=35	Lapithos ECIIIB–MCI N=38	Lapithos MCI–MCIIB N=23
Copper	49	27	75	40	74	96
Knife	40	19	52	20	39	74
HTW	7	12	44	23	37	65
Axe	4	–	2	–	–	39
Razor/scrapper	–	4	19	11	32	48
Tweezer	–	–	25	9	29	61
Pin	4	15	56	9	34	83
Other ornament	–	4	10	10	5	57
Awl	2	–	2	–	3	30
Needle	2	–	10	3	5	43
Chisel	2	–	–	–	–	22
Spatula	–	–	–	–	–	13

the weapons became ever more widely available, a contest of one-upsmanship in size developed. Some of the weapons were so large (up to 66 cm in length) that they were not easy to haft or use, rendering them effectively “baroque,” as one analyst has dubbed them.¹⁸⁸ When it became difficult to make the weapons any larger or more impressive, new material expressions of prestige may have been required. This may be why some groups effectively embroidered their metal assemblages with a more diverse array of utilitarian implements, adding chisels, spatulas, awls, and needles. In the most flamboyant episodes of display, copper axe ingots were included, some of which may have been family heirlooms.¹⁸⁹

It is impossible at present to document increases in the quantities of copper wealth in mortuary contexts outside of Vounous and Lapithos; however, it is clear that lavish displays were under way in the Politiko, Kalavassos, and the Pyrgos-Limassol areas at the same time that celebratory consumption on the north coast was escalating (i.e., from the ECIIIB/MCI transitional period onward). Moreover, despite regional variations in ceramic wares, tomb architecture, and wealth consumption, geographically disparate communities seem to have shared a common set of ritual and prestige symbolism. This is suggested by the island-wide distribution of distinctive metal types, ceremonial vessels, and genre scenes. Participation in the mortuary rituals of kin-speople, allies, and exchange partners in other communities most likely contributed to the diffusion of ritual practices and status paraphernalia;

mortuary celebrations and prestige displays observed by visitors in one community were probably emulated and, when possible, surpassed when the visitors subsequently staged their own rituals. Competition between groups within a community ensured that innovative modes of ritual display were imitated at home, and certain items (such as hook-tang weapons) became the basic prestige symbols to which certain age and gender groups aspired, rather than the private paraphernalia of an hereditary “weapon-bearing elite.”¹⁹⁰

The highly competitive nature of EC–MC mortuary rituals helps explain the appearance of extremely rich burial complexes during a period when there is a marked absence of other material correlates of sociopolitical complexity, such as settlement hierarchies, tributary networks, elite residential architecture, and monumental public buildings. The above analysis of mortuary data suggests that prestige differentials were graded and negotiable rather than rigidly hierarchical during the EC–MC periods. Mortuary ritual was a major arena in which social status might be affirmed and contested. The prestige distinctions expressed in the context of funerary displays were not yet institutionalized structures of social life and economic production. However, due to the escalating demand for copper and the emerging importance of imported goods in the context of prestige displays, the dynamics of mortuary competition may well have set the stage for transformations in economic and power relations at the onset of the LC period.

¹⁸⁸ Philip 1991, 68.
¹⁸⁹ Frankel and Webb (2000, 35–6) opine that three flat axes with pierced butts from Lapithos tomb 322A (nos. 23, 6, 62) may have been made much earlier than ECIII/MCI based

on the discovery of a parallel mold S850 in a Philia context at Marki Alonia; see also Fasnacht and Wagner 2000, 41.
¹⁹⁰ See also Phillip 1991, 69; cf. Manning 1993, Peltenburg 1994.

