

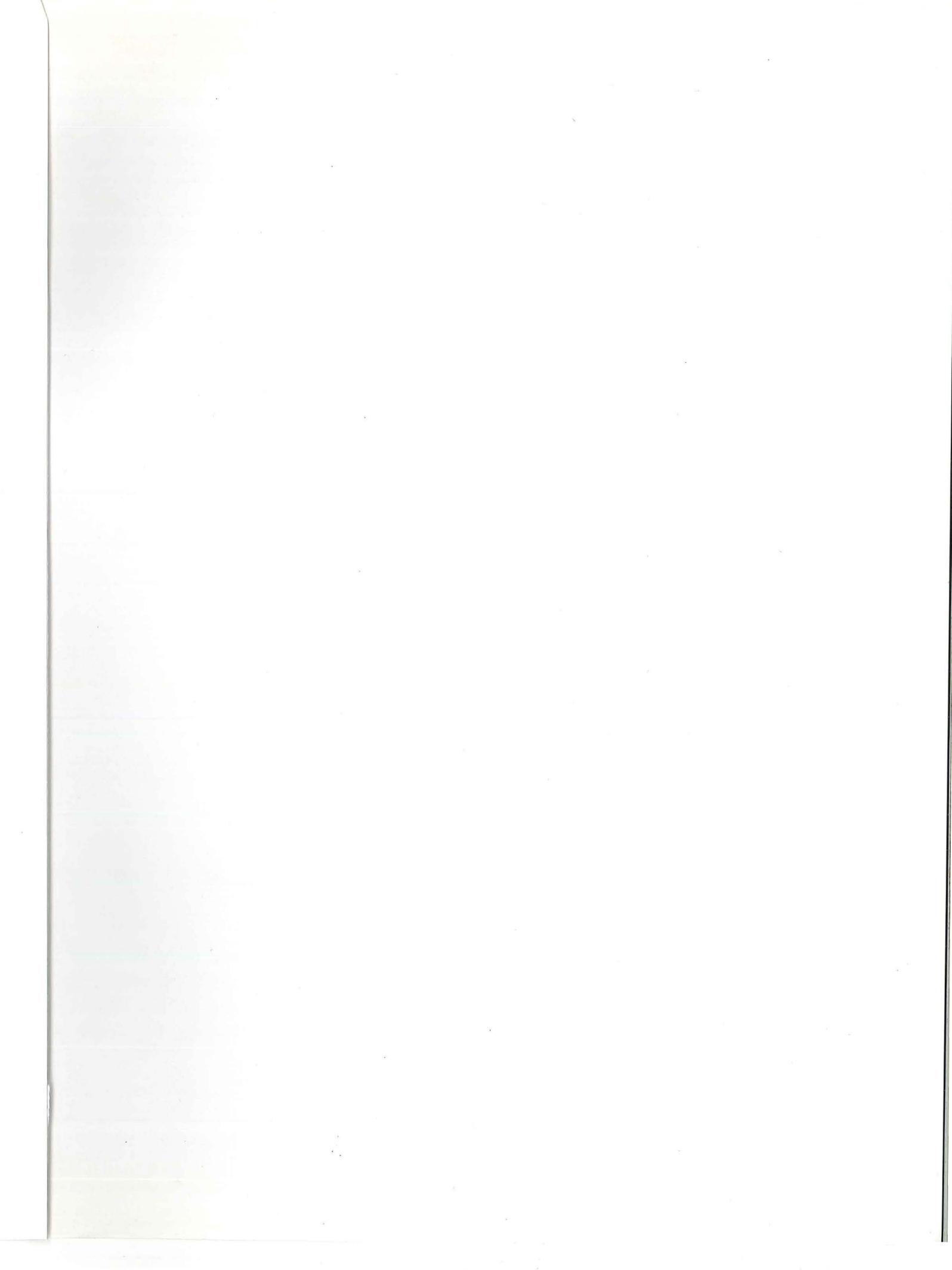
Panayia Ematousa II

Political, cultural, ethnic and social relations
in Cyprus. Approaches to regional studies

Edited by *L. Wriedt Sørensen & K. Winther Jacobsen*



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens,
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On the circulation of goods in Hellenistic and Early Roman Cyprus: the ceramic evidence¹

John Lund

The purpose of this contribution is to present some of the ceramic evidence for the circulation of goods in Cyprus from the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century AD, and to discuss the implications of this class of material for our concept of regional diversity on the island.² Imported pottery is considered apart from the pottery produced in Cyprus below in order to distinguish between long-distance exchange mechanisms and those at a regional or even local level;³ market trading was presumably the most important of these.⁴

The wider aim is to throw light on certain aspects of the economy of Cyprus in the periods in question.⁵ In itself, pottery was of limited economic importance, but, as D.P.S. Peacock pointed out “pottery ... has a considerable role to play in the analysis of early trade because large amounts survive and it is comparatively easy to trace sources or to assess chronology ... Pottery serves as an *index* of the frequency with which different routes were plied ... and a few sherds could be all that remains of a very considerable trade in foodstuffs, for example”.⁶

Our knowledge of the pottery of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus is lopsided and fragmented. We are best informed about the south western part of the island, thanks to J.W. Hayes’ seminal treatment of the ceramic finds from the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos, and to publications by Polish and Italian scholars working in the same city.⁷ The available evidence from the rest of the island is less complete, and at times chronologically restricted. This is, for instance, the case with the pottery found at the Nymphaeum of Kafizin in Central Cyprus, which T.B. Mitford dated to between 225 and 218 BC from votive inscriptions referring to the Ptolemaic calendar.⁸ The publications of ceramic material from the French excavations at

Salamis⁹ and Amathous¹⁰ only give overviews of the material, and as far as the “ceramic profile” of South Eastern Cyprus is concerned, the published sequence from Kition-Bamboula is not as complete as one might wish, since the site went into decline in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods.¹¹

Now, however, the Danish excavations at

¹ I want to thank Craig Barker, Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, Sandrine Elaigne, Lise Hannestad and Mark Lawall for kindly enlightening me about aspects of their current work. The latter introduced the term “zone of circulation of goods” at the conference “Hellenistic Economies 2 – Making, Moving, and Managing” at the University of Liverpool, 15.-18.7. 2002.

² Lund 1999a, 5; *idem* 2002a, 47-8 with references to other publications; Marquié 2002; Lund 2005.

³ Cf. Peacock & Williams 1986, 55-63; Parkins & Smith 1998; Monfort 1999; Lund 2000b, 85-8; Temin 2001. For the ambiguous term “local”, cf. Lund 2002b, 189 n. 35. For present purposes I follow a definition of “local” recently suggested by Lise Hannestad: “made on the site or within a few kilometres’ distance”.

⁴ Cf. Peacock & Williams 1986, 59-63; Poblome 1996, 89-97; Paterson 1998; Temin 2001. True, these authors speak about the Roman period, but the present author believes that many of the same factors were already in play in the eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd century BC, if not before then, cf. Lund 2004.

⁵ For broader assessments of the economy of Cyprus, cf. Mehl 1995 and Michaelides 1996.

⁶ Peacock 1982, 154.

⁷ Hayes 1991; Meyza 1995; Papuci-Władyka 1995; Meyza 2000; Meyza & Łajtar 2000; Meyza 2002. The pottery from the Italian excavations has been presented by Daniele Malfitana and others in near-annual reports in *RDAC* since 1992.

⁸ Mitford 1980a.

⁹ Diederichs 1980. Cf. further Karageorghis 1978.

¹⁰ Burkhalter 1987.

¹¹ Salles 1983; Salles 1993b; Marquié 2002.

Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou have put us in possession of a ceramic sequence from the Hellenistic period through to the 2nd century AD from South Eastern Cyprus, and the chamber tombs at Makronisos near Ayia Napa have yielded another important body of material.¹² Also, S. Marquié has begun a promising study of the ceramic material from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods found at Kition, Athienou and Amathous.¹³ Even so, there are many gaps in our knowledge, and this review of the evidence does not claim to be exhaustive. Moreover, it is subject to the same methodological constraints as other such studies.¹⁴

Pottery production in Hellenistic and Early Roman Cyprus

It is puzzling that no Hellenistic and/or Early Roman ceramic kilns have been unearthed in Cyprus,¹⁵ since it is beyond doubt that plenty of pottery was manufactured on the island in the periods in question. The most likely reason for the lack of such finds is that the production facilities have been covered or obliterated by later buildings. Also, experience shows that it can be extremely difficult to pinpoint the precise location of a ceramic kiln, even if its approximate whereabouts is revealed by heaps of wasters. In the absence of kilns, our knowledge of pottery production in Cyprus in the periods in question must be pieced together from other sources.

Votive inscriptions naming potters

Mitford observed that eighteen potters are named in inscriptions on the pots found in and around the above-mentioned Nymphaeum of Kafizin, and that “they include a citizen of Chytri ..., another of Keryneia ...; yet another, Demetrios son of Kallikles, of Tamassus ... The rest, without doubt, were, if not from the territory of Idalium, at least from country adjacent to Androklou Oikos on the West and NW ...”¹⁶ They belonged to the professional association “Zenon’s Company”, which collected tithes of flax and flax seeds from central Cyprus, and was also involved in the manufacture

of ceramics. According to Mitford, the “Nymph’s grotto was in effect the company’s shop-window ... Ledri, Chytri, Tamassus and Idalium ... were all within a three hours’ walking distance of Kafizin”.¹⁷

Scientific clay analyses

M. Picon and F. Blondé identified a group of Hellenistic Colour-Coated wares, which is “sûrement originaire de Chypre”, and is particularly well represented at Paphos.¹⁸ The authors could not pinpoint the source of another fabric, which is mainly represented at Amathous, but also at Paphos and Kition.¹⁹ But they were able to define four groups of Hellenistic Plain Wares (E, F, G and H), of which one (E) seemed to originate in Kition, and two others (F and H) at Amathous.²⁰ In addition, old and new analyses have shown that the clay used for Cypriot Sigillata is more or less similar to that of Cypriot Red Slip Ware,²¹ the source of which should probably either be sought in the region of Nea Paphos in Western Cyprus, or in the Cape Greco region in Eastern Cyprus according to Neutron Activation Analysis.²² If so, then the kilns producing Cypriot Sigillata must also have been situated in one or the other of these two regions (cf. below).²³ Recent analyses of

¹² Hadjisavvas 1997.

¹³ Marquié 2001, 2002 and 2003.

¹⁴ Cf. Lund 1997, 201-3 and 1999a, 1.

¹⁵ Kilns from the Late Antique period have been discovered at Nea Paphos, Zygi-Petrini and at Dhiorios, cf. Catling 1972; Demesticha 2000; Demesticha & Michaelides 2001; Manning *et al.* 2000.

¹⁶ Mitford 1980a, 259-60; cf. Hadjioannou 1982.

¹⁷ Mitford 1980a, 260. Cf. further Mehl 1995, 39-41.

¹⁸ Picon & Blondé 2002, 14-5 and *passim* figs. 1 and 2: “le groupe D”.

¹⁹ Picon & Blondé 2002, 15 and *passim* figs. 1 and 2: “le groupe A”.

²⁰ Picon & Blondé 2002, 16-7 and *passim*.

²¹ Meyza 1995, 182 and *passim*; Daszkiewicz & Raabe 1995; Daszkiewicz & Schneider 1997. Cf. further Picon & Blondé 2002, 14-5 fig. 2.

²² Rautman *et al.* 1993; Rautman 1995, 335-36; Gomez *et al.* 2002, *passim*.

²³ Lund 1997, 203; Gomez *et al.* 2002, 32.

specimens from Alexandria have strengthened the case for a Cypriot source.²⁴ As far as transport amphorae are concerned, M. Daszkiewicz, H. Meyza and G. Schneider tentatively related one group of the so-called «pinched-handle» transport amphora type with Paphos, on the basis of WD-XRF analyses.²⁵

Macroscopic analyses

Specialists in the pottery of the island have over the years claimed a Cypriot source for various classes of pottery. Such judgements must also be taken into account here, even if they contain a degree of subjectivity. At Kition, J.-F. Salles and C. Rey noted that more than one thousand sherds including Colour-Coated wares from Le basin 417 “sont de fabrication chypriote, le plus souvent larnaciote”,²⁶ and at Nea Paphos, Hayes identified one series of lagynoi as “Eastern Cypriot”, and two others as “Cypriot”.²⁷ He also characterized a large group of colour-coated wares as local, i.e. presumably Paphian, products, and suggested that another colour-coated fabric, which matches Westholm’s “Hellenistic I” fabric, presumably originated outside the Paphos district. He further argued that a distinct red-bodied colour-coated fabric might have been produced in the Soli region, and that a soft powdery fabric could have been made in the area of Lapethos.²⁸ Hayes’ identification of a skyphos with carinated body found at Nea Paphos as Eastern Cypriot seems vindicated by the evidence from Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou,²⁹ but his suggestion of a Cypriot source for the so-called “Domed-mouth” unguentaria was challenged by Dotterweich.³⁰

As far as Cypriot Sigillata is concerned, Hayes argued in 1967 that the ware “is far more likely to come from the Soli region [than elsewhere in Cyprus], though the possibility that it is not from Cyprus at all cannot be altogether ruled out”.³¹ In 1991 he observed that the finds from Nea Paphos “reinforce the theory of manufacture in Cyprus (or, failing that, in an adjacent mainland region)”, and he restated the possibility of a source in the Soli region.³² The present writer has argued elsewhere that the workshops producing Cypriot

Sigillata could have been situated in the Nea Paphos region.³³

In addition, it is reasonable to assume that certain fabrics and/or forms, which are only (or overwhelmingly) found in Cyprus, were likewise produced on the island. This is, for instance, the case with the Aradippou Goblet, the so-called Cypriot frying pan, and a special version of the Megarian bowl and of West Slope Ware, of which more will be said below.

