

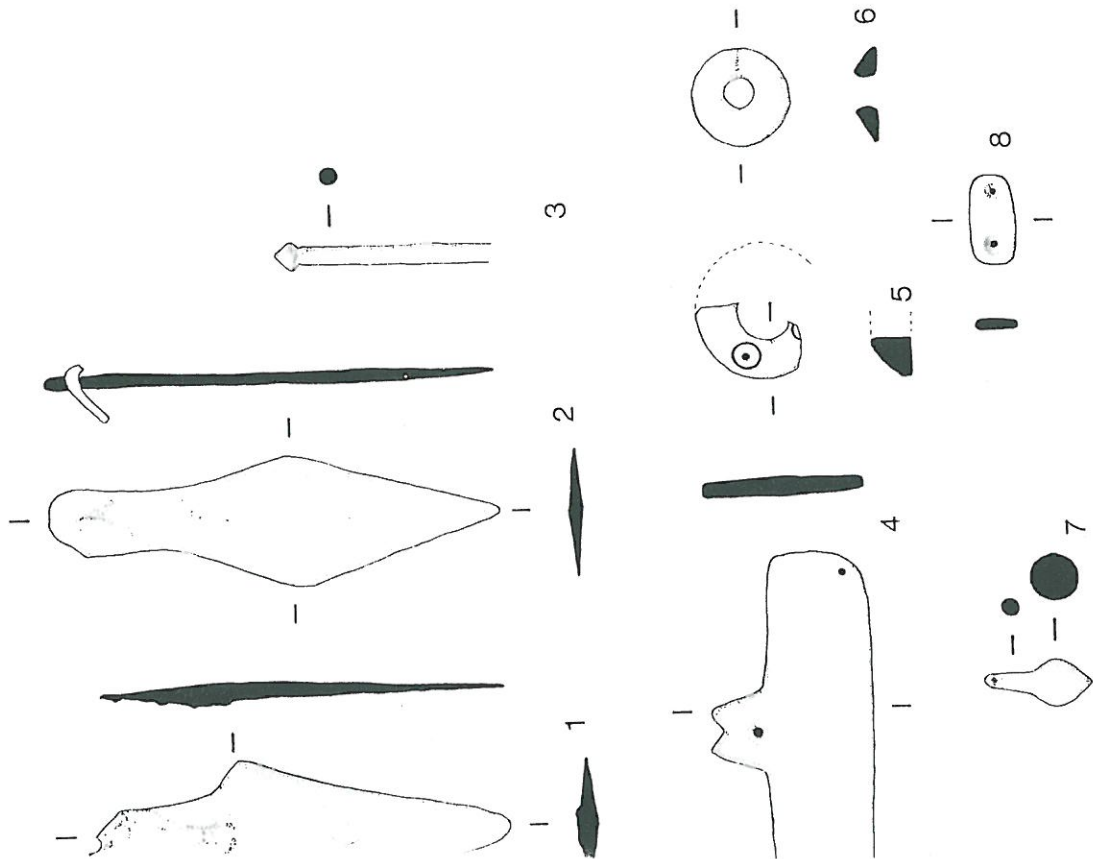


Fig. 3. Metal and stone small finds from the Paramali Valley and Lophou-Chromastries.

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FUNERARY IDEOLOGY IN BRONZE AGE CYPRUS-TOWARD THE RECOGNITION AND ANALYSIS OF CYPRIOTE RITUAL DATA

Jennifer M. Webb

It is frequently observed that the most difficult and least rewarding level of inference in archaeology is that which concerns ritual ideology. This unwillingness to venture beyond the visible into the realm of inference and a more general belief that such inferential studies are not a legitimate concern of contemporary archaeology have inhibited attempts to come to terms with the rich body of archaeological and representational data available to students of this aspect of Cypriote prehistory. As a result there exists no agreed inferential structure in accordance with which Cypriote ritual evidence might be recognized and fundamental methodological problems resolved nor a consistent theoretical framework by means of which that data might be analysed and interpreted. It is hoped that the present paper might contribute in small part to this process. It is offered in warm friendship and sincere gratitude to Dr Vassos Kurağorhis whose own excavations and numerous publications have made a very substantial contribution to this area of research.

Funerary remains are a particularly valuable resource as, unlike most archaeological evidence, they represent the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious behaviour rather than simply an incidental residue. The relationship, however, between human action and artifact patterning is seldom direct and attempts to understand the ideological dimension of death and burial through the analysis of mortuary remains are fraught with difficulty. In Cyprus the problem is compounded by the fact that so many tombs were unceremoniously cleared of their contents in the C19th without detailed record of either physical or artifactual remains while the majority of those more recently excavated had been plundered or disturbed by flooding or agricultural activity with a resulting shifting of artifacts and destruction of human remains. The difficulty of assigning objects to discrete burial units arising from the practice of multiple interments creates further problems. As a result it has rarely been possible to recover all relevant data or to recognize the transformations which have taken place between mortuary behaviour and the record of that behaviour.

Despite these problems there is widespread agreement in the literature that the Bronze Age Cypriotes believed in some form of survival *post mortem* and that their mortuary customs were governed by ritual principles designed to ensure or enhance that survival. Both views are based on the recognition of broadly stereotyped behaviour in the burial record. Little attempt has been made, however, to distinguish ritual activity based on formal ideological prescriptions, from stereotyped but non-ritualized behaviour or to determine the extent to which such distinctions are capable of being reflected in the material remains. In response to these questions the following offers a brief review of the evidence for ritual treatment both at the grave site and within several possible funerary cult centres.