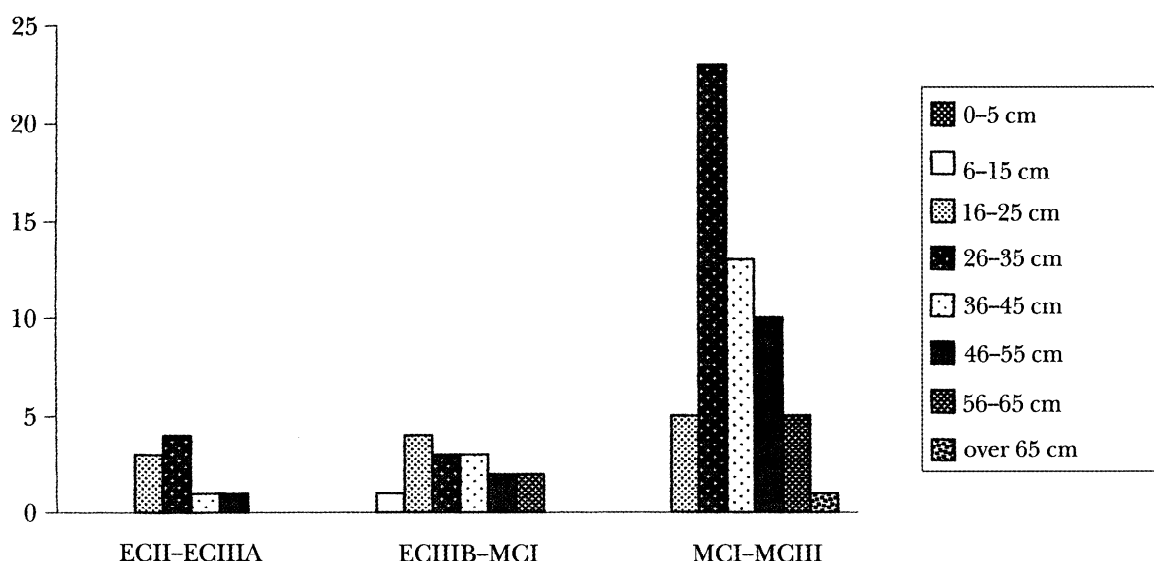


Fig. 18. Counts of Lapithos hook-tang weapons by size in different periods. Both the quantities and the lengths of these weapons increased through time.

COPPER PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION IN THE PREHISTORIC BRONZE AGE

Some scholars have argued that the expansion of the copper industry in Cyprus was associated with the arrival of the Philia colonists familiar with Anatolian metalworking techniques.¹⁹¹ While a handful of small copper items have been found in Chalcolithic contexts, recent chemical and metallographic analyses have raised questions as to whether any of these objects were made in Cyprus.¹⁹² It is only with the appearance of the Philia facies that copper objects came to form a significant part of the local Cypriot technological and ceremonial repertoire. This is attested by the numerous metal types that have been found primarily in tombs: knives, daggers, axes, awls, razors or scrapers, toggle pins, earrings, and other ornaments.¹⁹³ Some of these objects (particularly the knives with pierced

tangs and flattened mid-ribs, conical-headed toggle pins, and spiral earrings) have parallels at Anatolian sites such as Tarsus and Karatas-Semayük.¹⁹⁴ However, in contrast with the situation in much of EBII Anatolia, where the use of tin was quite common,¹⁹⁵ the vast majority of Philia and EC–MC metal items seem to have been made of unalloyed or arsenical copper.¹⁹⁶ Tin deposits do not occur in Cyprus; the few tin-bronze objects found in Philia contexts¹⁹⁷ may have been imports or, given the otherwise limited evidence for trade, heirlooms from Anatolia.

The earliest direct evidence for copper smelting in Cyprus may derive from Kissonerga Mosphilia; here, lumps of copper ore, fragments of two possible crucibles, and fragments of pure smelted copper were found in Late Chalcolithic and Philia settlement contexts (periods 4–5).¹⁹⁸ Swiny has argued that an unforged billet of a knife or dagger from

¹⁹¹ Swiny 1982, 71; Frankel et al. 1996; Webb and Frankel 1999, 40. For slightly different interpretations emphasizing the role of stimulus diffusion and trade, see Watkins 1981, 19; Mellink 1991, 173–4.

¹⁹² Gale 1991.

¹⁹³ See Dikaios (1962, figs. 74, 84) for the tomb finds from Philia Laxia tou Kasinou (Philia Vasiliko) and Kyra Kaminia; Stewart (1962a, figs. 97:1, 98:5, 101:1–3, 102:19–22) and Hennessey et al. (1988, 53, 55b, 61) for Vasilika Kafkallia; Swiny et al. (2003, 369–80) for Philia phase tomb finds from Sotira Kaminoudhia and comparative material from other sites.

¹⁹⁴ Swiny 1986a, 37–8 and fig. 3.

¹⁹⁵ Swiny 1982, 71; Yakar 1985, 28–34. Interestingly, however, Yakar (1985, 35) alludes to a scarcity of tin-bronze in Cilicia, specifically at Tarsus, in EBII and especially EBIII.

¹⁹⁶ On the practice, benefits, and frequency of making arsenical copper alloys and/or the production of unalloyed copper from ores with arsenical impurities, see Balthazar 1990, 71–2; Gale et al. 1996, 374; Giardino et al. 2003, 387–8.

¹⁹⁷ Four spiral earrings or earring fragments from the Philia phase tomb 6 at Sotira Kaminoudhia were made of tin-bronze or copper containing some tin (Swiny 2003, 376–7). Swiny (2003, 379) suggests that alloys may have been used to make these non-utilitarian ornaments because the resulting color would have resembled gold (see also Giardino et al. 2002, 47; Giardino et al. 2003, 389). Most presently identified tin-bronzes of prehistoric Bronze Age date come from ECIII/MCI or later contexts (Balthazar 1990, 73; Gale et al. 1996, 373–4).