The circulation of Cypriot pottery on the island

The fabric and/or form of some of the ceramic wares, which were presumably manufactured in Cyprus, are so specific that it is relatively easy to map their distribution. They were therefore selected for the review of the evidence presented below.

A Cypriot version of “West-Slope” ware

Imported examples of “West-Slope” ware have been found in Cyprus,³⁴ but a presumably Cypriot version of “West-Slope” pottery from the 3rd and

²⁴ Cf. Élaigne 2002, 162 n. 13. She kindly informed me that the reference to “la zone nord-est de l’île” is a misprint.

²⁵ Daszkiewicz, Meyza & Schneider 1997, 138.

²⁶ Salles & Rey 1993, 227 and *passim*.

²⁷ Hayes 1991, 18–22.

²⁸ Hayes 1991, 26–7.

²⁹ Hayes 1991, 151 no. 23 fig. 54. Cf. below and FW 24–31.

³⁰ Hayes 1991, 68–9; Dotterweich 1999, 43–4.

³¹ Hayes 1967, 74.

³² Hayes 1991, 37 and 27. Cf. Meyza 1995, 179: “there is no decisive proof of their origin in the form of workshops found on the island”.

³³ Lund 1997, 203, *idem* 1999a, 3; Schneider 2000, 533–4.

³⁴ Cf. Rotroff 2002, *passim* and 103: “Pergamene and derivative”, 105: “Attic and derivative”, 108: “The Ivy Platter Group”. Further examples, not mentioned by Rotroff, are published in Burkhalter 1987, 367 nos. 31–3 fig. 7; Salles 1993b, 168, 187–8 nos. 228 figs. 199 and 201, and 191 no. 250 figs. 202 and 204. In the absence of profile drawings or photographs it is difficult to place the three sherds mentioned by Picon & Blondé 2002, 16: “le groupe B”; the clay analysis yielded no result about the origin of this group.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

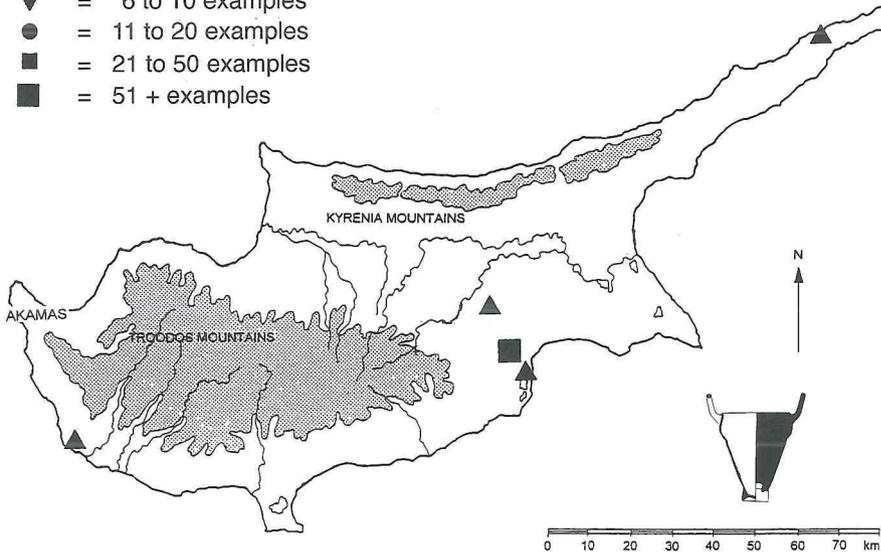


Fig. 1. The geographical distribution of skyphoi with carinated body and lateral arched handles.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

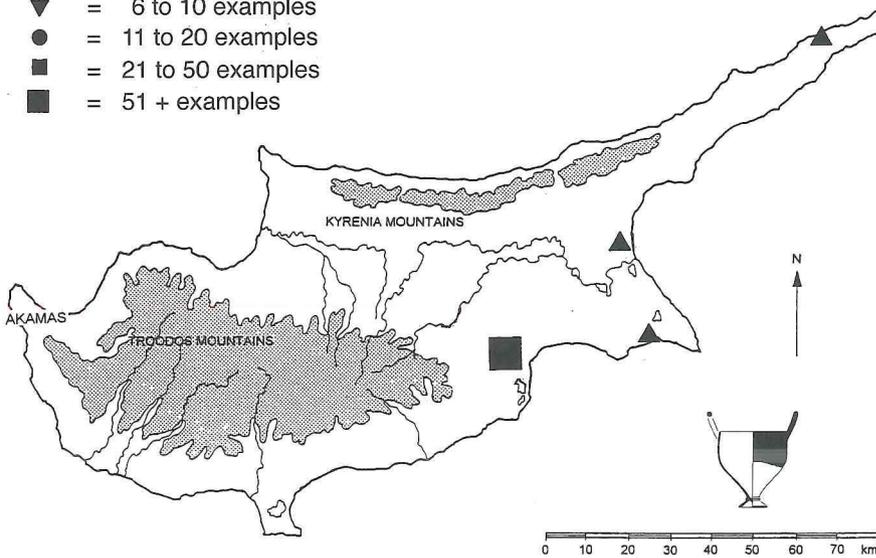


Fig. 2. The geographical distribution of the Aradippou goblet

2nd century BC was represented at Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou (cf. FW 10-18), and also at Kafizin.³⁵ The specimens appear so similar that it seems likely that they were made in the same production centre.

Skyphoi with carinated body and lateral arched handles (Fig. 1)

The evidence from Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou suggests that skyphoi with carinated body and lateral arched handles (cf. FW 24-FW 31) began to

be produced in the second half of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC, and remained in use through the 1st century BC if not later. The form was represented by 43 finds at this site, and four possible specimens were found at Ayios Philon.³⁶ One possible and two certain examples

³⁵ Mitford 1980a, 246 and 247 nos. K. 504 and K. 512 – perhaps also K. 502. For the FW numbers quoted here and below, see my contribution to Panayia Emathousa I.

³⁶ Cf. Lund 2005, 72-3 figs.4-5; Plat Taylor 1980, 190 nos. 181-4 fig. 20.

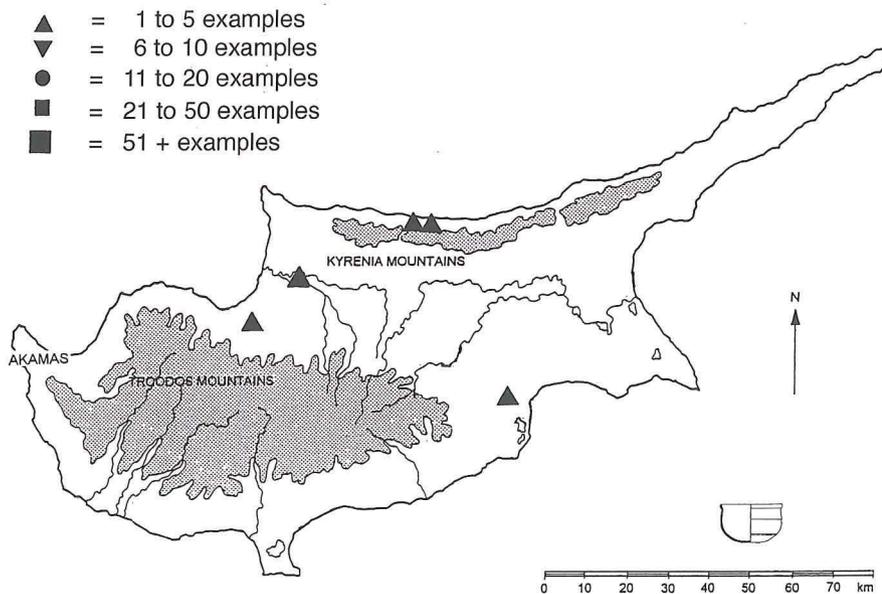


Fig. 3. The geographical distribution of a Cypriot version of the mould-made bowl (Group B).

occurred at Kition-Bamboula,³⁷ and one specimen at Nea Paphos.³⁸ At least one specimen has been found at Athienou Malloura.³⁹ Moreover, examples without known provenances are kept in the Larnaka District Museum (one published find),⁴⁰ the National Museum in Nicosia (at least two examples),⁴¹ the Semitic Museum at Harvard University (one example),⁴² and the British Museum (one example).⁴³ The distribution suggests that the source of the form could have been located relatively close to Panayia Ematousa/Aradippou. The fact that specimens reached Nea Paphos in the west and Ayios Philon in the east hints at a kiln with easy access to a harbour.⁴⁴

The Aradippou goblet (Fig. 2)

The Aradippou goblet (cf. FW 32–FW 38) seems to have made its first appearance in the first two thirds of the 1st century BC, and the form was apparently used through the 1st century AD. It has only been brought to light in Eastern Cyprus, and 84 such finds were documented at Panayia Ematousa/Aradippou. Two were found at Ayios Philon,⁴⁵ two certain and one possible finds occurred at Salamis,⁴⁶ and one possible as well as two certain examples were brought to light at Makronisos in the Ayia Napa region.⁴⁷ The kiln or kilns producing these goblets was/were probably

located somewhere in the area defined by these findspots.⁴⁸

A Cypriot version of the mould-made bowl (Figs. 3–4)

In 1969, A. Pieridou identified two groups of

³⁷ Salles 1993c, 184 no. 201 fig. 195, and Salles 1993d, 266 no. 509 fig. 229.

³⁸ Hayes 1991, 151 no. 23 fig. 54.

³⁹ According to a paper read by Stuart Tray at the A.I.A. meetings in New York City, 1996.

⁴⁰ Flourentzos 1996, 60 with photograph.

⁴¹ Possibly identical to the examples in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, published in Westholm 1956, 64 fig. 27.15 and fig. 27.16.

⁴² No. 1995.10.584.

⁴³ Walters 1912, 190 no. C 940; Tatton-Brown 1987, 32 fig. 32.b.

⁴⁴ Pace Salles 1993c, 184 who opts “provisoirement” for a place of production located “sur la côte méridionale de la Turquie - à l'exclusion de Tarse où le type est absent”. Salles 1995, 400: “deux types de skyphoi à anses horizontales ... qui, à Kition, ne sont pas de fabrication locale”.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lund 2005, 68–71 figs. 2–3; Plat Taylor & Megaw 1981, 245 nos. 452 and 453 fig. 60.

⁴⁶ Diederichs 1980, 28 nos. 77–8 pl. 7.

⁴⁷ Hadjisavvas 1997, 66 no. 5 figs. 52 and 53 and 106 no. 19 figs. 88 and 92; for a third, possible example, cf. Hadjisavvas 1997, 106 no. 14 figs. 88 and 92.

⁴⁸ Mitford 1980b, 1332–7; on the roads of Roman Cyprus, see now also Bekker-Nielsen 1995, 2001 and 2004.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

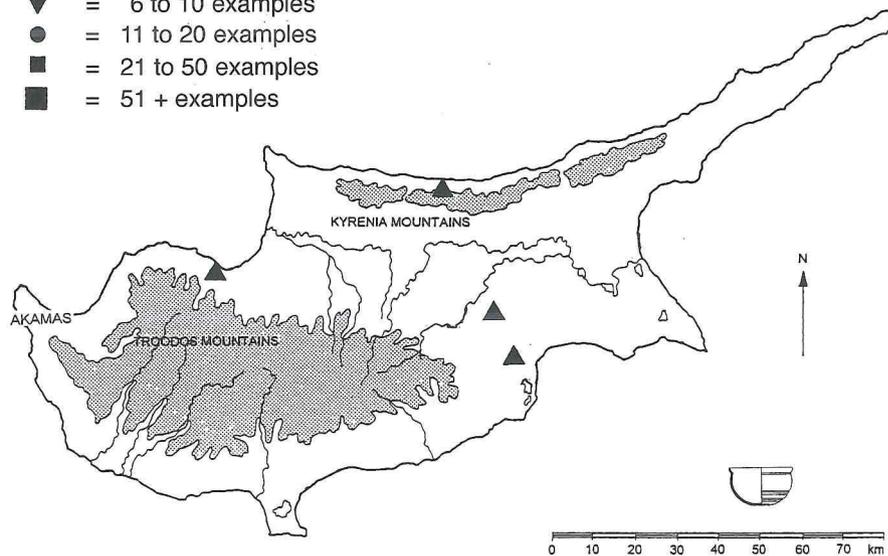


Fig. 4. The geographical distribution of a Cypriot version of the mould-made bowl (Group E)

bowls (B and E) found in Cyprus as “most probably ... specimens of local manufacture imitating types of pottery of the “Megarian” or “Pergamene” wares.⁴⁹ P. Puppo and F. Mosca later added more finds to group B, including a specimen signed by ΗΠΑΤΟΣΤΟΥΤΗΜΑΤΟΡΟΥ, and they suggested that it may have been manufactured in the district of Nicosia between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD (Fig. 3).⁵⁰ The distribution of the bowls of Pieridou’s group E, which may be dated to the first half of the 1st century BC, is likewise suggestive of a source in the central or northern part of the island (Fig. 4).⁵¹ This group of pottery was represented by a few finds at Aradippou (cf. FW 108-FW 110), but no such specimens have been published from Kition-Bamboula.⁵²

Cypriot Sigillata

Cypriot Sigillata (cf. FW 206-FW 237) seems to have emerged in Western Cyprus - perhaps on the periphery or in the immediate vicinity of Nea Paphos - in the final decade of the 2nd century BC.⁵³ It seems to have evolved from the local colour-coated wares of Western Cyprus, since the two may be linked by a group of “forerunners”.⁵⁴ In 1967, Hayes noted that: “the greatest concentration of material seems to be in the northern

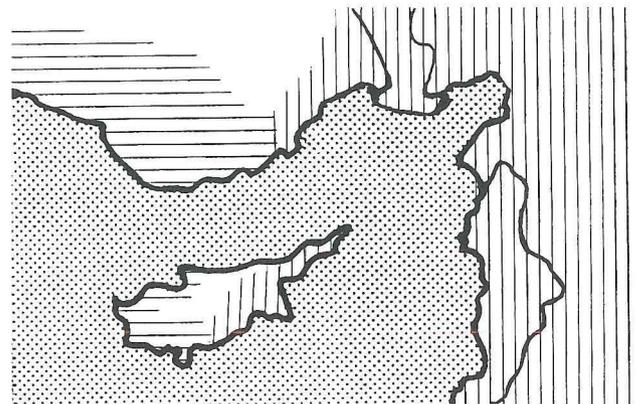


Fig. 5. The approximate zones in which Eastern Sigillata A (vertical lines) and Cypriot Sigillata (horizontal lines) constitute more than 50% respectively of the Eastern Sigillata wares in the 1st century AD.