FORMAL ATTRIBUTES OF BURIAL

Throughout the Bronze Age the dead were buried in discrete areas usually situated on the surface or sloping sides of low ridges or plateaux between 500 and 1,000 metres from the parent settlement. The location of these cemeteries appears to have been determined primarily by such considerations as proximity to the settlements they served, ease of access, security, the suitability of the terrain, the depth of surface soil and the availability of favourable *kafkalla* or *lanvara* (secondary limestone) which provided an easily-worked and stable medium for the construction of underground chambers. The rock-cut chamber tomb was in general use. Other tomb types appear to be local adaptations designed to combat the softness of the subsoil or bedrock which in some areas made the cutting of normal chambers dangerous or impossible.

The orientation of individual tombs appears to have been determined by the topography of the land (with the *dromos* usually dug against the slope of the hill in order to utilize the maximum depth of rock for the chamber) and their relation to nearby tombs. Chamber ground plans within the same necropolis range

from circular, oval or kidney-shaped to rectangular or square and the *dromoi* likewise vary in shape and depth. Individual peculiarities in tomb construction and furnishings are also common. Some appear to have been covered by earthen mounds or marked by rubble walls, others have pits in the floor, platforms or benches along the walls or niches in the chamber or *dromos* and the number of chambers varies from one to four or more.¹ There is little to suggest, however, that any of these idiosyncracies were governed by ritual principles — rather regional preferences, the quality of the ground, the proximity of surrounding tombs, the number of burials anticipated and the personal requirements of the tomb-cutter may have been the only determining factors. If less mundane criteria were involved these are not visible in the archaeological record.

The chamber tombs began as graves of single individuals but came at least as early as EC III to serve as multiple burial vaults continuing in use over a number of generations. A familial or social connection between the occupants of each tomb may be indicated although this has not yet been demonstrated. In some instances, particularly in those tombs containing mass burials, contemporaneity of death rather than biological affinity appears to have been the decisive factor determining the relationship between individual interments. With each successive burial the tomb chamber was re-opened and the earlier skeletal remains and grave goods roughly pushed aside suggesting that once the flesh had decomposed and the body was no longer recognizable no further care was considered necessary.² No evidence for secondary burial or the removal of earlier remains prior to subsequent interments is visible.³ It is possible, however, that the sweeping of bodies to the walls of the chamber or their placement in pits in the floor in itself constituted a form of secondary burial.⁴

Supine and seated burials were current throughout the period with the former considerably more common, the position chosen in each case perhaps determined by the availability of space within the chamber. The orientation of the bodies appears to have been dictated by the orientation of the tomb itself, with the proviso, in the majority of cases, that the head lay closest to the *dromos*. Children were placed in small niches cut into the walls of the *dromos*. There are no apparent distinctions in either orientation or burial posture between males and females.

GRAVE GOODS

Individual burials were normally accompanied by a varying number of ceramic and non-ceramic objects. Frequently referred to as "funerary offerings", these have long been identified as synonymous with a belief in physical and/or spiritual survival beyond the grave.⁵ This view persists despite the fact that comparative ethnographic research has shown that the equation of grave goods with concepts of immortality is not always valid.⁶ In modern primitive societies objects may be placed with the body of the deceased simply as mementos, as visible expressions of his/her social personality during life or because personal belongings are considered tainted by death and therefore accompany their owner to the grave.⁷ Elsewhere funerary feasts in honour of the dead are held at the grave site and utensils and foodstuffs used in the ceremony deposited in the tomb in order to prevent the efficacy of the ritual from being spoiled by subsequent use of funerary objects for profane purposes.⁸ Ethnography also provides examples of societies which do hold an explicit belief in physical survival beyond the grave yet do not provide their dead with the wherewithal for that survival.

1. Rubble walls or rectangular precincts are noted in particular at Tumbaou tou Skourou - cf. Vermeule and Wolsky, *Tumbaou tou Skourou. A Bronze Age Cemetery. Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*, 158, 245, 271.

2. Where skeletal material has been studied in detail there is no over-representation of smaller body parts such as might be left behind during the removal of decayed burials - cf. J. Meyer, "The human skeletal remains" in Todd, "A Middle Bronze Age tomb at Pseumismenos-Trellinok", *RAIC* 1985, 72-73.

3. As suggested for Aegean burials by Cavanagh, "A Mycenaean second burial custom", *Bull. of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25 (1978), 171-172. See also Vermeule and Wolsky, *op. cit.*, 161.

4. Cf. eg. Cassinakis, "Les rites funéraires à Chypre", *RAIC* 1973, 116-66.

5. Cf. P. J. Ucko, "Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains", *World Archaeology* 1 (1969), 262-80; R. Huntington and P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, Cambridge 1979; E.-J. Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*, *B&R* Int. Ser. 130 (1982), etc.

6. Cf. eg. J. Middleton, *Lufthara Religion* (1960), 29, 200; S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (1960 ed.), 51-63.

7. Cf. E. J. Goudy, "Death and social control among the Lo Daga", *Man* 59 (1959), 134-8.

val.⁸ In these instances the placing of a man's belongings next to his body for a brief period prior to burial is considered sufficient to ensure they accompany him to the next world.