¹⁹⁸ Croft et al. 1998, 188–9.

tomb 6 at Sotira Kaminoudhia may be evidence for the local casting of copper objects at this site during the Philia phase.¹⁹⁹ Other early evidence for casting comes from Marki Alonia, where three incomplete chalk molds for making axes or axe-shaped ingots were found.²⁰⁰ The largest of these molds, S850, was built into the earliest wall found at Marki, dating to the early part of the Philia phase. The other two were incorporated in walls of ECIII or MCI date. The object cast in S850 would have been a large flat axe with a domed pierced butt and a weight of approximately 950–1,050 g, similar to three axes found in Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba tomb 322A. The two smaller molds, S744 and S745, could have been used to produce flat axes with weights of 460–500 g and 220 g, respectively.²⁰¹ Fasnacht and Wagner propose that these molds attest to the surplus production of copper ingots intended for distribution beyond the site of Marki; the piercing of the axe butts may have allowed the alignment of the axes on a string during transport.²⁰² Traces of copper smelting or other phases of metal working have not been found elsewhere at Marki, which lies near the copper ore sources of Kambia, Mathiatis, and Sia, but the discovery of the molds is enough to suggest that metallurgical activity was carried on in the vicinity of the site from its earliest occupation.

Evidence for at least small-scale copper smelting and casting activities were discovered in settlement remains at Alambra Mouttes, located in the north-eastern foothills of the Troodos Mountains. The excavation of eight probable houses and adjacent areas dating to the early part of the MC period yielded 3 fragmentary molds, 16 crucible fragments (9 with adhering slag), 16 copper-rich mineral samples, and 17 pieces of slag.²⁰³ Analyses of the metallurgical finds suggest that secondarily enriched copper carbonate ores containing azurite and malachite were being smelted in the crucibles. The high copper content of the carbonate ores (10%–50% copper, compared to the 0.5%–4.5% typically found in the massive copper sulfide ore deposits of the Troodos ophiolite complex) would have permitted production of copper with relatively small amounts of slag.²⁰⁴

The location of the Alambra settlement on the edge of a sedimentary formation may have been determined at least in part by the proximity of such ores, which are formed when water draining oxidized sulfides and carrying copper in solution runs over chalks and limestone. Coleman argues that the copper-working activity within the excavated area A was not extensive and probably served, at most, to supply the immediate needs of the Alambra residents themselves.²⁰⁵ The types of objects cast in the Alambra molds have not been identified.

Further evidence for copper mining, smelting, refining, and the production of copper axes comes from the MCI settlement at Ambelikou Aletri in the northwestern Troodos, excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1942.²⁰⁶ The architectural remains at this site were not extensively investigated, but at least one rambling complex of irregularly shaped rooms was defined in area I.²⁰⁷ Excavations in area I yielded a small, hollow, terracotta object (possibly from the nozzle of a bellows used in smelting) and a double-sided terracotta mold thought to have been used for casting copper axes. Area II yielded two stratified lumps of copper ore and a coarse clay crucible. Analyses by Zwicker indicated that the latter object was probably used for remelting copper prills produced in prior smelting with the aid of a manganese-oxide flux.²⁰⁸ The excavation foreman also noted possible smelting workshops on the rocky outcrops adjacent to area II.²⁰⁹ Red Polished III sherds similar to those found in the settlement were discovered in the galleries of the Ambelikou mine complexes northeast of Aletri, providing the earliest direct evidence for mining activity in Cyprus.²¹⁰ The ore from these mines has been described as medium-grain sulfide ore,²¹¹ which may have been exploited at approximately the same time as the carbonate ores mined in the Alambra region.

Recent excavations at Pyrgos Mavrorachi in south central Cyprus provide more direct evidence for the labor-intensive smelting of copper sulfide ores²¹² at an early date. Investigations at this site have revealed the presence of a specialized copper working installation covering an area of about 1,000 m²,

¹⁹⁹ Swiny 1986a, 37–8; 2003, 373, 380; cf. Giardino et al. (2003, 391), wherein this object is interpreted as an ingot.

²⁰⁰ Frankel and Webb 2000, 35–6 and fig. 10; Fasnacht and Wagner 2001.

²⁰¹ Fasnacht and Wagner 2001, 38–40. S745 also preserved a drill hole.

²⁰² Fasnacht and Wagner 2001, 41.

²⁰³ Coleman 1996, 135–7; Gale et al. 1996, 359.

²⁰⁴ Constantinou 1982, 15; Gale et al. 1996, 365–71.

²⁰⁵ Coleman 1996, 330.

²⁰⁶ Dikaïos 1945, 104; 1946, 245; Merrillees 1984.

²⁰⁷ Merrillees 1984, fig. 2.

²⁰⁸ Zwicker 1982, 63–4.

²⁰⁹ Merrillees 1984, 11.

²¹⁰ Merrillees (1984, 6–7) has suggested that these sherds derived from jugs used for water storage by the miners.

²¹¹ Merrillees 1984, 6.