⁴⁹ Pieridou 1969, 66, 68-70: “Group: B. With rude moulded decoration” and “Group E: With incised decoration”.

⁵⁰ Puppo & Mosca 2000, 461-2 and *passim*: “primo gruppo ... catalogo N1-N8 e K1”.

⁵¹ Pieridou 1969, 68 no. 2 was found at Kazaphani, Kyrenia District; nos. 11-13 originated in Soli, and no. 14 at Petrophani, Nicosia District.

⁵² Cf. Salles 1995, 403-4.

⁵³ For the early history of the ware, cf. Lund 2002b, and Meyza 2002.

⁵⁴ Hayes 1991, 27, Lund 2002b, 189-91. For a more cautious assessment, cf. Meyza 2002, 26.

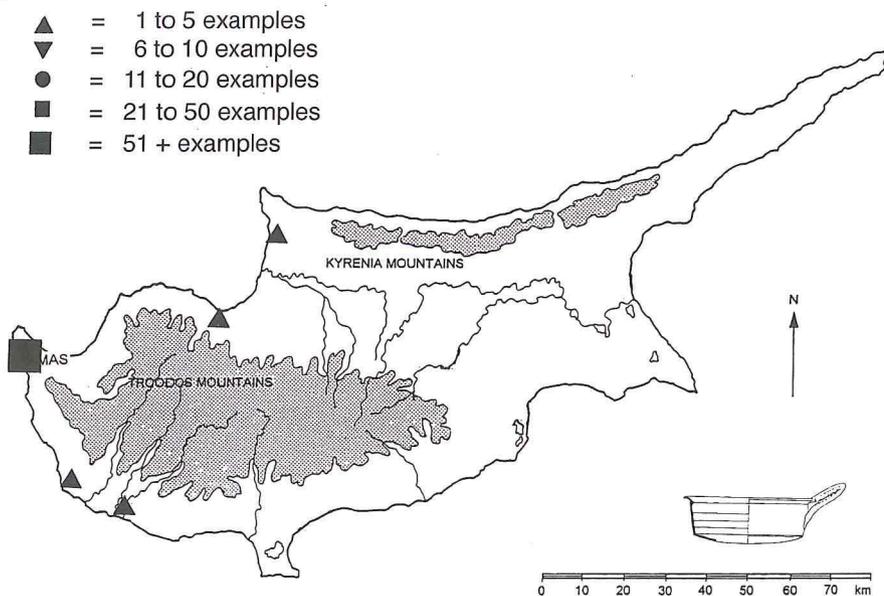


Fig. 6. The geographical distribution of the Cypriot frying pan.

and western regions of the island ... Whether the ware was equally common in the southern and eastern areas is uncertain".⁵⁵ The evidence now available shows that Cypriot Sigillata was, indeed, relatively poorly represented in Eastern Cyprus in the 1st century BC, but the ware becomes more frequent, the further one proceeds to the west of Panayia Ematousa/Aradippou. In the 1st century BC, the greatest number of finds has occurred in Nea Paphos and the Kouklia region, but the ware did not begin to dominate the fine ware assemblages there until the Augustan period, and at Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou in South Eastern Cyprus, this only occurred in the 2nd century AD (Fig. 5).⁵⁶

The Cypriot frying pan (Fig. 6)

The earliest datable example of the so-called Cypriot frying pans⁵⁷ was brought to light in the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos in a context dated by Hayes to about the middle of the 2nd century BC or slightly later. The form is basically that of a casserole with a rim diameter of about 23 cm, a convex bottom, and a characteristic flat handle: a "projecting strip folded double, with the ends attached to the rim and the vertical wall".⁵⁸ Another example was excavated in Well 13 in the House of Dionysos, for which all indications -

according to Hayes - point to a date around AD 125-150. It is smaller than the Hellenistic example.⁵⁹ The form was still used - with some changes - in Late Antiquity, but it is the Hellenistic and Early Roman version, which concerns us here. It is documented at Nea Paphos, and in the Palaipaphos area,⁶⁰ the Akamas peninsula,⁶¹ Palaioakastro near Ayia Irina,⁶² and Soloi.⁶³

The «pinched-handle» amphorae (Fig. 7)

Another form favoured in Western Cyprus is the «pinched-handle» amphora (also known as Mau Type XXVII/XXVIII and Mid Roman amphora 4), which probably held wine, and seems to date from about AD 60 to the 3rd century AD or later.⁶⁴

⁵⁵ Hayes 1967, 74.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lund 1997 and *idem* 1999a, 6-9; Marquié 2002.

⁵⁷ Lund 2002a.

⁵⁸ Hayes 1991, 82, 84 and 161 no. 65 fig. 32.12

⁵⁹ Hayes 1991, 82 and 197-8 no. 9 fig. 36.3

⁶⁰ The cooking wares from the Palaipaphos survey were not included in Sørensen & Rupp 1993, but at least one example of a frying pan from the Hellenistic period was among the finds.

⁶¹ Lund 2002a.

⁶² Quilici 1971, 87 no. 136 fig. 27.

⁶³ Westholm 1936, 115 figs. 63.40-3 and 124.

⁶⁴ Cf. Leonard 1995a, 144-5; Lund 2000a.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

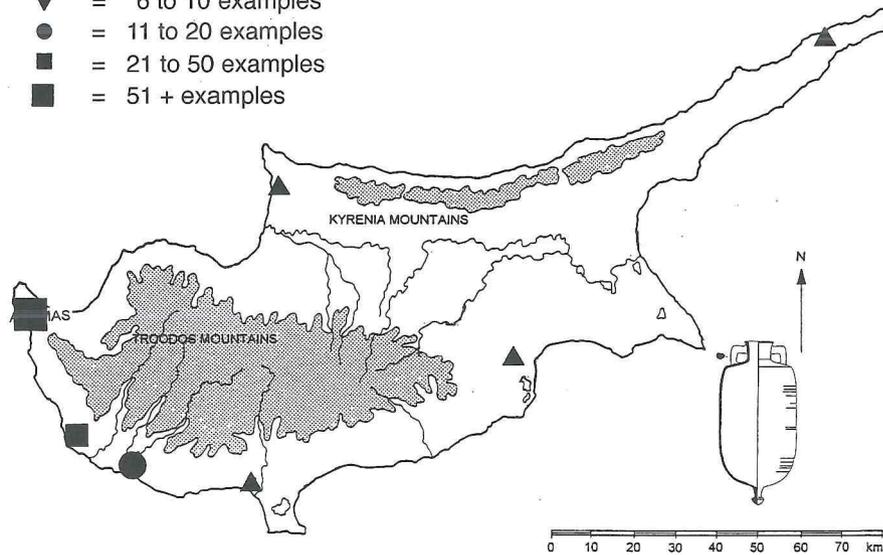


Fig. 7. The geographical distribution of the "pinched-handle" amphorae in Cyprus.

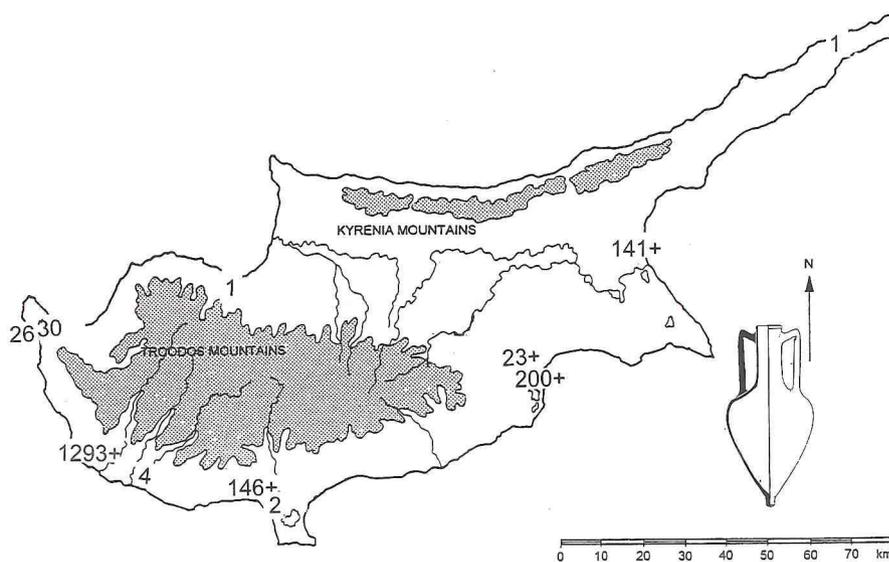


Fig. 8. The geographical distribution of Rhodian amphorae in Cyprus. The numbers refer to the stamped handles.

One – micaceous – version was manufactured in Anemurium,⁶⁵ but Hayes suggested that the type was probably also made in Cyprus.⁶⁶ It is not always (if at all) possible to distinguish between examples made in Cilicia and those presumably manufactured in Cyprus, and it has been claimed that the whole class is Cilician.⁶⁷ However, a Cypriot source for some of amphorae in question seemed confirmed by scientific clay analyses to which reference was made earlier, and the theory that this class was also manufactured in South Western Cyprus is therefore

upheld here. The «pinched-handle» amphorae are mainly distributed in the coastal zone of Western and South Western Cyprus.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Williams 1989, 90-3.

⁶⁶ Hayes 1991, 91-92 Type III; cf. G. Majcherek in Daszewski 1995, 31-2; Lund 1999a, 10-2 fig. 10 and *idem* 2000a.

⁶⁷ Rauh & Will 2002.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lund 2000a, 567 fig. 3. Cf. also Leonard & Demestina 2004, 190 note 6 and 198 figs. 11-3.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

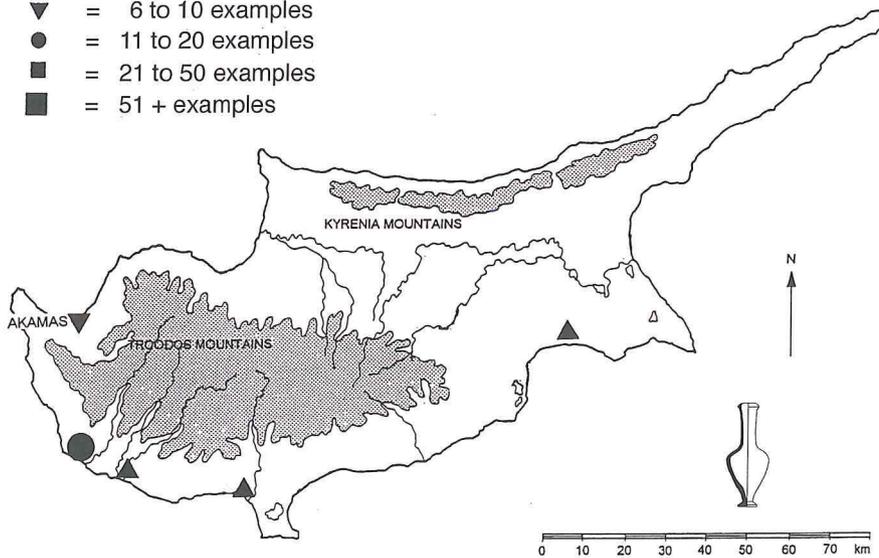


Fig. 9. The geographical distribution of the dome-mouthed unguentaria in Cyprus.

The circulation of imported pottery in Cyprus

Imports from the west I: Rhodian amphorae (Fig. 8)

In 1979, J.-Y. Empeur noted that “Chypre a déjà fourni une multitude de timbres amphoriques”,⁶⁹ and many more finds have accrued since then. The largest number of Rhodian stamped amphora handles has been found at Nea Paphos (a minimum of 1293 examples),⁷⁰ followed by Kition (a minimum of 200 handles),⁷¹ Kourion (a minimum of 146 handles),⁷² and Salamis (a minimum of 141 handles).⁷³ Rhodian amphorae and/or stamped handles have been found in smaller numbers at numerous other sites as well, for instance in the Akamas survey,⁷⁴ at Ambelikou,⁷⁵ Ayios Philon,⁷⁶ Episkopi,⁷⁷ in the Palaipaphos region,⁷⁸ and at Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou. Also, some amphorae have no other provenance than Cyprus.⁷⁹ True, the high incidence at Nea Paphos is partly due to a special burial custom favoured there, which entailed interring two complete Rhodian amphorae with the deceased,⁸⁰ but the figure is nevertheless impressive.

Imports from the west II: dome-mouthed unguentaria (Fig. 9)

The so-called “unguentaria with dome-shaped mouth”, which can attain a height of up to 40 cm, were current in the Eastern Mediterranean from the second half of the 3rd century BC to the 1st

⁶⁹ Empeur 1979, 220.

⁷⁰ Sztetyło 1976 and 1991; Hadjisavvas 1980, 257; Michaelides & Młynarczyk 1988, 156 no. 2520/28 fig. 3 pl. 50; Craig Barker, personal communication and Barker 2004.