In the case of Bronze Age Cyprus the inclusion of grave goods was clearly an integral and prescribed part of the burial ceremony constituting, to a greater or lesser degree, a formalized activity characterized by non-random behaviour. The criteria involved in their selection, however, remain unclear. Few appear to have been manufactured specifically for funerary use. The vast majority of vessels placed in the tombs were bowls, jugs or juglets of normal shape and fabric. Together they account for well over 75% (and up to 96.25% in LC IIIA) of all tomb vases until the LC IIIB2 period as indicated in Tables 1-VI.⁹ Other shapes, appearing in much smaller numbers, are also of utilitarian types. Where settlement pottery is available for comparison, in the MC and LC periods (cf. Tables VII-VIII), the mortuary assemblage is a higher proportion of decorated wares and few large jars and pithoi, the size of which no doubt precluded their deposition. Fabric and decoration with contemporary domestic pottery, although the tombs contain a higher proportion of decorated wares and few large jars and pithoi, the size of which no doubt precluded their deposition. Complex composite vessels and ring kermoi, often identified as ritual vessels, are found very rarely and do not provide evidence for regular funerary ritual. In the LC sample, also, offering stands, *myia* and miniature vases of the type found in vast numbers in the sanctuary at Athenou *Bamboulari tis Koukouni* are either absent or, in the case of *myia*, very rarely found in the tombs, suggesting that burial rites did not involve performances similar to those of the large communal cult centres.

The only non-utilitarian vessel to make a significant appearance in burial deposits is the zoomorphic vase which steadily increased in popularity through the Bronze Age. The EC and MC examples are predominantly bird-shaped with horned quadrupeds becoming more common in LC I and bull vases taking over from other shapes by LC II.¹¹ Bird-shaped vessels in Proto-White Painted ware, developed from Aegean prototypes, are again predominant in the LC IIIB2 chamber tombs with occasional quadrupeds (horses, bulls, goats) in the same fabric.¹² In our Early Cypriote sample some 2.3% of burials were accompanied by zoomorphic vessels, rising to 5.7% in MC, 3.3% in LC I and 4.1% in LC II. A sharp increase is evident in LC IIIB with 19% of burials accompanied by one or more vessels. Their highest incidence, however, is in the Mycenaean type chamber tombs of LC IIIB2 where they occur with as many as 56.3% of interments. These figures suggest that zoomorphic vases were associated to some degree with mortuary ceremony throughout the Bronze Age — perhaps involving the pouring of libations in honour of the occupant of the tomb. Their relatively low incidence from EC to LC IIIA, however, shows that while they may have been regularly used in funerary rites they were not regularly deposited in the graves. Their greater frequency in LC IIIB2, the only period in which the incidence of zoomorphic vessels suggests a prescription governing the deposition of at least one with each burial, may be attributed, like Proto-White Painted Ware and the architecture of the tombs themselves, to Aegean inspiration.

8. Cf. Ucko, *loc. cit.*, 266.

9. Tables I-VI show the relative incidence of vessel types deposited in sample groups of intact, fairly dated and well-documented tombs from the EC, MC, LC I, LC II, LC IIIA and LC IIIB periods respectively. Care has been taken to include burials from widely dispersed sites in order to avoid distortion through regional bias. In the EC group, however, Vounous is over-represented.

10. Tables VII-VIII show the relative incidence of vessel types from settlements/sanctuaries levels at Myrtou-Pigadhes and from Houses A, B1 and B111 at Apliki. In addition for the MC period cf. E. Wheeler and T. Cullen in Todd *et al.*, "Vasilikos Valley project, 1977-1978. An interim report", *RAIC* 1979, 54; J.R. Carpenter, "Excavations at Pseumismenos", *RAIC* 1983, 83-9. These views run contrary to Weinberg's initial suggestion, based on a misunderstanding of the chronology of deposits at Pseumismenos, that funerary pottery was made "specifically for offering in the graves" - cf. "Exploring the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus", *Archaeology* 9 (1956), 112-21; *idem*, "Ceramics and the supernatural: cult and burial evidence in the Aegean world" in *Ceramics and Man* (ed. F.R. Maxson), Chicago 1965, 187-201. The higher incidence of decorated wares in the tombs is noted by Ostrink in Italia Sultan Tekke 6, *SIMA* XLV/6 (1979), 59.

11. Although similar in appearance the LC bull vases are distinct in fabric and technique from contemporary bull figurines. Approximately 7 times as many vases as figurines are extant and of the 150 or so listed by L. Saron in SCE IV/1C, 191-4 at least 80 are known or can be assumed to have come from tombs. The only bull-shaped vessels found in other than funerary contexts are single examples from a well at Bamboulari and Room 11, pre-sanctuary Level IV at Myrtou-Pigadhes and several fragments which survived into LC IIIB occupation levels at Enkomi - cf. Benson, *Bamboulari at Koukouni*, 72, pl. 17, No. B223; du Plat Taylor *et al.*, *Myrtou-Pigadhes. A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus*, 80, No. 119; Dikaios, *Enkomi*, 686, 705, pls 131/32-33, 164/7, Nos 1550, 3762/27. They do not appear in sanctuary deposits.

12. The great majority of both Desborough's Type I and II bird vessels have been found in tombs - an observation true also of the bird *askoi* of the Cypro-Geometric period - cf. Desborough, "Bird vases", *Kopistia Agorissa* 24 (1972), 245-77.