²¹² It has been estimated that in order to produce 1 kg of copper, 300 kg of sulfide ore and 300 kg of charcoal are required (Constantinou 1982, 22–3; Swiny 1986b, 66). Based on

bordered on the eastern side by a stream.²¹³ The site appears to have been in use from the Late Chalcolithic through the second half of the MC period. Mace hammers, heavy ring hammers, and mortars found at the site may have been used in mining copper ores located nearby. A large court used as a copper-smelting workshop, with different types of furnaces and work areas, may date as far back as the EC period. Concentrations of slag, grinding stones, and furnace fragments outside the excavated area possibly constitute evidence for at least four similar workshops on the site. Within the excavated area, evidence has been reported for diverse metallurgical operations, including the crushing of ores with stone tools, the smelting of copper (using iron oxides as a flux) in four large circular furnaces built of stone and mudbrick, the hammering and washing of the slag to remove copper droplets and prills, the melting of copper in pit furnaces prior to casting, and the finishing of copper objects using whetstones. While copper carbonate outcrops have been noted within 300 m of the site, metallographic and X-ray diffraction analyses of slag revealed the presence of copper sulfides.²¹⁴ The copper produced at this settlement almost certainly exceeded local requirements, and given the highly specialized nature of the activities carried on it is perhaps not surprising that the metal-rich burial in Pyrgos tomb 21 included the tools of a coppersmith.

The above discussion serves to highlight both the widespread nature and the variable scale of Bronze Age metallurgical activity. At some sites, such as MC Alambra Mouttes, copper production may have been geared primarily toward the fulfillment of local needs. Elsewhere, as at Marki Alonia, some level of copper production for purposes of exchange could well have been under way as early as the Philia phase, continuing through the EC period. The apparently extensive metallurgical operations involving sulfide ores at Pyrgos Mavrorachi suggest that the production of surplus copper was also under way in the southern Troodos during the EC–MC periods, perhaps as early as the Philia phase.

How much of this surplus was intended for local exchange and how much was deliberately pro-

duced for export overseas is presently a problematic question. Textual references from Mari and Babylon indicate that these Near Eastern polities were obtaining copper from Cyprus (referred to as *Alashiya*) during the 18th century B.C.²¹⁵ However, the frequency and volume of this trade in the MC period remains a matter for speculation. If the quantity of imported goods in Cyprus (table 13) and of Cypriot pottery abroad²¹⁶ are valid proxies, its scale was fairly limited before MCIII. Without deprecating the social and ideological importance of earlier exchange contacts, it could be argued that Cypriot long-distance trade prior to MCIII–LCI was more sporadic than systematic. The principal stimulus for the development of the copper industry in Bronze Age Cyprus was probably local consumption and exchange, including the provisioning of those regions of the island that were far from its copper resources. Indeed, some of these distant communities (e.g., Lapithos) were the most conspicuous consumers of copper in Cyprus.

Despite the extent and the scale of Philia and EC–MC metallurgical activity at some sites, the quantities and types of finished metal goods found in settlement contexts suggest that copper remained a scarce and highly valued resource throughout this era. Table 14 summarizes the types and frequencies of copper objects recovered from settlement excavations in Cyprus to date. In contrast to the rich assemblages of copper-based artifacts recovered from mortuary contexts (consisting of large numbers of hook-tang weapons, knives, razors or scrapers, tweezers, pins, and other tools and ornaments), the majority of the items recovered from settlement contexts are complete or fragmentary pins and needles, with less numerous occurrences of other fragmentary tools such as knives, scrapers, axes, chisels, and awls. The presence of these objects suggests that copper tools were used for a variety of utilitarian tasks. But the fact that relatively small numbers of mainly small and fragmentary items predominate in the settlement finds implies that larger, usable tools were curated and reused over extended periods of time and discarded only when they were utterly useless.²¹⁷ Broken items of any significant size were

my calculations, extrapolated from Constantinou's figures, the production of that amount of charcoal would require the felling and chopping of six 80- to 100-year-old pine trees even before the process of copper extraction began.

²¹³ See Belgiorio (2000) and Giardino (2000) for the preliminary reports.

²¹⁴ Giardino 2000, 21–3.

²¹⁵ Dossin 1939, 1965; Millard 1973; Knapp 1979, 179–181; 1996b, 17–20.

²¹⁶ Popham 1963; Merrillees 1968, 1977, 1992, 2002; Oren 1969; Saltz 1977; Johnson 1982; Catling and MacGillivray 1983.

²¹⁷ See Webb (1995) for an extensive discussion of curation at Marki Alonia.

Table 13. Imported and/or Foreign-Influenced Goods in Cypriot Bronze Age Tomb Contexts