⁷¹ Hall 1885; Nicolaou 1981, 193 nos. 4-5; Calvet 1982 and 1993.

⁷² Grace 1979a, 178-9 n. 4.

⁷³ Calvet 1972 and 1978.

⁷⁴ At the anchorage of Kioni two jar tops, six toes and “distinctive remains of at least thirty more similar Rhodian amphorae” litter the seabed, according to Leonard 1995a, 142. In the Akamas survey, 18 certain and 8 possible finds occurred, which will be published by the present author.

⁷⁵ Nicolaou & Empeur 1986, 516 no. 2 figs. 1.a-c.

⁷⁶ Plat Taylor 1980, 210 no. 306 fig. 35 pl. 28.2-3.

⁷⁷ Oliver 1983, 252 no. 1 pl. 39.1 and no. 2 fig. 2 pl. 39.2.a-b.

⁷⁸ Lund 1993a, 120-1 no. C-355-358 fig. 52 and three un-catalogued specimens.

⁷⁹ Nicolaou & Empeur 1986, 516 no. 1 and 516-31 nos. 3-16 figs. 2-15.

⁸⁰ Michaelides 1990; Barker 2004.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

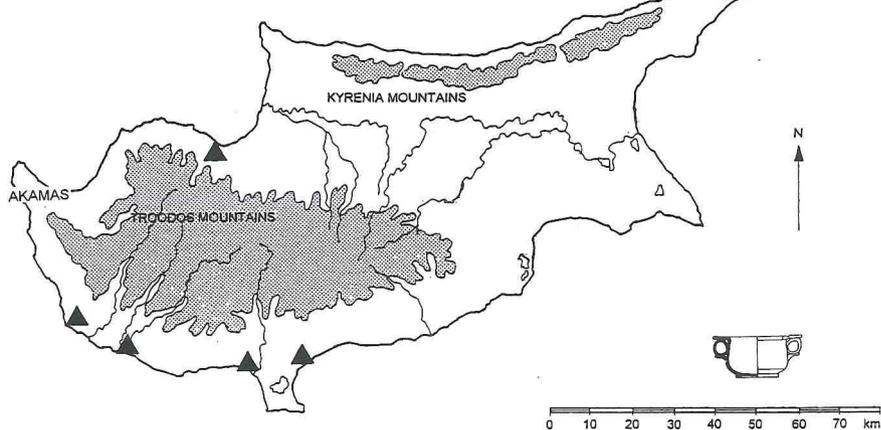


Fig. 10. The geographical distribution in Cyprus of lead glazed vessels produced in Asia Minor.

century BC. Dotterweich, who published a special study of this form, suggested that they were “transport and storage vessels, from which the fragrances should not escape”.⁸¹ Hayes originally thought that such unguentaria were made in Cyprus, but this was not confirmed by scientific clay analyses, which also seem to rule out a source in Knidos. Dotterweich leaves the question open, but leans towards a source in Caria or an adjoining island.⁸² Be that as it may, the form is well distributed in Western Cyprus. Dotterweich records a minimum of 17 examples at Nea Paphos (and one at Ktima), 6 finds at Marion, and one at Palaipaphos, Ormidhia and possibly also at Kourion.⁸³

Imports from the west III: Italian Type Sigillata and Eastern Sigillata B

D. Malfitana and S. Marquié have recently discussed the occurrences of western sigillata vessels in Cyprus, and there is no need to go over these matters in detail here.⁸⁴ As for Italian Sigillata (cf. FW 203–FW 205), Malfitana counted “a total of 179 vases in the western part and only 8 in the eastern part [of the island]” and he noted a similar pattern for Eastern Sigillata B.⁸⁵ Marquié who examined old and new evidence from Nea Paphos, Amathous and Kition, reached a similar

conclusion, stressing the shifting pattern in the Julio-Claudian, the Flavian, and the Antonine periods.⁸⁶

Imports from the north

Lead glazed vessels produced at Tarsus in the second half of the 1st century BC and in the 1st century AD constitute a small group of imports in Cyprus (Fig. 10), for which the evidence has been gathered and discussed by A. Hochuli-Gysel.⁸⁷ One such find occurred at Soloi, two at Nea Paphos, two at Palaipaphos, one at Episkopi and one close to Limassol. In addition, four specimens have the provenance Cyprus.⁸⁸ These vessels have not – as far as it is documented at the present time – been brought to light in Eastern Cyprus, but rather seem to cluster around Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos to the south west. One should also reckon with occurrences in Cyprus of «pinched-handle» amphorae made in Cilicia, even if it is at

⁸¹ Dotterweich 1999, 63 and *passim*.

⁸² Dotterweich 1999, 43–4.

⁸³ Dotterweich 1999, 57–60.

⁸⁴ Malfitana 2002 and 2004; Marquié 2001 and 2002.

⁸⁵ Malfitana 2002, 145.

⁸⁶ Marquié 2002, 291–4 figs. 1–3.

⁸⁷ Hochuli-Gysel 1976, 1977 and 2002.

⁸⁸ Hochuli-Gysel 1977, 121 fig. 31 and *passim*.

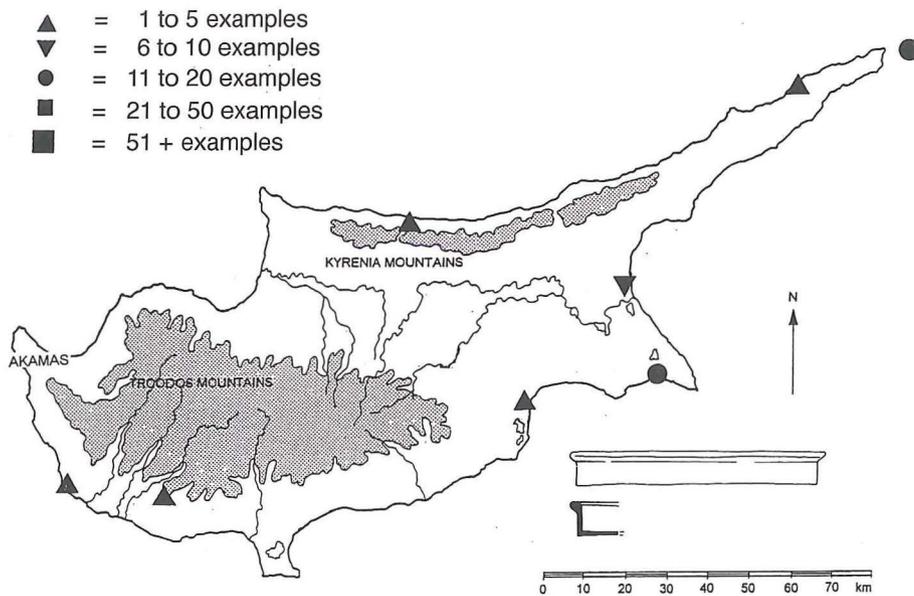


Fig. 11. The geographical distribution in Cyprus of terracotta sarcophagi produced in the Bay of Iskanderun; the number of specimens is not known with certainty at most of the find spots.

the present time not easy to distinguish such products from those made in Cyprus.⁸⁹

Imports from the north east I: Eastern Sigillata A

Eastern Sigillata A (cf. FW 116–FW 202) began to be made about or shortly after the middle of the 2nd century BC, and scientific analyses of clay, studies of distribution etc. suggest that the kilns producing this ware were located somewhere in North Western Syria or in Eastern Cilicia.⁹⁰ In 2001, J. Poblome suggested that the ware might be identified with the vasa Rhosica, which Cicero mentions in a letter to Titus Pomponius Atticus written in Laodikeia on the 20th of February 50 BC.⁹¹ The site of Rhosos is located about 32 kilometres south of Alexandretta on a narrow strip on the eastern shore of the gulf of Issus. Its modern name is Arsuz. Pottery kilns have been noted in and around Arsuz, but there is as yet no confirmation that Eastern Sigillata A was actually produced here. Be that as it may, this ware quickly gained a foothold on the export markets, but exportation on a large scale only began in the late 2nd and in the 1st century BC. Eastern Sigillata A immediately became extremely popular in Cyprus, and seems to have been the most popular sigillata ware by far all

over the island in the 1st century BC.⁹² The rival product, Cypriot Sigillata, was produced in relatively small quantities in the 1st century BC, but production seems to have increased sharply in the first half of the 1st century AD and to have reached a peak in the second half of the century.⁹³ At Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou in South Eastern Cyprus, Eastern Sigillata A constituted nearly 72% of all of the sigillata wares, but this percentage seems to drop the further one moves to the west along the south coast of the island. In the Canadian survey of the Palaipaphos region in South Western Cyprus, Eastern Sigillata A constituted 32% of the Sigillata wares, and in the Akamas peninsula, the westernmost part of the island, the ware merely accounted for 12% of the sigillata wares.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Cf. Lund 2000a, 567–71 fig. 4.

⁹⁰ Cf. Lund 2004 with references.

⁹¹ Poblome *et al.* 2001, 144; Lund 2004, 327–8.

⁹² Due to the uneven exploration of Cyprus, our knowledge of the distribution of Eastern Sigillata A mostly comes from excavations and surveys along the southern and western coasts of the island. There is a near-absence of quantified material from other parts of Cyprus.

⁹³ Cf. Lund 1997, 210–11 fig. 9.

⁹⁴ Lund 1993a; *idem* 1999a.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

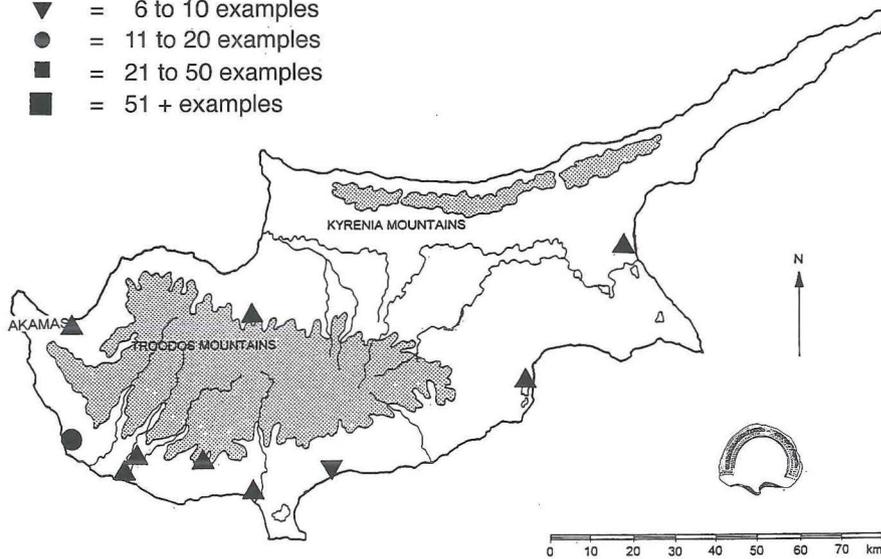


Fig. 12. The geographical distribution in Cyprus of *Pinctada Margaritifera* shells.

Imports from the north east II: terracotta sarcophagi (Fig. 11)

D.A. Parks, M. Aviam and E.J. Stern have studied about fifty terracotta coffins found in Cyprus. They belong to a group of such sarcophagi which may be dated between about AD 150 and 350. They were according to petrological analyses probably manufactured somewhere in the Bay of Iskenderun.⁹⁵ "Except for ... two strays, the distribution of this type of terracotta coffin in Cyprus centres on the east coast".⁹⁶

Imports from the south east: Pinctada Margaritifera (Fig. 12)

D. Michaelides has gathered the relevant evidence for imports of *pinctada margaritifera* shells in Cyprus, which may usefully be included in the discussion despite being a non-ceramic commodity.⁹⁷ We are dealing with shells from the Black-lipped pearl oyster, "originating in the Red Sea, the Persian gulf and waters east", which were widely exported "as items of personal adornment, storable wealth and high status markers".⁹⁸ Michaelides catalogued 41 Hellenistic and Roman examples from Cyprus, which "greatly outnumber the examples from any other part of the world".⁹⁹ Of the examples with known provenance, 87% were brought to light in the area between Nea Paphos and

Amathous.¹⁰⁰ The specimens in question probably reached South Western Cyprus by the ancient incense route, from the Red Sea to Israel.¹⁰¹

Imports from Egypt

In 1991, Hayes drew attention to examples of Egyptian pottery found in the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos, and P. Ballet later discussed the whole question of Egyptian imports to Cyprus, adding new finds. The material comprises Colour-Coated bowls and plates found in contexts datable to the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC at Nea Paphos,¹⁰² and also cooking wares occurring in contexts of the late 2nd and 1st centuries

⁹⁵ Parks, Aviam & Stern 1997, 191-3.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 191 fig. 2.

⁹⁷ Michaelides 1995.

⁹⁸ *Idem*, 215.

⁹⁹ *Idem*, 219.

¹⁰⁰ *Idem*, 215 fig. 1 and *passim*.

¹⁰¹ For the distribution in the Near East, cf. *idem*, 219 note 45 and fig. 2; for the incense route, cf. Artzy 1994.

¹⁰² Hayes 1991, 102 no. 4 fig. 5.2; 115 no. 31 fig. 5.1; 125 no. 8 fig. 5.4; 125 no. 9; 126 no. 10 fig. 5.7; 126 no. 11 fig. 5.8; 126 no. 12 fig. 5.9; 126 no. 13; 126 no. 14 fig. 5.10; 132 nos. 9-10 figs. 5.5-6. According to Ballet 1995, 15 "certaines de ces formes ont pu effectivement servir dans quelques cas de couvercles de marmites".