Anthropomorphic female figurines in terracotta appear occasionally throughout the period. These are probably corresponding to the economic poverty of the population.¹⁴

Anthropomorphic female figurines in terracotta appear occasionally throughout the period. These are considered to have been manufactured specifically as grave goods and variously identified as representations of a major fertility goddess responsible for restoring life to the dead, substitute effigies of mortal women (*vaiabatis*) or symbols of the continuity of human existence through procreation and life after death (*kallibatis*) or symbols of the continuity of burials. The 299+ interments, for example, in LC II the MC group 5 and the 213+ in LC I only I. In LC II the MC sample produced 18 figurines, the 88+ in the MC group 5 and the 213+ in LC I only I. It is clear, in fact, there rises somewhat to 8 with 268+-burials, dropping again to 1 among 145+- in LC III. It is clear, in fact, at female figurines were not essential grave goods at any time during the Bronze Age. Indeed there is little suggest that they were important in funerary ideology other than as valued possessions which occasionally and their way into the graves. In recent years figurines have been found in increasing numbers in settlement deposits where they seem to have been endowed with symbolic, magical or apotropaic validity, a status different from their occasional use as grave goods and votives.¹⁴

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Where material remains of symbolic or possibly symbolic practices associated with burial are evident, their significance is uncertain. The deposition of animals or parts of animals, for example, is a regular feature of mortuary practice through the Bronze Age. Almost all EC and MC tombs contain animal bones, either placed in pottery vessels or scattered on the chamber floor. Most of these belong to adult oxen although sheep/goat bones were also common and both dog and horse occur at Lapithos.¹⁸ In the LC period faunal remains appear less frequently but cover a broader range of species, with moufflon, donkey, horse, dog, ox, stag and bird bones represented.¹⁹ Femurs, tibiae and humeri, representing the choicest cuts of meat, are the most common. Several graves at Lapithos and Vounous, however, contained whole carcasses of oxen and Tomb 2 at Hala Sultan Tekke held two complete horse skeletons.²⁰ This material is generally thought to be the remains of animals sacrificed during burial rites or of food placed in the tomb as an offering to the dead or as provision for the next world.²¹ While such explanations cannot be excluded, the deposition of faunal material is not dependant on concepts of physical or spiritual survival beyond the grave. Such remains might, alternatively, derive from food consumed during a funerary feast prior to the sealing of the chamber. Occasionally, also, domestic animals may have been put to death when their owners died or buried together. Cattle and beasts died simultaneously.

Occasionally one or several vessels, usually cups, jugs or bowls, were placed upside down near the

[illegible]

0. Vounous Tombs 13. 19 and 36 (cf. Stubbings, *loc. cit.*, 374-80) and Caprius Tomb 200.

1. Cf. eg. Dikaion, *Archaeologia LXXXVIII* (1938), 99; Cassimalis, *loc. cit.*, 125.

2. SCE IV:1A, 216, 294.

3. "Cornell excavations at Alambra, 1976". *RDAC* 1977. 78.

5. Coniet Creations Ltd., London.
6. *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 87.
7. One such cupboard at Lapithos contained fragments of a child's forehead bone – cf. Herscher, "New light from Lapithos", in Robertson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus*, pp. 159 and n. 1.

Archaeology of Cyprus. Recent Developments, 40, n. 13 and Vermeule and Wolsky, *op. cit.*, 129 and n. 1.

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16. SCE 1, 515.
17 Cf Benson. *Bamboula at Kourion*, 12-13; Åström *et. al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke* 8, *SIMA XLV*:8 (1983), 143.

the nearby fortress at Korovía - *Nivivika* and the destruction of *Nivivika* IIA believed to be contemporary with the abandonment of the necropolis, is now attributed by Merrillees to LC I A/B.

Prior to excavation a large tumulus surrounded at regular intervals by smaller tumuli dominated the *Palaeoskoutella kalfkalla*. Of the seven investigated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition Tumulus 2 concealed a "chimney" tomb containing 61 primarily shallow bowl sherds but no burials. Tumulus 4 an intact tomb with an unusual buttressed chamber containing 2 burials, 14 pottery vessels and 2 spindle whorls. Tumulus 5 a tomb of normal type which had been emptied soon after burial and Tumulus 7, the large central mound, an intact tomb with buttressed chamber and 14 apparently adult burials, 103 pottery vessels, 13 bronze objects and 8 spindle whorls. The remaining tumuli had been erected above areas of levelled rock with complex arrangements of rectangular basins, circular and oblong pits and, in the case of Tumulus 1, two miniature chamber tombs. A number of the pits and basins contained dark "sticky" soil, ash and splinters of burnt animal bone. The Tumulus 1 area also produced a juglet, a spindle whorl, 725 shallow bowl sherds and fragments of one or more jars while 249 and 208 primarily shallow bowl sherds were associated with the installations below Tumuli 3 and 6 respectively.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition believed that the burials below Tumuli 2 and 5 had been removed toward the end of the use of the necropolis and reburied with their grave goods below Tumulus 7. Several of the Tumulus 7 burials seem to have been placed there in a decayed state and all were apparently interred simultaneously although the associated grave goods span a considerable period of time. A sherd, furthermore, from the same jar as one found in the make-up of Tumulus 7 was recovered from the tomb below Tumulus 2. The installations below Tumuli 1, 3 and 6 appear to have been abandoned at the same time, their votives removed or broken and the area covered with earth mounds. There seems little doubt that they were used in the conduct of activities in some way associated with the burials in the nearby tombs. The faunal remains, dark sticky soil and shallow bowl sherds suggest sacrifice, libations, food and liquid offerings or funerary meals while the ash and carbonized bone indicate the use of fire although no hearths were found.