Tomb	Gold	Silver, Lead, or Silver/Lead(s/l) ^a	Faience
Bellapais Vounous	T164B: 4 frags. sheet gold; T59: 1 earring	—	small groups of beads & necklaces from tombs 2, 15, 19, 20A, 23, 33, 59, 64, 72
Karmi Palealona	—	—	T11B: 1 bead
Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba	T806A: 3 sheet gold ornaments; T322A: 3 spirals; T204: twisted bands, spiral bands	T307A: 1 s/l ring; T311A: 1 s/l ring; T313A: 1 ring, 2 bracelets; T313B: 1 ring; T316: 7 s/l rings; T320: 8 s/l rings; T322A: 1 spiral; T322B: 1 pin, 1 ring; T802A: 1 ring; T805: 1 ring; T806A: 1 band, 1 clasp, 2 pins; T828A: 1 ring; T50, T204: small silver orna- ments, vessel frags.	small groups of beads & necklaces from tombs 306A, 313A, 313B, 319B, 320, 322A, 322B, 322D, 322E, 804A, 805, 806A, 806C, 15, 50, 51, 203A
Vasilia Kafkallia	earrings reported from looted area	—	—
Ayios Iakovos Melia	—	—	T6: 238 beads
Korovia Paleoskoutella	—	T7: 1 lead whorl	—
Katydhata	—	—	T28: beads
Politiko	Lambertis T16: thinbands; T21: 2 rings	Lambertis T16, T18: bracelet frags.	Lambertis T38: beads
Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi	T22?: beads	T8: 20 lead spiral frags.; T1/1894: s/l ring; T22?: silver spiral & bead	T8: 608 beads; others from T5/1894
Alambra Mouttes	—	—	—
Dhali Kafkallia	—	—	—
Kalopsidha	—	T11: ring	T11, T26: beads
Larnaca area	—	Laxia tou Riou T1: vessel(?) frag.; T1, T2: s/l rings	—
Kalavastos	—	—	T36: 2,608 beads; T37: 111 beads; T5(13): 2 necklaces, other beads; T11(19), 12(20), various VVP tombs: beads
Pyrgos Mavrorachi	—	—	T21: 1 necklace
Limassol Ayios Nikolaos	—	—	T1: 1 necklace
Sotira Kaminoudhia	T6: 2 electrum earrings	—	—

^a See n. 141.

Table 13 (continued)

Tomb	Pottery	Imported Bronze and/or Tin-Bronze	Shafthole Axes/ Warrior Belts	Other
Bellapais Vounous	T164B, T64, T68: 3 Syro-Palestinian jars	T19, T143: 2 Minoan daggers; tomb 33: 1 tin-bronze pin	—	—
Karmi Palealona	T11B: 1 Minoan Kamares cup	—	—	—
Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba	T806A: 1 Minoan jar; T805: 1 Syro-Cilician jug	T313CD: 1 Minoan dagger; T322A: 1 Minoan dagger, 1 razor; T2, T18A, T18B: 3 Syrian daggers; T313A: 2 tin-bronze pins; T803A: 1 tin-bronze knife	—	T322B: horse bones
Vasilia Kafkallia	—	—	—	T103: 2 alabaster bowls, 1 jug
Ayios Iakovos Melia	—	—	T6: discs from warrior belt	—
Korovia Paleoskoutella	—	—	—	—
Katydhata	—	—	—	—
Politiko	—	—	Chomazoudhia T3: 1 shafthole axe	Chomazoudhia T3: horse bones
Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi	T9: 1 Syro-Cilician jug	—	2 shafthole axes from region	T14/1894: horse teeth
Alambra Mouttes	—	T102, T103: 2 tin-bronze rings	1 shafthole axe from region	—
Dhali Kafkallia	—	—	tomb G: shafthole axe, warrior belt (MCIII/LCIA?)	—
Kalopsidha	—	—	—	T9: horse teeth & bones
Larnaca area	—	—	1 shafthole axe from region, poss. warrior belt from Klavdhia	—
Kalavasos	—	—	—	—
Pyrgos Mavrorachi	—	T21: tin-bronze: 3 daggers, 1 awl, 1 tweezer, 1 bracelet, 1 necklace	—	—
Limassol Ayios Nikolaos	—	—	—	—
Sotira Kaminoudhia	—	T6: 4 tin-bronze earrings	—	—

Data were compiled from tomb publications cited throughout; see also Catling and Karageorghis 1960; Branigan 1966, 1967; Amiran 1971, 1973; Åström 1972; Buchholz 1979; Merrillees and Tubb 1979; Philip 1991; Ross 1994; Gale et al. 1996, tables 2.11, 2.12; Giardino et al. 2002, table 1. For Kalavasos, tomb numbers in parentheses are the new numbers assigned by Todd (1986) to tombs published in Karageorghis (1958).

Table 14. Counts of Copper-Based Artifact Types from Settlement and Mortuary Contexts

Site	Knife/ Dagger	Hook-tang Weapon	Axe	Razor/ Scraper	Tweezer	Awl	Chisel	Spatula	Needle	Needle/ Fragment	Pin	Other Ornament	Other/ Unidentified
Sotira Kaminoudhia settlement	2	0	2	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	2
Sotira Kaminoudhia tombs	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	1
Alambra Mouttes settlement	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0
Alambra Mouttes tombs	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1
Marki Alonia settlement	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	34	13	4	3	0
Kalavastos tombs	9	9	2	4	4	1	1	1	0	3	2	22	10
Bellapais Vounous tombs	113	45	5	13	16	2	1	0	6	2	89	6	4
Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba tombs	122	84	28	46	63	20	8	3	43	0	226	44	2

The counts from Marki Alonia are partly derived from preliminary reports of the 1995–2000 seasons (Frankel and Webb 1996b, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001), as well as from Frankel and Webb (1996a), and may be subject to minor revisions pending final publication. Counts from Vounous and Lapithos are derived from only those tombs included in tables 2–4 and 7–9; inclusion of finds from looted tombs at both sites and from very early excavations, such as those of Myres and Markides at Lapithos would result in much higher totals. Kalavastos tombs include those published by Karageorghis (1958) and Todd (1986).

probably remelted and recast to make other serviceable items. Interestingly, at some localities, such as MC Alambra Mouttes, and even at the LCIA settlement at Episkopi Phaneromeni, stone tools such as axes and adzes apparently continued in use along with metal tools, supplementing or substituting for metal tools when these were unavailable or considered too precious for everyday use.²¹⁸ However, both of these settlements have also yielded evidence for at least small-scale copper production and casting.