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

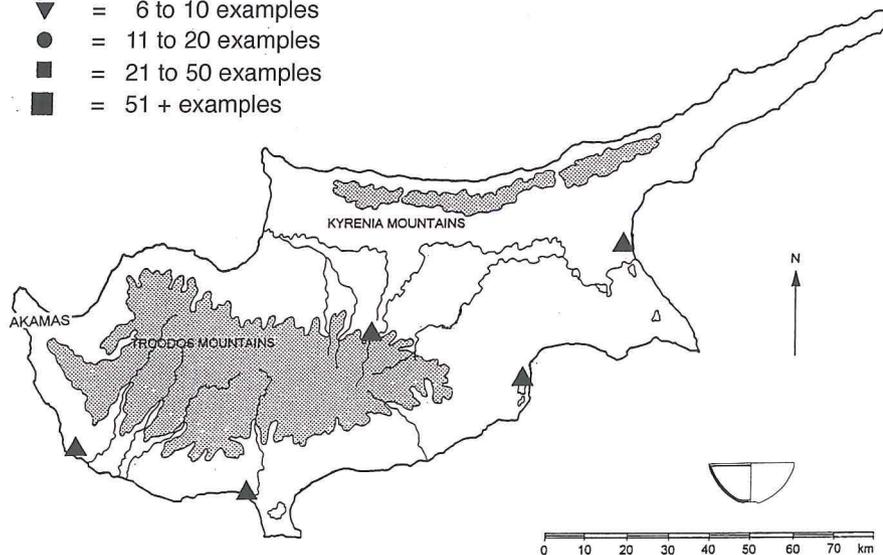


Fig. 13. The geographical distribution in Cyprus of Egyptian faience vessels.

BC.¹⁰³ Moreover, two transport amphorae from Egypt, which presumably originally contained wine, have also been found at Nea Paphos. Hayes noted that they correspond to “finds from kiln-sites in the Naukratis region”, whereas Ballet points to other possible sources in Egypt and reasonably suggests that the Egyptian finds in question “ont pu accompagner les cargaisons de blé ou d’autres produits, tels que le vin en amphore, en partance pour Chypre”.¹⁰⁴ Most of the hitherto recognized Egyptian ceramic imports in Cyprus have been brought to light at Nea Paphos, but at least one category presents a slightly different pattern: Egyptian faience vessels, which were presumably primarily manufactured at Memphis, Athribis and Alexandria.¹⁰⁵ Such vessels have been found at Nea Paphos (one example), Kourion (one specimen), Kition (one specimen), Tamassos (one example) and Salamis (three examples) (Fig. 13).¹⁰⁶

Sea Routes involving Cyprus

Cyprus was the hub of important long-distance routes¹⁰⁷ and local maritime exchange cycles in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁰⁸ The imports mark out the major sea routes involving the island, which reflect the prevailing currents and winds in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 14).¹⁰⁹ It must be stressed that many ships no doubt followed alter-

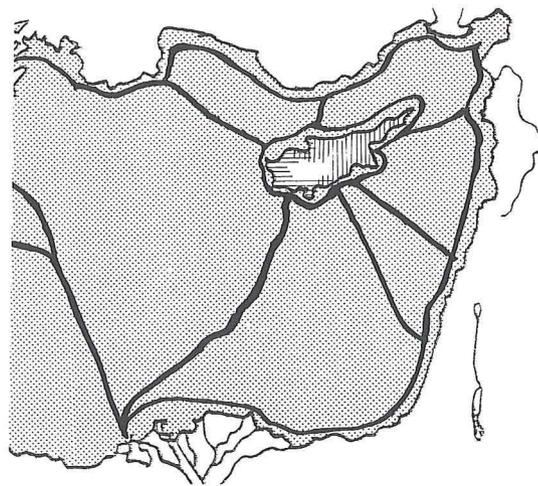


Fig. 14. A simplified rendering of some of the sea routes involving Cyprus.

¹⁰³ Hayes 1991, 78 and 105 no. 32 fig. 73.2; 114 no. 20 fig. 73.8; 78 and 115-6 no. 21 fig. 73.6; 78 and 117 no. 50 fig. 73.1; 120 no. 2 fig. 5.3; 78 and 129 no. 51 fig. 73.5; 78 and 129 no. 52 fig. 73.3; perhaps also 98 no. 26 and fig. 73.7; Ballet 1995, 14 n. 29; Gabrieli & Merryweather 2002, 37.

¹⁰⁴ Hayes 1991, 87 no. 28 and 122 no. 8 fig. 73.4; 87 no. 27 and 141 no. 129 fig. 47 pl. 22.2. Ballet 1995, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Nenna & Seif el-Din 2000, 31-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 421 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Gelsdorf 1994, 751: “Von ‘Routen’ zu reden ist nur in Hinsicht auf den Fernverkehr sinnvoll“.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Mehl 1995, 43-9 and references given below.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Riis 1970, 165 fig. 58; Gelsdorf 1994; Murray 1995; Agouridis 1997, 1-6 fig. 1.

native routes to those described below, perhaps even ones that might seem illogical to a modern observer, not to speak of the vessels which were blown off course. Also, some captains may have preferred a longer route to the most direct one in order to avoid pirates,¹¹⁰ or for any number of reasons of which we have no inkling.

A route connecting the Aegean with Alexandria via Nea Paphos

The distribution of Rhodian amphorae in Cyprus (Fig. 8) suggests that the sea route connecting the Aegean with Alexandria in Egypt via Nea Paphos was the most important of those involving Cyprus in the periods of interest here. Nearly 71% of the known occurrences of stamped Rhodian amphora handles on the island have been found at Nea Paphos,¹¹¹ and the chronological distribution of the stamped Rhodian amphora handles found there seems to mirror that of Alexandria.¹¹² The presence in this metropolis of Colour-Coated wares presumably made in this part of Cyprus is further evidence of this link,¹¹³ the importance of which has not escaped the notice of scholars. It makes perfect sense in so far as Cyprus was part of the Ptolemaic kingdom, with Nea Paphos as the capital of the island.¹¹⁴ The Egyptian fine wares, cooking wares and transport amphorae found at Nea Paphos were presumably brought there by the ships going in the opposite direction, filled with grain from Egypt. The Roman corn ships followed the same route from Alexandria to Rome,¹¹⁵ and in Late Antiquity, South Western Cyprus was still a landfall for grain ships carrying the *annona civica* from Alexandria to Constantinople.¹¹⁶

A route connecting the Aegean with Israel via Nea Paphos and Kourion/Amathous

The distribution of the Rhodian amphorae in Cyprus suggests that some ships proceeded eastwards along the south coast of the island after having reached Nea Paphos, but apparently with an ever-decreasing stock of Rhodian amphorae to offload at each successive port, harbour or anchor-

age. At Amathous, some ships veered off towards Israel or Southern Phoenicia, whereas others set a course for Kition and from there perhaps onwards to Northern Phoenicia. Traffic moving in the opposite direction is documented by the distribution of the *pinctada margaritifera* shells in Cyprus,¹¹⁷ and also by the distribution of Egyptian faience vessels on the island, which suggests that some ships carrying goods from the Nile Delta to Nea Paphos might – instead of taking the direct route – have followed the Levantine coast northwards until reaching what is today Israel, and there linked up with the route connecting this part of the ancient world with Amathous, Kition or Salamis.

A route connecting the Aegean with Phoenicia and North Western Syria via Nea Paphos and Kition or Salamis

A third route followed the south coast of Cyprus to Kition or Salamis, and from there further east towards the coast of Syria, perhaps with Seleucia Pieriea, the port of Antioch, as their destination. The relatively few stamped Rhodian amphora handles hitherto documented at Antioch (a minimum of 541 handles)¹¹⁸ present a striking contrast to the multitude of such finds at Alexandria (a minimum of 100.000 handles).¹¹⁹ Rhodian amphora finds are likewise relatively scarce at coastal sites south of the mouth of the River Orontes with the exception of Ras Basit, where most of the more than 130 stamped

¹¹⁰ For Cilician pirates, cf. Rauh *et al.* 2000 with bibliography.

¹¹¹ The route from Rhodes to Nea Paphos could have been similar to the one followed by Kyrenia II in 1987, cf. Cariolou 1997, 91 fig. 5.

¹¹² Cf. Lund 1993b, 366-9 and figs. 7-9, 12; *idem* 1999b, 201-2 and *passim*. The figures should be revised according to the slightly lower chronology suggested in Finkielsztein 2001.

¹¹³ Cf. Élaigne 2000a.

¹¹⁴ For Nea Paphos, cf. Rupp 1997.

¹¹⁵ Haggis 1996, 201 fig. 20 and *passim*.

¹¹⁶ Bakirtzis 1995, 248 fig. 1.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the incense trade routes in the second millennium Artzy 1994, 133 fig. 11; cf. further Arnaud 2001-2002.

¹¹⁸ Grace 1950, 135 n. 4.

¹¹⁹ Empereur 1998b, 398.

Rhodian amphora handles were found.¹²⁰ Five such stamps are reported from Ras Ibn Hani,¹²¹ none, apparently, were found at Ras Samra,¹²² and ten at Tall Sukas.¹²³ It is true that North Western Syria was a wine-producing region in its own right, but this is hardly a sufficient explanation for the scarcity of such imports, because Egypt, which imported plenty of Rhodian wine, was also a wine producing area.¹²⁴ Ships setting out from Seleucia Pieriea, which plied this route in the opposite direction, presumably carried the Eastern Sigillata A pottery found at sites along the eastern and southern coasts of Cyprus.

The route connecting the Aegean with Antioch via Cilicia and Seleucia ad Pieria

An alternative route from the Aegean to Cilicia and North Western Syria followed the coastline of Asia Minor, and entered the strait separating Asia Minor and Cyprus. This route is more difficult to document than the others through the archaeological finds, but its existence is i.a. suggested by the shipwreck at Kyrenia, which carried 343 Rhodian amphorae,¹²⁵ and also by the “eighty-three, possibly eighty-four” Rhodian amphora handles which have hitherto been published from Tarsus¹²⁶ (only two specimens in the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project).¹²⁷ The ships sailing eastward were favoured by the fact that the major winds in the Eastern Mediterranean “blow uniformly from the west and northwest”,¹²⁸ and those heading in the opposite direction by the prevailing currents.¹²⁹ Judging by the comparatively few finds of Rhodian amphorae, this route was less frequented than the two first-mentioned ones, even if this conclusion is based to a certain degree on the scarcity of such finds from Northern Cyprus, which remains in some respects a *terra incognita* for archaeologists. Still, relatively few finds were reported from this area before 1974, and fewer ports, harbours and anchorages seem to exist along the north coast of the island than along its other coastlines. J.R. Leonard estimated there were ten harbours and nine anchorages between the Akamas and the Panhandle, but allows for two ports, two harbours and 14 anchorages on the

shorter stretch between Nea Paphos and Cape Andreas. In his words “cities such as Nea Paphos and Salamis had substantial maritime facilities and constituted major Roman ports. Smaller harbours such as Kourion, Karpasia, Lapethos and Kyrenia, and tiny anchorages such as *Kioni* and Karathidhi Bay, often located only a few kilometres apart, operated as refuges during stormy weather, fresh water and passenger stops, and probably transshipment points for local markets”.¹³⁰ Still, Eastern Sigillata A ware was probably mainly brought to the Aegean on ships following this route and the one connecting Northern Syria with the Aegean via Kition or Salamis and Nea Paphos. The ca. 300 examples of Eastern Sigillata A that were recovered from the sea off the Turkish coast between Antalya and Cape Gelidonia were presumably once part of the cargo of such a ship.¹³¹

Coastal shipping

In addition to the routes enumerated above, it is necessary to take into account the existence of other “local maritime exchange cycles”,¹³² for instance routes linking neighbouring areas such as Nea Paphos with Rough Cilicia, or Salamis with Seleucia ad Pieriea.

The circulation of goods in Cyprus

No matter what mechanisms were involved in the distribution of pottery and other goods in Cyprus,

¹²⁰ Courbin 1986, 208.

¹²¹ Bounni *et al.* 1976, 253–4 figs. 29.1–5.

¹²² Stucky 1983.

¹²³ Unpublished, except for Riis 1970, 108–10 no. 96 fig. 42.e.

¹²⁴ Cf. Lund 2000b.

¹²⁵ Parker 1992, 231–2 no. 563.

¹²⁶ Grace 1950, 135.

¹²⁷ Rauh *et al.* 2000, 164.

¹²⁸ Murray 1995, 39–40 fig. 4.

¹²⁹ Cf. Agouridis 1997, 3 fig. 1.

¹³⁰ Leonard 1995b, 240.

¹³¹ Mitsopoulos-Leon 1975; Parker 1992, 109 no. 209.

¹³² Cf. Sherrat & Sherrat 1993, 374.