The installations at *Palaeoskoutella* are unique in the Cypriot burial record and the location of the necropolis, grave tumuli and buttressed tomb chambers are also unusual. Along with certain features of *Nivivika*, for which Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian antecedents have been cited, these atypical elements lead a number of scholars to postulate a foreign enclave in the Karpas in LC I A. Sjöqvist, followed by Stewart and Schaeffer, proposed that a branch of the Hyksos forcibly established themselves in this region at the same time as others of their group travelled to the Nile Delta, while Masson has suggested a peaceful infiltration of Near Eastern groups, primarily of Hurrian origin, with an initial landfall in the Karpas.³⁷ The existence of such foreign enclaves in LC I is now, however, rejected by Catling, Merrillees, Åström and Knapp who attribute the signs of unrest visible during the transition MC III/LC I to internal conflicts aggravated by land and water shortages and interregional rivalries, perhaps motivated by attempts to dominate copper production and internal transportation systems.³⁸

In light of the above the *Palaeoskoutella* necropolis may be usefully re-examined. Its location on top of a very prominent hill, while unusual, is not unparalleled. There are other examples on high spacious plateaux, most notably at Dhenia-Kafkalla, Nicosia-Avia *Paraskev* and Eylenja-Leondari *Vouno*, although the height of the *kalfkalla* is nowhere as extreme as at *Palaeoskoutella*. British excavations at *Leondari Vouno* in 1888 exposed a number of tombs assigned to the EC period at the south end of the plateau while at the north end were architectural remains which Gjerstad believed to be those "of a sort of military station".³⁹ Merrillees

skull or feet of the deceased.³⁸ These may, as Åström has suggested, have been vessels used in offering or libation rites left in an inverted position as a perpetual image of the devotional act.³⁹ Special treatment is also evident in the case of a number of bronze weapons from EC tombs at Vounous and Vasilia which appear to have been bent or broken prior to burial, and a jug from a LC IIIA tomb at Hala Sultan Tekke which had been both inverted and smashed prior to the closing of the tomb.⁴⁰ This deliberate destruction of funerary objects, well documented in both the Aegean and the Near East, is frequently referred to as "ritual killing".⁴¹ Ethnographically, however, reasons for this practice vary from the spiritual to the wholly pragmatic. It may be done, for example, to release the spirit of the object so that it might accompany its owner to the next world, to prevent the efficacy of the burial ritual being spoiled by later use of funerary objects for profane purposes, to reduce the risk of tomb robbery by rendering the contents of the grave of no practical value or to eliminate the risk of pollution following death by contagious disease. In Cyprus, in so far as burial deposits offer the opportunity for observations of this kind, the practice appears to be sufficiently anomalous to preclude either practical or ritual prescriptions. In those instances where minimal disturbance is visible pottery vessels and other objects are normally found upright and intact.

More concrete indications of post-burial rites at the tomb site are in evidence at Tomba tou Skourou where several areas of intense burning, mixed with stones, charcoal, wood, sherds and animal bones, and a shallow clay pan filled with animal bones and teeth overlay the sealed chambers of Tombs I and II (MC III-LC IB).⁴² These may, as the excavators suggest, have been the site of funerary ceremonies involving animal sacrifice or of simple feasting in connection with the burials below—either performed immediately following the closing of the tomb or at regular intervals thereafter. While these are at present the only known installations of this type, they are of a kind rarely likely to have survived the depredations of erosion, tomb looting and agricultural activity, and may well have been more widespread.

Also in relation to burial and post-burial rites Tamvaki and Frankel have suggested that the Vounous Model, widely believed to depict a fertility ceremony within a sacred enclosure, shows a burial scene located at the entrance to a tomb—linking three vertical panels which appear on the wall of the enclosure with raised rectangular panels carved on the walls of the *thronoi* of Tombs 2 and 6 in the *Palaeoskoutella* cemetery at Kar-mi.⁴³ They suggest also that the standing female figures on two related models from Kotschati "could be making offerings to, or bringing gifts for, the dead".⁴⁴ If these models do depict funerary rites, an explanation which is consistent with their recovery in tomb deposits, it is unclear whether such activities were performed only at the time of burial or on a continuing basis and whether they were simply commemorative or imply some form of worship of the dead or of certain dead.

FUNERARY CULT

Firm evidence for the existence of funerary cults, involving regular ritual observances in honour of the dead and/or of underworld deities, is elusive. The only burial ground to have provided apparent evidence of this kind is that of Korovía - *Palaeoskoutella*, located on the summit (*kalfkalla*) of a prominent hill 40 metres above the plain between Korovía and Galinopomi inland from the south coast of the Karpas.⁴⁵ Both Sjöqvist and Catling dated *Palaeoskoutella* to MC III.⁴⁶ The pottery, however, is contemporary with Period IIA of

38. Cf. eg. Stewart, "The tomb of the sea-farer at Kar-mi in Cyprus", *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), 199, 204; Niklasson in Åström *et al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke*, *SMA XLV:8* (1983), 171-2, 184; Niklasson-Sjöqvist, "Late Cypriote III shaft graves: Burial customs of the last phase of the Bronze Age", in *Thracians. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze*, Actes du Colloque de Liège, 21-23 avril 1986, 7-16.

39. "Inverted vases in Old World religion", *JFR* (1987), 7-16.