As copper items remained in circulation over extended periods of time and could be substituted with tools made of other materials, the demand for replacement metal in the realm of utilitarian consumption was probably fairly low. Much greater demands on copper producers and copper exchange networks may instead have been exerted in the realm of ceremonial consumption, where weaponry, tools, toilet articles, and personal ornaments were subject to very different patterns of use and discard. In this context, ceremonial consumption does not refer exclusively to mortuary consumption. Although some copper objects (e.g., knives and daggers) may have been newly made for use as grave goods,²¹⁹ many of the metal goods found in Cypriot tombs were probably wielded and worn on other festive occasions—when they might be admired, envied, or emulated by others in attendance—before they were disposed of in the mortuary context. The role of copper items in local and regional exchange systems must have been of equal importance, helping to secure the flow of marriage partners, livestock, and manufactured goods such as pottery and cloth within and between communities.²²⁰ However, the mortuary context was the last stop for many metal goods, some of which

were ceremonially damaged or “killed” before being deposited with the dead.²²¹ This had important ramifications because mortuary consumption ultimately took those goods out of circulation and created an ongoing need for replacement much greater than the need for replacement of tools in everyday use. As consumption escalated in mortuary contexts, activities relating to copper production and exchange must necessarily have been intensified.

That some of the richest tomb collections came from sites far from the copper mines of the Troodos attests to the responsiveness of copper producers to increasing ceremonial demand, as well as to the effectiveness of the exchange networks moving copper between mining regions and coastal areas before the development of urban polities and officially administered tributary systems. The relationships between coastal communities that consumed large quantities of copper, such as Lapithos, and the producer communities supplying their metal needs may have been based on kinship, affinal ties, and interpersonal exchange partnerships (the same social networks the founders of LC coastal centers relied upon initially to obtain copper for overseas trade). By manipulating these traditional alliance networks and offering new types of prestige goods, emergent urban elites may have stimulated further surplus production in all copper-producing communities.²²² Thus the growth of the prehistoric Bronze Age system of copper production and exchange was fueled significantly at the outset by the demands of the local ceremonial system, and this set the stage for the further transformation and reorganization of the copper industry that followed in the LC Bronze Age.

²¹⁸ Coleman (1996) reports that 14 stone axes were recovered from stratified contexts at Alambra, and roughly the same number was found in surface surveys; 2 stone adzes were also found. At Episkopi Phaneromeni (Swiny 1986b), 13 stone axes, an adze, and a flaked cutting tool were found. Coleman argues that these and other lithic finds suggest a strong reliance on stone tools for building construction, chopping firewood, agricultural activities, food preparation, the digging and preparation of copper ores, and tomb cutting. Stone axes appear to have been used for tomb cutting until late in the MC period at Lapithos, likewise at Episkopi Phaneromeni (Herscher 1978, 713–4; Coleman 1996, 143–8).

²¹⁹ Swiny (1986b, 88). Giardino et al. (2002, 44) also note that two tin-bronze daggers from Pyrgos tomb 21 show casting defects and were probably made for symbolic purposes rather than actual use.

²²⁰ The paramount importance of copper as a commodity in exchange and display may also explain why the composition of

many copper artifacts is inconsistent with the exigencies of practical use; e.g., there was the occasional use of strengthening tin and arsenical alloys for personal ornaments, and the only occasional use of such alloys for tools in everyday use (Swiny 1982; Balthazar 1990, 430–2). It may further explain why copper axes display little or no evidence for hafting (Balthazar 1990, 360).

²²¹ Stewart 1962a, 294; Åström 1987, with further references.

²²² Recent excavations at Politiko Phorades in the northern Troodos foothills have revealed the presence of a small-scale, probably seasonal, smelting operation, dating to the LC I period. Knapp (2003, 562–4) suggests that many other such mining camps probably existed, and that while there is no direct evidence that Phorades or other such sites were officially administered, some of these enterprises may have become increasing specialized and of more extended duration as the Late Bronze Age progressed.

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF A CONVERGENCE:
THE CYPRIOT RITUAL SYSTEM AND LONG-
DISTANCE TRADE

The establishment of LC urban politics and the emergence of Cyprus as a major player in the eastern Mediterranean copper trade resulted from the convergence of the local Cypriot ritual system with impinging foreign interests in Cypriot copper resources. The dynamics of local systems of mortuary display and prestige competition had a number of important, interwoven ramifications that both invited and were transformed by the introduction of foreign prestige goods and elite ideologies.