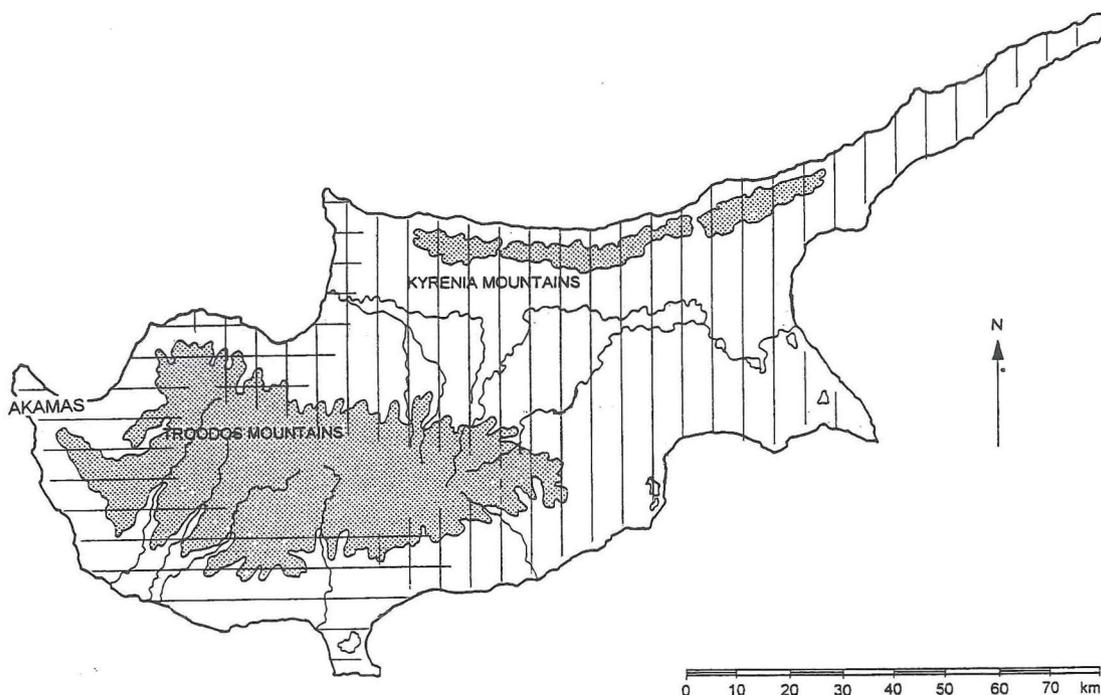


Fig. 15. A rough indication of the extent of two zones of circulation of goods into which the distribution of Cypriot produced pottery and imports suggest that the island may be divided.

we may be sure that these and other commodities reached their destination either on board ships sailing along the island's coasts, or in crates or baskets carried by mules or on carts using the island's road network – in some cases a combination of the two. We are gradually gaining a better insight into the latter thanks to research by T. Bekker-Nielsen. Still, there continue to be gaps in our knowledge of the infrastructure of the island.¹³³

A zone of circulation comprising Western and South Western Cyprus (Fig. 15)

The distribution of Cypriot Sigillata (Fig. 5), the Cypriot frying pan (Fig. 6), and also of the presumably Cypriot made «pinched-handle» amphorae (Fig. 7) delineates a Western and South Western Cypriot zone of circulation of goods, with a core comprising the coastal region from Nea Paphos to the Akamas towards the north and Palaipaphos to the east. The zone should presumably be extended beyond Soli to the north, and to Kourion or Amathous to the south east, and it is probably no coincidence that it seems to corre-

spond more or less to the geographical distribution of a class of artefacts mainly dating from the Cypro-Classical period: jugs with figurines of women holding an oinochoe (Fig. 16).¹³⁴ The zone of circulation was apparently already in existence before the periods dealt with here.

The Cypriot Sigillata and the «pinched-handle» amphorae were apparently mainly distributed along the coastlines of the island by ships involved in regional traffic or plying the long distance sea routes.¹³⁵ This is also suggested by the distribution outside Cyprus of both commodities, which are scarce in Eastern Cilicia and North Western Syria, and perhaps also at Alexandria. However, the situation there is far from clear despite recent publications by S. Élaigne.¹³⁶ Alexandria seems to have

¹³³ Leonard 1995a and b, 1997; Bekker-Nielsen 1994, 1995, 2001 and 2005.

¹³⁴ Cf. Vandenabeele 1998, 6-7 and *passim*.

¹³⁵ Lund 1997, 209 fig. 8, and Lund 2000a, 568 fig. 3.

¹³⁶ Élaigne 1998, 82-4: «les productions chypriotes sont, pour le Haut-Empire ... une catégorie importante (22% des sigillées)», and Élaigne 2000b.

- ▲ = 1 to 5 examples
- ▼ = 6 to 10 examples
- = 11 to 20 examples
- = 21 to 50 examples
- = 51 + examples

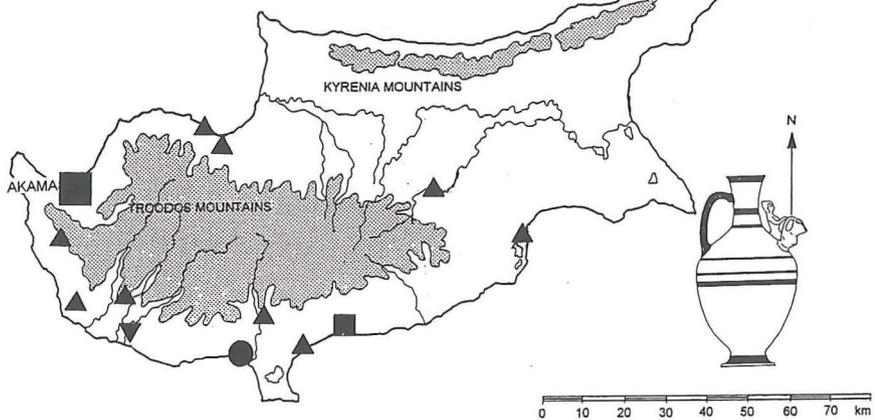


Fig. 16. The geographical distribution of jugs with figurines of women holding an oinochoe, mainly of Cypro-Classical date.

received an unusually high number of imports of Italian type Sigillata,¹³⁷ perhaps because Alexandria was also linked with Italy via a more direct route bypassing Cyprus.¹³⁸ The close relationship of this city with Italy is also reflected in her imports of Italian wine and oil. As far as imports are concerned, Alexandria was probably an exceptional case,¹³⁹ and the pattern documented at Marina el-Alamein to its west may well be more typical of the situation on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt.¹⁴⁰

The «pinched-handle» amphorae were presumably primarily distributed by sea,¹⁴¹ but the fact that Cypriot Sigillata was well represented in the surveys of the Akamas and of the Palaipaphos regions indicates that this ware was also distributed using the road network.¹⁴² The find spots of the Cypriot frying pans in the Akamas region suggest that these vessels were primarily distributed by people such as shepherds, farmers and fishermen who moved about the peninsula in ancient times.¹⁴³

A zone of circulation comprising Central and South Eastern Cyprus (Fig. 15)

The distribution of the Cypriot version of West Slope ware, the skyphoi with carinated body and lateral arched handles (Fig. 1), the Aradippou goblet (Fig. 2), and the Cypriot versions of the

Megarian bowl (Figs. 3–4) suggest the existence of another zone of circulation of goods, with a core around Eurychou, Idalion, Kafizin, Morphou, and Nicosia,¹⁴⁴ and reaching at least as far south as Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou. The inscriptions naming potters from Kafizin point in the same direction. The distribution in the island of the Archaic and Classical Cypriot transport amphora with horizontal handles strongly suggests that the distribution zone already existed long before the Hellenistic period.¹⁴⁵

The pottery circulating in this zone was evidently mainly distributed using the road network,

¹³⁷ Cf. Élaigne 1998 and 2000b; Malfitana 2002, 151.

¹³⁸ Casson 1971, 297–9; Fulford 1989; Gelsdorf 1994.

¹³⁹ Lund 2000b, 88.

¹⁴⁰ Daszewski 1995; Daszewski *et al.* 1990 and Majcherek 1993.

¹⁴¹ Cypriot Sigillata reached inland sites as well as those in the coastal region, cf. Lund 1993a, fig. 57. Transport amphorae, on the other hand, were mostly distributed in the coastal zone, *idem* fig. 59.

¹⁴² Cf. Lund 2002a.

¹⁴³ Cf. Lund 2002a, 49.

¹⁴⁴ An area corresponding more or less to the villages where the potters documented in the Kafizin inscriptions came from.

¹⁴⁵ Jacobsen 2002, 176 fig. 3. Petrographic and neutron activation analyses indicate that the type was produced in the area of Salamis, *eadem* 169.

and it may not be coincidental that relatively small pots are involved, which might have been packed in crates or baskets transported in carts or on the back of donkeys and mules.¹⁴⁶ A growing body of evidence suggests that the costs and difficulties involved in overland transportation of goods in the ancient world were not as prohibitive as often thought in the past.¹⁴⁷

The precise extent of this zone cannot be defined in the absence of evidence from Turkish-occupied Northern Cyprus. Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou was certainly part of this zone, but more material is needed from neighbouring Kition before it will become clear if this city was an integral part of this zone, or if it had a slightly different and more cosmopolitan make-up due to its easy access to the sea.

A complex picture

The existence of these two zones of circulation in Cyprus seems assured, even if future exploration of the island may well provide evidence of more zones or sub-zones, and also allow us to define their extent with more precision than is possible at the present time.¹⁴⁸ Roman Switzerland was apparently divided into eight “Keramikregionen”,¹⁴⁹ which could suggest that the number of zones of distribution of goods hitherto detected in Cyprus is approximately correct, seeing that Switzerland is more than four times the size of Cyprus. But it is not safe to assume that such zones were of the same size everywhere, and in the case of Cyprus, the easy access by sea must have been a determining factor. It is not, of course, suggested that the two zones of circulation, which seem to have existed in Cyprus in the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, constituted mutually exclusive systems. There is plenty of evidence to show that this was not the case. We are clearly confronting a complex situation, and there is an urgent need for new data. The best that can be aimed for at this stage is to establish a framework for the future discussion.

One must also reckon with a difference between the coastal centres and inland settlements with less easy access to imports. This is reflected by the vari-

ations in the ceramic spectrum documented at Nea Paphos and that revealed by the surveys in the Palaipaphos area and in the Akamas,¹⁵⁰ where fewer exotic imports have been brought to light and the range of transport amphorae was much more limited than in the urban centre. A similar disparity seems to exist between Kition and Panayia Emathousa/Aradippou, despite the fact that the two are located so closely together.

The changes – if any – that took place through time also need to be looked at in the future. The archaeological material known at the present time is indicative of continuity from the Late Hellenistic through the Early Roman periods,¹⁵¹ and there are indications that the observed patterns were already in existence in earlier as well as later periods.¹⁵² The next logical step will be to analyse each zone of circulation of goods separately, taking into account its particular communication network, and the contrast between the urban centres on the coast and the settlements in the countryside. Ideally, such an investigation should be based on an analysis of dated quantified contexts, which might allow us to map the changes through time. This, however, is a task for the future.

Summary and conclusions

The ceramic material reviewed above enable us to gain an insight into certain aspects of the long-distance exchange mechanisms as well as into the inter-regional exchange involving Cyprus. The latter term seems appropriate for the moving of

¹⁴⁶ Bekker-Nielsen 2001, 252 and 1995, 89-90.

¹⁴⁷ Bailey 1987; Laurence 1998. Cf. also the distribution of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware, Poblome 1999 fig. 1.

¹⁴⁸ A. Destrooper-Georgiades' conclusions about the coin circulation in Cyprus in the Late Archaic and Classical periods may be a starting point for a future attempt at refinement of the scheme suggested here. Cf. Destrooper-Georgiades 2000b with references to other publications.

¹⁴⁹ Schucany *et al.* 1999.

¹⁵⁰ Lund 1993a, 136-7 and 2002a, 44-5.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Hayes 2000, 286.

¹⁵² Cf. the evidence referred to *supra* in n. 134 and n. 145, and in n. 148 below.

goods from one of the two zones of circulation defined above to another, or indeed within the confines of a single zone. There is at the present time no evidence of local exchange, if we follow the definition of “local” suggested at the outset. The material available does not enable us to detect exchange at this level.

The sea routes spanning Cyprus were of paramount importance to the inter-regional and regional exchange, and they are clearly delineated by the distribution in and around the island of imported goods, mainly Rhodian amphorae and Eastern Sigillata A. The emerging picture corresponds remarkably well to that hypothesized by scholars for earlier and later material.¹⁵³ Not only pots and other goods, but also peoples and ideas travelled along the routes, which goes a long way to explain the close relationship between Alexandria and Nea Paphos on the one hand, and South Eastern Cyprus and Phoenicia on the other, which has been remarked on by several scholars.¹⁵⁴

Apparently the inter-regional exchange of the island latched onto the long-distance exchange

mechanisms to a certain degree. The latter were presumably largely determined by geographical factors and the strategic location of the island in the Levant as an interim destination for ships on the way from the west to the east, and vice versa. Political boundaries were apparently less relevant. This is suggested by the fact that Eastern Cyprus seems to have had closer commercial ties with North Western Syria and Eastern Cilicia than with Alexandria, even at the time when the island was part of the Ptolemaic Empire.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Sherratt & Sherratt 1993, 372–3 fig. 1; Gelsdorf 1994, 753 fig. 1; Rautman 2000, 322 fig. 4; Evin *et al.* 2002, 264–5 fig. 10; Jacobsen 2004.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the discussion between Salles and Daszewski in Salles 1995, 408; Mehl 1995; Lund 1999a, 13 note 51–52; Wright 1999; Marquié 2002, 294–5; Venit 2002, 175.

¹⁵⁵ Mehl 1995, 43. It may be premature to deny any role at all for such factors in the exchange of goods. Rhodian amphorae thus seem to have circulated mainly in the Ptolemaic dominated part of the eastern Mediterranean, cf. Lund 1999b, 201–2; for another possible case, see *idem* 1997, 209–10.

Addendum

My contributions to this publication were submitted in September 2003, and it only proved possible to add a few bibliographical updates since then. I should like, however, to refer to a number of relevant studies, which have been published (or come to my knowledge) after the manuscript was completed.