40. Cf. *SCCE IV:1A*, 294; Niklasson, *loc. cit.*, 184.

41. Cf. refs. cited by Niklasson, *loc. cit.*, 187, n. 53 and L. Grinsell, "The breaking of objects as a funerary rite", *Folklore* 72 (1962), 475-91; *Jerm., Barrow, Pyramid and Tomb. Ancient Burial Customs in Egypt, the Mediterranean and the British Isles* (London 1975), 60-67; Åström, "Intentional destruction of grave goods" in *Thamnos. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze*, Actes du Colloque de Liège, 21-23 avril 1986, 32.

42. Vermeule and Wolsey, *op. cit.*, 158, 169, 245-6.

43. "Cypriot shrine models and decorated tombs", *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 11 (1973), 39-44.

44. *Ibid.*, 42.

45. Cf. *SCCE I*, 437f.; Catling, "Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus", *Op. Ath.* IV (1963), 157, No. 99. Also Åström, *SCCE IV:1B*, 3-5.

46. *Ibid.*, 42.

37. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, 138-65, 198-9; Schaeffer, *Missions on Chypre*, 63; Stewart, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (2nd ed. 1961), 147-8. Cf. also Dikaios, *Enkomi*, 504-5; Masson, "A la recherche des vestiges proche-Orientaux à Chypre, fin du Bronze Moyen et début du Bronze Récent", *Archéologues et Archéologues* (1976), 139-65. Others have attributed the *Palaeoskoutella* tumuli to Syro-Palestinian (Kargachou, *The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus*, 73) or Anatolian influence (Hölbling, *Alasia Problema*, *SIVA* LVII (1979), 82 and n. 60).

38. Catling, "Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus", *Op. Ath.* IV (1963), 141; Merrillees, "The early history of Late Cypriote I", *Levant* 3 (1971), 77-78; Åström, *SCCE IV:1B*, 278-9; *idem.*, *SCCE IV:1D*, 165-6; "Some aspects of the Late Cypriot I period", *RDAC* 1972, 51-2; Knapp, *A Re-examination of the Interpretation of Cypriot Material Culture in the MC III-LC I Period in the Light of Tantalus Data*, *Doct. Diss.* (Berkeley 1979); Knapp and Murchant, "Cyprus, Cypriote-Minoan and Hurrians", *RDAC* 1982, e.p. 18-21. Cf. also Baurain, *Chypre et la Méditerranée Orientale au Bronze Récent*, *Synthèse historique. Études Chypriotes* VI (1984), 30-103.

39. Cf. James, *JHS* IX (1888), 152f.; Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 4.

ces, however, has suggested that these are vestiges of "a cult place for assigning the dead" in which case *Leandri* may parallel *Palaeoskourella* both in the location of the necropolis and the conduct of an associated cult.⁴⁰

Grave tumuli are also occasionally evident elsewhere although again they are nowhere as prominent as at *Palaeoskourella*. Recent excavation of a MC cemetery at Alambra - *Mouttes* has revealed pit tombs covered with mounds of stone and earth and tholos Tomb 21 at Enkomi also appear to have been surmounted by low mounds.⁴¹ Similar tumuli, destroyed by the elements and agricultural activity, may have existed in other cemeteries while larger examples were perhaps a distinctive feature of the Karpas zone although as yet unrecorded from other sites in the region. Tombs with buttressed chambers, although unusual, are also found at *Milia* and Enkomi and now considered a local development from prototypes evident in EC and MC cemeteries at Vasilia and Lapithos.⁴² The use of buttresses may simply have been a response to the problem of constructing large tombs in soft rock. In either case the presence of normal tomb types in the *Palaeoskourella* necropolis as well as those with buttressed chambers shows that the tomb-cutters were familiar with indigenous funerary architecture.

The removal of bodies from below Tumuli 2 and 5 and their reburial in a communal grave may have been prompted by external danger. The destruction of *Nivivilla* IIA suggests an incursion of hostile elements in LC I/IIA although there is no evidence of permanent occupation. It is of interest also to note that one of two tombs excavated by the Cyprus Museum in the nearby Galinoporni village cemetery contained a single burial in the inner chamber and 154 pots and other grave goods in the outer, apparently piled up "during the removal of earlier burials".⁴³ The reburial of some of the occupants of *Palaeoskourella* may not, therefore, have been as isolated phenomenon.

The pits, basins and miniature tombs below Tumuli 1, 3 and 6, however, remain unique. It is possible that similar installations in other cemeteries have gone unrecorded either because they were not marked by tumuli or because such tumuli have not survived. It is possible also that the distinctive material culture which characterized the Karpas well into LC times included mortuary practices not in evidence elsewhere. An alternative suggestion, proposed by Cassimatis, that the *Palaeoskourella* dead received exotic treatment because they belonged to a special social or economic class, perhaps of priestly or warrior status seems improbable.⁴⁴ There is nothing in the nature of the grave goods to distinguish these burials from normative MC III/LC IIA graves and the almost total absence of weapons is not in keeping with a warrior class. Ten spindle whorls in the tombs below Tumuli 4 and 7, furthermore, suggest that at least several of the burials are those of women.

The significance of the *Palaeoskourella* installations thus remains unclear. While they can no longer be attributed to a foreign presence they are not yet precisely paralleled elsewhere. While there can be little doubt, also, that they were used for the performance of rites associated with the surrounding burials it is not possible to determine whether these rites took place only at the time of burial or on a regular and continuing basis or whether they were enacted in accordance with explicit afterworld concepts within the framework of an organized cult of the dead or simply to honour the deceased and ensure the protection of ancestral souls.