Escalating prestige displays were an ongoing stimulant to the expansion of copper-producing capabilities. An unintended consequence of display and production expansion would have been an increasing visibility and reputation of Cypriot copper resources among foreign traders who made landfall on the island. Any foreign visitor to one of the more elaborate EC–MC funerals would surely have had tales to tell about the riches of copper interred with the dead, and such accounts may well have inspired deliberate future trading visits. Cypriots themselves may also have touted their island's rich copper resources when traveling overseas. Thus it may be no coincidence that the quantities of imported valuables found in Cypriot tombs began to increase at the ECIIB/MCI transition, when mortuary consumption also escalated significantly. With the breakdown of the older exchange networks through which Near Eastern and Egyptian polities had previously acquired their copper, traders from these regions would have had ample justification for seeking alternative supplies in Cyprus.²²³

Concurrently, the intensification of local prestige competition would have created a demand within Cypriot communities for new forms of status symbolism. Many researchers have noted the tendency for competitive status seekers to emulate the prestige goods of higher status groups; this prompts these higher status groups to further elaborate their paraphernalia along what Cannon has referred to as a trajectory of "expressive redundancy."²²⁴ When the panache of current prestige symbols becomes diluted by their general availability, and when in-

creasing the size and ornamentation of those symbols is no longer feasible, social aspirants must either retreat from display altogether or find new and innovative ways of asserting their status. In the context of social competition in early second millennium Cyprus, goods of non-local origin may have been highly valued because of their scarcity, exotic allure, and association with foreign elites (whose material culture and ideology may have been perceived as more prestigious).²²⁵ In identifying with the values and ideology of foreign elites, emergent Cypriot leaders may have begun to posit new status distinctions between themselves and other members of their communities and to create an ideological basis for institutionalized social inequality.²²⁶

Although imports were probably too rare to have formed essential components of Cypriot prestige symbolism for much of the EC–MC periods, by the second half of the MC period, quantities of imports and foreign-influenced valuables seem to have been on the rise; many of these items were rich in symbolic content and associations. The occurrence of at least eight shafthole axes from the vicinities of Politiko, Pera, Nicosia, Alambra, and Idalion adjacent to the copper-mining zones of the Troodos and from the Larnaca area²²⁷ is particularly notable. Similar axes and "warrior belts" were important paraphernalia in contemporary, high-status "warrior" burials in Syria-Palestine, with the best parallels coming from MBII tombs at Ras Shamra.²²⁸ Both the tin content and the craftsmanship of the shafthole axes render them distinct from contemporaneous Cypriot products, and it is conceivable that they were made by Near Eastern craftsmen working in Cyprus or abroad.²²⁹ Axes, in addition to their utilitarian importance, may have been major units of copper exchange from the onset of the Philia facies. The shafthole axes would have been further valued for their more elaborate form and quality, as well as for their symbolic linkage with more powerful foreign elites. Similarly, traditional sacrifices of livestock may have taken a new turn with the introduction of horses, which were important status symbols for Syrian and Babylonian elites; horses were slaughtered in a few notably elaborate MC mortuary events.²³⁰ The importance of axes, horses, and other Near Eastern prestige symbols may have been

²²³ Klengel 1984; Knapp 1986a.

²²⁴ Cannon 1989; see also Pollock 1982; Parker Pearson 1984.

²²⁵ Leach 1954; Flannery 1968; Wheatley 1975; Renfrew 1986; Brumfiel and Earle 1987, 8; Helms 1988.

²²⁶ See Wheatley (1975, 238–9) for similar developments in Southeast Asia.

²²⁷ These are summarized in Buchholz 1979; several other examples have no provenience.

²²⁸ Courtois 1986, 74; Philip 1991, 80–5, 1995.

²²⁹ Swiny 1982, 73–4; Åström 1972, 245.

²³⁰ Sasson 1966; Courtois 1986, 74.

transmitted in part through personal interactions with foreigners; such symbols may additionally have been conveyed through the observation of Near Eastern iconography, especially glyptics (which sometimes depicted warriors and gods with axes and other weapons, as well as with regal paraphernalia such as maces).²³¹ Syrian and Old Babylonian cylinder seals probably made their first appearance in Cyprus during the later MC period; they seem to have remained in circulation for several generations, presumably as highly valued heirlooms, before being deposited in LC tombs at Enkomi and other sites.²³² Shafthole axes, maces, cylinder seals, horses, and other imported valuables displayed on ceremonial occasions had the potential to set their bearers apart from others with a symbolism not inherent in locally produced goods.

Once initiated, the use of exotic goods in prestige displays offered aspiring leaders yet another means of enhancing their political power. Leaders who could provide exotic goods to their supporters and allies would enhance their own prestige. Those who could parlay their special long-distance exchange relationships into exclusive access to foreign prestige goods would have advanced their political positions even further.²³³ This would have necessitated both the control of outgoing copper and the access of foreign traders to the inland regions where it was produced. The assertion of such control, through the establishment of coastal emporia where overseas exchanges were mediated, created the material basis for a new hierarchical social order characterized by unequal access to foreign valuables and copper resources.