For ceramic fine wares, see S. Borowicz, ‘Lagynos on Cyprus in the 3rd century BC’, *EtTrav* 20 2005, 29–42; J.B. Connelly, ‘Excavations on Geronisos (1990–1997): First report’, *RDAC* 2002, 245–68; J.B. Connelly & A.I. Wilson (with mortar analysis by C. Dougherty), ‘Hellenistic and Byzantine cisterns on Geronisos Island’, *RDAC* 2002, 269–92; J.B. Connelly & J. Młynarczyk, ‘Terracotta Oil Lamps from Geronisos and their contexts’, *RDAC* 2002, 293–316; J.B. Connelly, ‘Excavations on Geronisos Island: second report, The central south complex’, *RDAC* 2005, 149–82; J. Młynarczyk, ‘The “Pink Powdery Ware” at Yeronisos. A local West Cypriot ware of the late Hellenistic period’, *EtTrav* 20 2005, 137–49; A. Berlin & J. Pilacinski, ‘Appendix. The pottery of the Early and Middle Hellenistic period’, *RDAC* 2003 [2004], 201–37.

For Rhodian amphorae, see C.D. Barker, *The Hellenistic stamped amphora handles from the ‘Tombs of the Kings’, at Nea Paphos, Cyprus*, PhD dissertation, the University of Sydney 2004, and I. Nicolaou, *Paphos V. The stamped amphora handles from the House of Dionysos*, Nicosia 2005.

For a discussion of pottery as a source for the social and economic history of the ancient world, cf. J. Lund, ‘Writing long-term history with potsherds: problems – prospects’, in: D. Malfitana, J. Poblome & J. Lund (eds.), *Old pottery in a new century. Innovating perspectives on Roman pottery studies. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Catania, 22–24 aprile 2004*, forthcoming, and for a host of issues, see J.R. Leonard, *Roman Cyprus: harbors, hinterlands, and “Hidden Powers”*, PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo 2005.

Why undecorated pottery matters¹

Kristina Winther Jacobsen

Modern classical archaeology attempts to study a broad range of questions concerning the ancient Mediterranean cultures and to involve as many of the archaeological find groups as possible in the process. As the most common find at almost any site in the Mediterranean area, pottery has played a dominant part in the reconstruction of the ancient world. Of course these reconstructions are based mostly on the distinctive decorated tablewares and stamped transport amphorae, which are easily recognisable and sometimes travel great distances. Undecorated household pottery is generally believed to belong within the sphere of the local community and has been considered less important or useful.

The role in the economic structure of the eastern Mediterranean played by small rural sites changes from period to period. Within an economic structure of production and consumption sites, Panayia Ematousa offers a rare chance to study diachronically the pottery from a rural site, presumably a site of agricultural production, rather than the city centres, the points of consumption. During the period in question the archaeology of Cyprus has mainly been focused on the city centres of the island. Sites such as Panayia Ematousa represent a different category: small centres located in the hinterland, where presumably most of the foods to be consumed in the city centres were produced. Many ancient city centres were located on the coast and were part of complex networks of trade and exchange. Some cities may have developed as ports of call and may have depended entirely on foreign trade and exchange, but most often it was resources in the hinterland that permitted towns to grow into city centres. Athens and Attica are fine examples of such a symbiosis of polis and chora,² but of course other less integrated models were possible. The strength of the rela-

tionship between city centre and chora probably depended largely on the resources available in the hinterland and a poor hinterland is more likely to have coexisted autonomously. At Panayia Ematousa the amount of imported goods represented directly in the archaeological material such as glass and decorated tablewares and indirectly qua transport amphorae such as wine and possibly oil, indicates that strictly speaking we are not dealing with a subsistence economy. To import products instead of growing them locally requires an economic surplus and the finds of coins support the existence of this. Trade need not necessarily involve money, but the finds of coins speak against an economy system based entirely on barter. The absence of kilns in the area, especially amphora kilns, carries the implication that production was aimed at subsistence rather than exchange. Another possibility is that the product grown at Panayia Ematousa was of a type not transported in amphorae. Such a product could be flax or linseed, which according to the studies of T.T. Mitford was produced in the district.³

Apart from pithoi there is no firm indication of handmade pottery, but the existence of a small scale local pottery production to supply the village with a particular type of vessels e.g. water jugs cannot be ruled out as this would leave very little if any archaeological evidence. No traces of kilns have been found in the area, and probably most of the pottery was not produced on site, but the gen-

¹ I wish to thank Lone Wriedt Sørensen, Director of the excavations at Panayia Ematousa, for permitting and encouraging me to study and publish this material and providing me with the funding and John Lund, National Museum of Copenhagen, for his guidance and support.

² Osborne 1985.

³ Mitford 1980a, 255.

eral resemblance with fabrics of the region e.g. Idalion and Maroni indicates a regional exchange at least. Even if the material evidence is slight it does indicate economic integration at regional level rather than a closed site-specific subsistence economy. Many parallels in the ceramic material from Kition, the nearest city centre, have been quoted in the contributions to this publication, and the dissimilarities in distribution and composition may result mainly from the different chronology of the published material. The French excavations at Kition have published material of the classical to early Hellenistic period mainly.⁴ At Panayia Ematousa there is very little material of the Classical period and most of the Hellenistic material dates from the Late Hellenistic period and later. Idalion is another possible centre for the regional exchange.

Analysis of the archaeological material provides a method of reaching an understanding of the character of Panayia Ematousa and the role of the site in the archaeological landscape of Cyprus. This article offers an attempt to take a different approach to the archaeological material published by the author in volume I (utility ceramics, cooking wares and transport amphorae), and to look at some of the possibilities and constraints when studying undecorated household pottery. Transport amphora is a well-known term that needs no further introduction. Cooking wares are defined as pottery for the actual cooking, while utility ceramics are defined as domestic dining, kitchen, domestic and public storage vessels, industry ceramics, and personal vessels. Concerning utility ceramics it is almost always impossible to determine the specific function due to the fragmented state of the material. All three groups of pottery are also defined by the absence of painted decoration or slip and incised decoration or ribbing is very rare, hence the term undecorated.

Panayia Ematousa

The pottery analyses presented in volume I indicate that the site of Panayia Ematousa was occupied during three periods: Late Archaic to Early Classical, Hellenistic to Early Roman and finally during the Late Roman period. However the

stratigraphy is very complicated. There is only about a handful of large closed contexts and the character of the contexts and preservation of the material invoke some methodological constraints. As a case study I have chosen four deposits: two of the first period (Pits 2 and 8) and two of the second period (Pit-room 1A (94.3630.AW7) and Pit-room 2 (98.3734.D2)). The Hellenistic to Early Roman period is by far the most complex period archaeologically speaking and occupation can be subdivided into more phases.⁵ Since Pit-room 2 falls on the transition from the late Hellenistic to the Early Roman period and there are no good Early Roman deposits I have chosen to treat this period as one. Unfortunately no closed contexts of the Late Roman period have been identified and therefore the discussion of this material must be more general. The purpose of the analysis is to study the broader social and cultural contexts of the pottery.⁶

The Late Archaic to Early Classical period

Pits 2 and 8 are two similar circular holes dug into the ground unrelated to walls or any other architectural features.⁷ The pottery was broken before deposition and no complete vessels could be reconstructed. Both pits appear to be single period deposits.

Most of the undecorated open forms appear to be tablewares and though the form repertoire is limited the standardisation within the groups appears to be low. Several sub-groups can be identified, but these may be of little significance. All the plates (UC8) from Pit 2 have interior offset rims, but some of them have a plain exterior while others have exterior offset rims. Studies indicate that this has no chronological connotation.⁸ Instead it may reflect different standards of finish,

⁴ Salles 1983; Salles 1993a.

⁵ Sørensen, PE I, 52-61.

⁶ The abbreviations and numbers found in this text refer to catalogue numbers in various contributions in the first volume see introduction.

⁷ Sørensen, PE I, 64.

⁸ Salles 1983, 68.

but the general lack of standardisation lends the impression that precision mattered little, and it may be indicative of the potter's ways of building the plate on the turntable. Due to the generally fragmented state of preservation no attempts have been made to identify potters' hands.

Hemispherical bowls with slightly out-turned rims and everted convex sides (UC25a) and bowls with flaring sides and off-set rims (UC26) dominate. A few fragments of bowls with horizontal rims with central depression (UC27) and bowls with softly curved sides and projecting horizontal rims with central depression (UC28a) also appear and of these the former is more common. Some of the same types of bowls occur at Panayia Ematousa in painted wares e.g. IA1.9 and 13, IA2.54, IA3.71 and IA5.107. All the large bowls are Persian bowls (UC47b-c) probably meant for storage or industry. All except one they have slim elongated rims and flat bases. Except for two pithos body fragments most of the closed forms are painted, but a few undecorated fragments of globular jugs (UC9), jugs with straight rims and a handle on the rims (UC10), jugs with everted, interior off set rims (UC16b) and jugs with everted rims (UC19) were identified. Also neck-less jars with horizontal handles (UC85), small closed jars with straight rims (UC86), small, globular, hole-mouthed jars (UC87), and jars with high straight rims (UC93) appear. Few vessels can readily be identified as cooking vessels in the pre-Hellenistic contexts. From Pit 2 comes a thick-walled cooking dish (CW1a), a few fragments of cooking pots with a high collar rim (CW7) and with vertical slightly thickened rim (CW8) and a cooking jug (CW20). Some of the utility jars were probably used for cooking such as form UC85. Pit 2 did not contain very many fragments of transport amphorae, only a little more than a handful of Cypriot amphorae with horizontal handles (A1-1a), bag-shaped Levantine amphorae (A7, A9 and A11), bobbin-shaped Chian amphorae (A16a) and another fragment of possible Greek origin (A26). Apart from the find groups already mentioned, Pit 2 contained a large amount of Cypriot painted wares (IA1-3, IA5), one black glazed cup (IA6.112), quite a few fragments of small clay figurines (F1-2) and coun-

ters (UC119), a few Phoenician lamps (L1) and unpublished stone tools.

Many of the forms identified in Pit 2 reappear in Pit 8, but the composition is different. Counting only rims the ratio of decorated tablewares in comparison to undecorated tablewares is small compared to Pit 2: 60% decorated tablewares in Pit 2 to 23% in Pit 8. Undecorated open tableware forms predominately made of a fine very pale brown to reddish yellow fabric with some tiny white, red and black inclusions are the most common finds in Pit 8. A great many plates (UC7-8) appear some of which may in fact be fragments of Phoenician lamps (L1), which are indistinguishable from the plates. Bowls of the above-mentioned types UC25-UC26 and UC28 dominate, but UC26 is by far the most popular with more than twice as many fragments identified. A few shallow bowls with curved sides (UC32), bowls with everted sides and plain rims (UC34), bowls with everted sides and rounded rims (UC35), a deep bowl with rounded sides (UC38), and a bowl with soft rounded side (UC40) have also been identified. As in Pit 2 all the large bowls are Persian bowls (UC47), and here all three sub-groups are present. Undecorated closed forms of the above mentioned jug types UC10, UC16b and a jug with thickened rounded rim (UC18), large jars with tapering necks (UC94), and large jars with bulging necks (UC95) appear, but in Pit 8 their total number is not very large. Two pithos body fragments found in Pit 8 should be included among the closed vessels. Pit 8 contained some cooking wares, but mainly very small body and handle fragments, which do not allow closer identification. A thick-walled cooking dish (CW1b) and fragments of a thin-walled cooking ware jug (CW20) were also deposited in the pit. The main body of transport amphorae is the same as in Pit 2: Cypriot amphorae with horizontal handles (A1-1a), bag-shaped Levantine amphorae (A9 and A11) and Chian amphorae (A16a). Apart from these, large fragments of one Samian amphora of the late 7th to the first half of the 6th century BC (A18), and two Milesian amphorae (A19) of the 6th century BC also came from Pit 8. Pit 8 contained less Cypriot painted wares than Pit 2 (IA1-3, IA5), but

a black glazed Ionian cup and an East Greek bowl have been identified (IA6.111-112). Among the odds and ends are a series of fragmented stone tools and vessels (S2, S4-5, S11b, S12a and S13b), a single body fragment of glass, a few teeth, shells, figurines (F1), a spindle whorl (M27) and counters (UC119).

The chronological concurrency of Pits 2 and 8 is clearly indicated by the many forms appearing in both contexts. Based mainly on the large fragments of amphorae from Asia Minor Pit 8 must be dated in the 6th century. The other amphora types can only be dated within a broad chronological framework and the utility ceramics and cooking wares even more so. The utility ceramics may indicate a later date in the Early Classical period, but I believe the preservation state of the amphorae contradicts this. No metals were identified in either context.

Both assemblages appear to contain finds representing a broad range of functions, even a few body fragments of pithoi, and there are no obvious find groups missing. Most conspicuous is the import of wine from Chios, Samos and Miletos at a small inland site. The imports from the Greek area most likely came through Kition where some of the same types of amphorae have been identified.⁹ Wine was probably also imported in the Levantine amphorae. The Cypriot amphorae should be considered an "import" as well, albeit regional, and both oil and wine could have been imported in these containers. The identification of undecorated plates and bowls as tableware and not utility ware is based on form, fabric and the fact that these small open forms (UC25a, UC26 and UC28) also occur in decorated wares at Panayia Ematousa, though not very regularly. Certainly black glazed pottery is not very common at Panayia Ematousa or in Cyprus in general at this period of time. Counting only rim fragments the undecorated tablewares together with the painted and glazed tablewares make up a large proportion of the total assemblages: 50% of Pit 2 and 60% of Pit 8.