A second extra-mural cult place, of LC IIA date, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at *Dhili* near Ayios Iakovos at the foot of the Karpas peninsula shares some of the features of *Palaeoskourella* and may also have been linked with death and burial.

teries, at *Kakari*, *Ayios Iakovos* and *Milia*, the latter two of which were certainly in use in LC IIA.⁴⁶ The remains consist only of a circular lime floor unequally divided by a low rubble wall. The eastern sector contained two rubble podia. In the western area a terracotta basin, filled with ash and burnt bone and surrounded by "offerings", had been partly set into the floor beside two rock-cut pits. Gold and silver jewelry formed the largest group of objects with 19 pieces, 15 of which lay in a heap to the east of the basin, including 3 finger rings, 5 earrings, 6 hair rings, a diadem and necklace of gold, a silver bracelet and ring and fragments of gold leaf. Nine silver funnels, 6 with gold mountings, lay in a group beside the jewelry and another in the basin. Bronze weapons were also common with 6 arrowheads and 4 spear butts or ferrules, the latter originally set in the floor beside one of the pits. The remaining objects include 4 cylinder seals, a paste bead, a stone axe, a bone plaque, a pierced shell, lumps of unworked iron, a bronze chain, 2 pairs of bronze tweezers, a glass juglet, an alabaster jar and a small bronze lion. Three kraters, a jug, 2 juglets and an amphoriskos stood around the basin, an amphoriskos and Red Lustrous Ware spindle bottle had fallen into the basin and 6 Red Lustrous Ware arm vessels lay in a group near the western edge of the enclosure.⁴⁷

The excavators identified *Dhili* as an open-air rural sanctuary of similar type to that illustrated by the Vounous Model. The west area is described as a *temenos* accessible to worshippers and the east sector as an inner sanctum with altars or offering tables. The presence of two podia was thought to indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to two deities or a dual deity, perhaps a Mother Goddess and her consort. This interpretation has been widely accepted.⁴⁸ There are, however, aspects of the enclosure which suggest a more complex situation. Most striking is the disparity between architecture and finds. The latter number at least eighty and include some of the finest examples of LC glyptic and gold and silver work and, despite the inland location, a high incidence of imported objects. The alabaster jar and one of the gold rings are Egyptian, the glass bottle Egyptian or Syro-Cypriot and the lumps of iron probably Anatolian.⁴⁹ Of the 15 pottery vessels as many as 11 are imports from the Aegean or Syro-Anatolian region.⁵⁰ The rarity of several of the find groups is also notable. The arm vessels account for almost half the total number known from the island and silver funnels, possibly used in conjunction with glass bottles or ostrich-eggs, are also unusual.⁵¹ Two of the cylinder seals, furthermore, include tiny nude human figures with their hands clasped on the chest, a very rare device in local glyptic, and one bears a unique cuneiform inscription (*Milavavva*), giving rise to the suggestion that the former represent the dedicants of the seals and the latter the name of the owner or the person or deity to whom it was dedicated.⁵²

The careful placement and complete (although fragmentary) condition of the finds are also remarkable. They appear to have been unearthed more or less as originally placed, undisturbed by subsequent use or dis-

46. Cf. *BCH* LXXXIV (1960), 221; Åström, *Excavations at Kalogriatla and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*, *SIMA* II (1966), 144-8; Cadling, "Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus", *Op. Ath.* IV (1963), 155, 161, Nos 17, 34; SCE I, 302-55. No contemporary settlements have been located in the area. Åström, however, reports receiving information from the foreman of the *Dhili* excavations, and from Necholim of a LC settlement east of the village of Ayios Iakovos, between *Dhili* and *Milia* (*op. cit.*, 147). Cadling also suggests the location of a settlement near the Ayios Iakovos cemetery (*op. cit.*, 281, 1977).

47. According to Åström (SCE IV:1C, 177, 202-3, 205 (Type VIII.b.9-13), 305, 348) fragments of another 5 arm vessels "possibly representing less than five vessels", a Base-Ring II bowl, 4 Mycenaean jars and a Red Lustrous bottle and flask were also found. Their context, however, is uncertain.

48. Cf. eg. Dikaios, *Archaeologia LXXXVIII* (1940), 121; Åström, SCE IV:1C, 1; Karageorghis, *Cyprian Sites from the Stone Age to the Romans*, 69; Al-Radi, *op. cit.*, 69-70; Yavis, *Greek Altars, Origins and Typology including the Mycenaean-Mycenaean Offerings*, *Apollonia*, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

49. On the origin of the glass juglet cf. Harden, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum* I, 32, 35. Several iron lumps from Dromolaxia provide the only other evidence for this metal on the island at this date — cf. Luben-Admiral, "Late Bronze Age tombs from Dromolaxia", *RDAC* 1982, 43, No. 27 and Waldbaum, *From Bronze to Iron*, *SIMA* LIV (1978), 18.

50. Three Mycenaean IIIA-2 vessels are of Aegean origin. Courtonis has proposed Kizirwama in Upper Cilicia as the principal area of diffusion for the Red Lustrous Ware bottles and arm vessels ("A propos des uyaux rouilles ou bruns à libation en Anatolie et à Chypre", *Mémoires anatoliens de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris* 1979, 87). Mermilles and Masson believe that some bottles were made locally (Mermilles, "Bronze Age spindle bottles from the Levant", *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), 187-96; Masson, *loc. cit.*, 150-3). The *Dhili* example, however, is characteristic of imported specimens.