The realization of this scenario can be discerned in the changing local and regional distribution patterns of copper and exotic goods in tombs of the LC period. Exotic goods seem to have replaced copper objects in high- and middle-status mortuary assemblages from approximately LCIB through LCIIb. Copper weapons and other copper goods occurred primarily in the richest tomb groups (contrasting with the less restrictive EC–MC distributional pattern), suggesting that copper resources were under tight control. Imported pottery, gold, silver, ivory, faience, glass, and other exotic goods

were more broadly distributed; however, the distribution of the highest order valuables—the heaviest, most ornately worked, and most iconographically rich objects—was limited to the overall wealthiest groups within the major centers, such as those at Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavassos, and Kourion. Moreover, very few of the highest order exotic valuables found their way inland during the LC period (contrasting, e.g., with distributional patterning of shafthole axes in the MC period). Lower order exotics must have constituted an important element of wealth finance, facilitating the flow of copper through internal exchange networks, but the most important valuables remained in the hands of the now prominent coastal elites.²³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

Reconstructing the emergence of a complex society in Bronze Age Cyprus is a challenging enterprise, especially given the absence of a textual base and the small number of excavations that have been conducted at settlement sites dating to the formative EC–MC periods. Far more extensive excavations of cemetery sites have taken place over the course of the past 150 years, but relatively few of these investigations were conducted in accordance with modern standards of scientific excavation, analysis, or reporting. Nevertheless, the existing evidence, with all its deficiencies, is a rich source of information concerning the ways in which Cypriot communities experienced and also influenced socioeconomic change through the enactment of their mortuary rituals.

At the core of EC–MC Bronze Age mortuary practice was an ideology emphasizing the veneration of communal and kin-group ancestors. This was reflected in the use of permanent, spatially reserved, extramural cemeteries; in the use and reuse of pit and rock-cut chamber tombs for multiple burials; in the emergence of ritual programs involving secondary treatment and collective reburial; and in the disposal of sizeable quantities of material wealth in both the actual tombs and in the ceremonial commemorations of the dead. By ensuring that the deceased were accorded the appropriate ritual observances and equipped with all the goods re-

²³¹ Stone macchads were found in Swedish tombs 316 and 320 at Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba and in other Lapithos tombs excavated by Myres and Markides; they were also found in two MC–LC tombs at Ayios Iakovos Melia and in various tombs at Larnaca Laxia tou Riou and Katydhata (see Åström 1972, 159). Still other examples of MCIII/LCIA date come from Enkomi French tomb 32 (Courtois 1981, 42, 54), Pendayia Mandres

tomb 1 (Karagcorghis 1965b, 54), and Arpcra Mosphilos tomb 1A (Merrillees 1974, 52).

²³² Courtois 1986; Merrillees 1986.

²³³ See Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) for a European example.

²³⁴ Keswani 1989a, 1989b, 1993, 2004.

quired in the afterlife, funeral sponsors courted the intervention and support of the ancestors in sustaining the ongoing fertility and prosperity of the living. Yet the social ramifications of these mortuary celebrations went far beyond this; mortuary rituals were public events, where kin-group identities were reified, social alliances were created and renewed, status positions were negotiated through hospitality and competitive display, and the symbols and ideology of prestige were widely diffused and emulated. As funerary rites became increasingly elaborate, costly, and competitive over time, their consequences extended beyond the sphere of ritual activity and into the socioeconomic activities of daily life. Competitive mortuary celebrations stimulated the intensification of copper production and exchange, and ultimately created a new role for imported goods within the local prestige system. In turn, these developments laid the groundwork for far-reaching sociopolitical changes in the LC period, when certain groups of social entrepreneurs established new coastal centers and began to assert privileged, monopolistic control over local and long-distance exchanges involving copper. The status hierarchies negotiated through conspicuous mortuary display during the EC–MC periods were now underpinned by differential access to and institutionalized control over local copper supplies and imported valuables.

The development of urban or town-centered polities in Late Bronze Age Cyprus has long been viewed as the product of impinging external influences, specifically, the copper requirements of neighboring Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean states, as well as the ideological impact of cultural interactions with these older civilizations. The consequences of such long-distance trade contacts included more intensive copper production, the establishment of coastal emporia, and the emergence of urban elites. While the importance of external influences cannot be discounted, what has been lacking heretofore is an understanding of why Cypriot communities were so responsive to external demands that necessitated both higher labor inputs in the sphere of economic production and greater inequality in social life. This paper has attempted to show how a foreign demand for copper, along with a Cypriot demand for the goods that foreign traders offered in exchange, played into indigenous systems of ritual and prestige competition. Because of their own internal dynamics and associated cultural values, these systems had already created a productive infrastruc-

ture and a social environment primed for further transformation.

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