51. Gold funnels are somewhat more common — cf. SCE IV:1D, 510, 582; Nicolaou, *Archaeological Reports* (1975-76), 44, fig. 17, *BCH* XCIII (1973), 612, fig. 22; Johnson, *Marietta de Chypre*, *SIMA* LIX (1980), 9-20 etc. Use as cylinder seal mountings and hair rings has also been suggested (Myres, *JHS* XVII (1897), 136f.; Florentinos in *Acts of the International Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"*, 3-14 Sept. 1985, 139).

52. Tiny nude human figures otherwise occur only on Kenna, *Corpus of Cypriot Antiquities* 3, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Antiquities* 1, (Paris in the British Museum, *SIMA* XX3 (1971), No. 77 and Schaeffer, *Corpus des Antiquités de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Maria* 1, (Paris

40. "Settlement, sanctuary and cemetery in Bronze Age Cyprus", *Australian Studies in Archaeology* I (1973), 47-8.

41. Cf. Decker in Coleman *et al.*, "Cornell excavations at Alambra, 1962", *RDAC* 1983, 83; Johnston, "A Late Bronze Age tholos tomb at Enkomi", in Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alambra* I, 59-60; SCE I, 572.

42. Cf. Dikaios, *Enkomi*, 337, 357, 421 (Tombs 2 and 10); Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alambra* I, 137 (Tomb 11); Åström, SCE IV:1B, 206; *idem.*, "Some aspects of the Late Cypriot I period", *RDAC* 1972, 50.

43. Cf. *Archaeological Reports* (1956), 24.

44. *Loc. cit.*, 137-9.

45. Cf. SCE I, 356-1, Plan XIII. Also Ojerstad, *ILN* July 1st, 1933; *idem.*, *Ages and Days in Cyprus*, *SIMA* Pocket-Book, 12 (1980), 61-4; *idem.*, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, 2-4.

any visible patterning is possible. While in general stereotyped behaviour is evident (in the inclusion of grave goods etc) the degree to which it is indicative of the governing of mortuary customs by ritual as opposed to non-ritual prescriptions or/and purely practical considerations is unclear and, without the benefit of textual data, likely to remain so.

Table I. The EC Period⁵³

Total Number of Burials: 299+

Total Number of Vessels: 5,412		Total Number of Burials: 2,994
Average Number of Vessels per Burial: approx. 18		
Incidence of Vessel Types:-		
Bowls	-	Pyxides
Jug/jets	54.27%	Composite Jugs
Amphorae	29.14%	Jars
Bottles/Flasks	7.82%	Zoomorphic Vases
Dishes	5.32%	Pithoi
Composite Bowls	0.76%	Horn Vases
Others	0.68%	
	0.43%	

Table II. The MC Period⁵⁴

Table II: The MC Period ⁵⁴		
Total Number of Vessels: 1.067	Total Number of Burials: 88+	
Average Number of Vessels per Burial: approx. 12		
Incidence of Vessel Types:-		
Jug/lets	-	45.18%
Bowls	-	38.43%
Bottles/Flasks	-	7.88%
Amphorae	-	4.22%
Cooking Pots	-	1.22%
Tankards	-	0.94%
Jars	-	
Cups	-	
Zoomorphic Vases	-	
Ring Vases	-	
Pithoi	-	

Table III. The ICI Period⁵⁵

Table III: The LC I Period⁵⁵

53. The figures are based on 125 tomb groups: Vounous Tombs 2-3, 5-9, 11-13, 15-21, 23A, 26-32, 35-36, 38-39, 41-42, 43A, 44-45, 46A-47, 48-52, 53B, 83-84, 87-88, 90-92, 1007, 109-114, 116, 118-125, 129, 130, 131A, 132, 132A, 133, 137, 139, 142-145, 147, 149, 151, 153-157, 160-161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311-314, 317-319, 322-323, Kalavotos Tombs 1, 1-2, 12; Limnissi-*Agia Varvara* Tombs 1, 4; *Vounous* Tombs 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628

[illegible][illegible]

Despite the brevity of the above and the uncertain or ambiguous nature of much of the evidence for Cypriote mortuary practice a number of concluding observations may be offered. The formal attributes of burial, that is the location of the cemeteries, the type, dimensions and orientation of the tombs and the posture and orientation of individual interments, do not seem to have been governed by ritual principles, or rather, if such organizing principles did exist, they are not currently visible in the archaeological record. Furthermore there is no persuasive evidence for belief in an afterlife. The presence of grave goods, although a persistent feature of normative burial practice, is not synonymous with survival *post mortem* nor do libations, funerary feasts and fear of the dead, where these may be indicated, necessarily imply a belief in immortality. Such concepts, however, cannot be excluded. Indeed the search for patterned behaviour in this regard may be an invalid approach to the problem. For the Bronze Age Cypriotes the world beyond the grave was perhaps a more abstract concept than our methodology allows—a remote and unknown “other” life without formalized requirements or accompanying ritual behaviour.

In the final instance, the ideology of death and burial in Bronze Age Cyprus is largely unknown and perhaps unknowable. The transformations which have taken place between mortuary behaviour and the record of that behaviour are not clearly visible, in part owing to disturbance of the record but more essentially because mortuary remains derive from complex and varied social behaviour and no single interpretation of