During the later periods Panayia Ematousa was a settlement, but the pottery from Pits 2 and 8 has not been found in relation to walls. The large amount of tablewares could be argued to indicate

a funerary origin perhaps from cleaned out tombs. Most of the types of vessels identified also appear in contemporary tombs in the great necropoleis of Marion and Salamis. The contemporary tombs 20 and 66 at Marion dated to the later part of CAII and beginning of CCI contained undecorated plates, juglets, jugs, bowls, jars, transport amphorae, Phoenician lamps, bichrome and black on red jugs, black glazed cups, a Phoenician lamp, and a fragment of a figurine. Persian bowls appear to be absent from contemporary tombs at Mavrovouni, but several were found in contemporary tombs excavated at the Cellarka necropolis at Salamis (Karageorghis 1970). Only the pithoi, a form related to storage and possibly industry, found in Pits 2 and 8 at Panayia Ematousa do not appear in the tombs, indicating a domestic context for the pottery. It could be argued that transport amphorae so often found in tombs also reflect storage, but the absence of more traditional storage vessels such as pithoi indicates that the function of the amphorae in funerary contexts may have been perceived differently. Maybe the importance placed on transport amphorae stems from the fact that it is often an import, but it also could be a question of size. An amphora is much easier to handle than a pithos. The small Plain Ware juglet, so popular in Cypriot tombs from the Iron Age into the Roman period, seems to be a form related to burial rituals specifically.¹⁰ It does not appear at Panayia Ematousa. The presence of pithos fragments and the absence of the small Plain Ware juglets indicate that Pits 2 and 8 reflect a domestic situation. The amount of tableware is conspicuous, but not unprecedented at Panayia Ematousa, as we shall see in the second period of the site.

The Hellenistic to Early Roman period

All the Hellenistic-Early Roman deposits are related to complex architectural structures,¹¹ and none

⁹ Johnston 1981.

¹⁰ Gjerstad 1948, pl. LXVIII no. 9a-e.

¹¹ Sørensen, PE I, 67.

of them are well-defined regularly dugout pits. As in the case of the early pits the pottery was broken before it was deposited and the ratio of tablewares is high.

Pit-room 1A (94.3630.AW7) consists of tablewares and cooking wares primarily, but some amphora fragments have been identified as well. The low amount of utility ceramics is conspicuous (3% of rims) in comparison to the amount of tablewares (53%). The assemblage has yielded the single fragment of a thin-walled amphora/jug with slightly everted rim (UC13) and a large round-mouthed jug (UC21) Bases of several types were identified (UC115-118), some of which probably belong to decorated tablewares with slipped upper part only. At 36% cooking wares represent the second largest group of rims, but unfortunately most of them are very fragmented; The group consists of two types of casseroles (CW2 and CW3b), several types of cooking pots (CW11-14), and jugs (CW19 and CW21).

Not very many fragments of transport amphorae have been identified in this assemblage mainly Koan and Koan-imitation amphorae (A24a), and a handful of types represented by only a single fragment: a possible Rhodian amphora (A22a), a North African amphora (A27), and fragments of amphorae of unidentified provenance (A41, 53, 59 and 69). Among the amphora fragments the Koan and Sub-Koan, and to some degree the Rhodian amphorae dominate the second period at Panayia Ematousa. However, fragments of the earlier Cypriot transport amphorae (A1 and A1b) found in this context indicate that the assemblage is not as chronologically homogeneous as indicated by the tablewares.

The 53% table wares consists of Colour-coated wares mainly (FW4) and a few fragments of "West Slope" tradition (FW3), Mould made bowls (FW6) and Eastern sigillata (FW9). The majority of the Colour-coated fragments come from bowls, but fragments of different types of cups, plates and juglets also have been identified.¹² Based on the tablewares Pit-room 1A is dated to 120-80 BC,¹³ but at least one of a total of seven coins is dated as far back as the second half of the 4th century BC. Apart from the pottery vessels and other coins (C4,

C7, C12 and C15) a few fragments of lamps (L3 and L8), several fragments of stone basins and tools (S1, S3-4, S8, S11b, S12b, e and g, S13b), several fragments of metal tools and nails (M1, M5, M11, M13 and M19), one bead (M30) and lumps of mortar have been found, but no glass has come from this context.

Tablewares and cooking wares also dominate Pit-room 2 (98.3734.D2), though a little more undecorated utility ceramics have been found. Pit-room 2 has yielded jugs of form UC16a and UC20, a bowl of form UC30, large bowls of form UC51 and UC63-64 and a few pithos fragments (UC101 and UC111). 26% of the rims from this assemblage are cooking wares, among these is a single casserole (CW2b), cooking pots (CW11, CW13b, CW14) and cooking jugs (CW19a and CW21b). All of these forms were found in Pit-room 1A as well. The selection of amphorae is also very similar: Koan and Sub-Koan amphorae (A24a), Rhodian amphorae (A22a), amphorae of unidentified provenance (A52, A65-66 and A71), and also in this assemblage were found fragments of Cypriot amphorae with horizontal handle (A1). The table wares are dominated by Colour-coated wares (FW5), mainly plates, but also bowls, cups and jugs, and some Eastern sigillata (FW9).¹⁴ A few fragments of Hellenistic painted ware (FW5), Mould-made bowls (FW6) and Thorn ware (FW7) were identified. Pit-room 2 is dated to 75-25 BC by the tablewares, but some fragments of painted lagynoi date back to the period from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st century BC.¹⁵ Apart from the pottery vessels fragments of lamps (L3-5, L9), glass (G1a-b), metal nails (M5 and M11) and stone basins and tools (S4 and S13B) have been identified, but no coins.

Even though these contexts have been dated consecutively by the tablewares they clearly overlap in other wares less dictated by fashion e.g. cooking pots (CW2, CW11, CW13-14, CW19,

¹² Sørensen, PE I, 127.

¹³ Sørensen, PE I, 127-28.

¹⁴ Sørensen, PE I, 135.

¹⁵ Lund, PE I, 202-3, FW7, 104 and 106.

CW21), and transport amphorae (A1, A22, A24). Unfortunately very few utility ceramics have come from these assemblages. It is tempting to explain the high percentage of cooking wares in Pit-rooms 1A and 2 by the ease with which it is recognised among the archaeological material of this period compared to cooking wares of the earlier periods. During Late Hellenistic and Early Roman times cooking wares were made of highly specialised often quartz-rich fabrics. They are also mostly very thin-walled and brittle, which is reflected in the state of preservation. However in comparison a third deposit (Pit 1) dated 200 – 120 BC consisted of 77% tableware rims and only 7% cooking ware rims.¹⁶ The presence of early Cypriot amphorae in the Hellenistic contexts may chiefly reflect the durability of the handles of this type of vessel. On the other hand the only large fragments found in the entire excavation area, one of which is almost the entire upper half of a Cypriot amphora with horizontal handles, came from Pit-room 1A.

If the assemblages reflect the original repertoire it would appear that all the common types of plates and light utility bowls at Panayia Ematousa (UC7-8 and UC25-26 and 28) belong to the Late Archaic to Early Classical period. In the later periods undecorated plates appear to have been replaced by slipped plates and light utility bowls seem to be much less common in comparison to slipped bowls. This is further evidence to indicate that these classes of vessels are tablewares, undecorated during the first period of occupation and slipped or glossed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As mentioned above the most popular light utility bowls at Panayia Ematousa also appear in decorated material. Bowl-types UC29a-b may be a rare exception of unslipped tableware of the Roman period. The dominance of transport amphorae of Koan imitations is unexpected, but as explained in detail in the chapter on amphorae I propose a regional origin, thus promoting the Rhodian amphora to the most common extra-island imported transport amphora during this period, which reflects the situation at other Hellenistic sites in Cyprus.

The Late Roman period

Modern agriculture has seriously disrupted the Late Roman stratigraphy at Panayia Ematousa. This has caused problems concerning the identification of Late Roman utility ceramic, which is a type of pottery not well documented in Cyprus. Late Roman contexts in Cyprus are mostly identified in connection with churches and tombs, which produce very little utility ceramics, at least in publications. Some material has come from the House of Dionysos at Paphos, but unfortunately only a small selection of plain and coarse wares is presented in the publication.¹⁷ The French excavations of Late Roman Salamis and Amathus have published some Late Roman pottery.¹⁸ The material of the Late Roman village Kalavastos-Kopetra and the quantified material from Maroni-Petrera are exceptions.¹⁹ Apart from a few cooking pots all secure identifications of Late Roman utility ceramics at Panayia Ematousa are heavy utility forms, large storage containers (UC59, UC82, UC104a-b, UC107, UC109) and well-known transport amphora types (A6, A14-15, A43-44, A76 and A77.151). The degree of specialisation is very low and none of the vessels can be related to specific agricultural productions based on the morphology. I have argued elsewhere that the Late Roman transport amphorae found at Panayia Ematousa reflect consumption of most likely regionally imported wine or oil,²⁰ but a few imports from the eastern Mediterranean, Palestine and Egypt, have been identified. This is a situation very unlike the distribution of imported amphorae at sites such as Paphos and even Kalavastos-Kopetra and Maroni-Petrera, and it may reflect a local decline.²¹

¹⁶ Sørensen, PE I, 125.

¹⁷ Hayes 1991, 1.

¹⁸ Jehasse 1978; Hayes 1980; Touma 1989.

¹⁹ Rautman 2003; Tomber 2002.

²⁰ Jacobsen, PE I, 303.

²¹ Tomber 2002, 52-3, fig. 6.6; Rautman 2000, 323, fig. 3.

Undecorated pottery, what is it good for?

Archaeological publications no longer ignore the utility ceramics, but even though the role of pottery in archaeology as such has been under constant debate, few specialised studies are focused on this kind of material.²² As mentioned above the character of the contexts and preservation of the material from Panayia Ematousa invoke methodological constraints, but this should not prevent at least an attempt to explore some of the current archaeological trends.

In archaeology pottery is often used as material evidence for cultural transformation, e.g. the Romanization of the northern Roman provinces,²³ but the role of pottery as a cultural transmitter within the Hellenised Mediterranean world in the Historical period is highly debatable. In the case of Panayia Ematousa it is very difficult to define even local types of household pottery as so little comparative material has been published at all from Cyprus or from the region. Any Greek influence in particular for the utility ceramics is non-visible, however correspondence with material from the Levant confirms the close ties between Cyprus and the Near East in the first period, especially forms such as the small plates (UC7-8), the small bowls (UC25-26), and of course the Persian bowls (UC47). The suggested imitation of Cypriot amphorae with horizontal handles in the Levant and of Levantine bag-shaped amphorae in Cyprus in the form of torpedo jars support the close ties between Cyprus and the East.²⁴ But what does this signify in terms of cultural identity? Neighbouring Kition and for some time Idalion were under Phoenician rule and some Phoenician influence is therefore to be expected at Panayia Ematousa. However, there is nothing to suggest that the people living at Panayia Ematousa in the Late Archaic to Early Classical period were Phoenicians. The above mentioned types of pottery are forms popular all over Cyprus during the Archaic and Early Classical period. Issues of cultural identity could be reflected in easily imitated ceramic forms and decorative patterns in the Historical period, but the patterns seem to be

much more complicated. The people of the Mediterranean were keen on imitating each other's products. Of this the quick spread and long production life of Black and Red Figured pottery, of West Slope Wares and of Sigillata and Red Slip Wares may serve as a reminder.

Technology has been suggested as a much more logical way of determining cultural identity and influence.²⁵ A potter would have no problem producing new forms or new designs, but the techniques involved, e.g. the construction of the kiln, are less likely to change. The identification of new kiln structures of Mediterranean origin dated in the 2nd century AD is a strong indication of the process of Romanisation in Britain.²⁶ Under the broad umbrella of Agency Theory attempts have been made to reveal more underlying ways of doing things which may represent distinct socio-ethnic subgroups, though mainly in the pre-historic period.²⁷ Much of the pottery production in the historical period is highly standardised and few if any site-specific "ways of doing" can be gleaned from small fragments of undecorated pottery itself, without complete vessels or employing chemical or petrographical analyses for comparison. For this kind of study contexts such as kilns or rich tombs would be appropriate or even contexts such as the short-lived Nymphaeum at Kafizin in central Cyprus.²⁸ The material from Kafizin offers a unique opportunity to study the technique of the individual potters as it supplies a series of well-preserved pots of a short chronological period in several cases inscribed with the name of the potter. The study of the site published by T.T. Mitford focuses primarily on the inscriptions and less on the vessels themselves. Mitford published 309 inscribed vessels of which 75 mention the potter (*kerameus*), and 18 different names and several names of places are preserved.²⁹

²² Degeest 2001.

²³ Swan 1984, 19.

²⁴ Calvet 1986, 506-7; Buhl 1983, 23.

²⁵ Overview in Dobres 2000.

²⁶ Swan 1984, 87-9.

²⁷ Dobres & Robb 2000b.

²⁸ Mitford 1980a.

²⁹ Mitford 1980a, 259.

According to Mitford many of the ancient place names have changed little over time and he identified most of the places mentioned in the inscriptions.³⁰ In fact one inscription on a cidrobrocon refers to the territory of a village identified by Mitford as Kellia located only 6.5 km north of Kition,³¹ not far from Panayia Ematousa. It is possible that one of the unidentified place names refers to the settlement at Panayia Ematousa.

In 1992 Ian Hodder stated that the range of purposes for which an item may be employed is limited by the physical characteristics,³² and in Cyprus this is corroborated by ethnographic studies of traditional pottery.³³ The repertoire of the traditional Cypriot pottery of the Ottoman period, politically a period not unlike the Roman period, is very formalised and restricted. To a large extent the rural area was dominated by subsistence economies in the Ottoman period.³⁴ Most rural dwellings were very modest and the diet was basic and without great variation. Other than bread and soup few of the daily food staples required much heating as water, oil and wood were precious. The simple diet is reflected in the form repertoire, which consists mainly of a variety of jugs and storage containers of all sizes.³⁵ Especially interesting is a series of ceramic vessels produced for the food production: milking bowls, beehives, settling vats and collectors, refrigerating vessels for the still and dyers jars. The degree of standardisation and specialisation is dependent on several factors. Most important is the degree of precision with which the consumers specify the requirements of different products serving different functions.³⁶ Milk bowls of the Ottoman period are very complicated and easily recognisable vessels,³⁷ but no similar vessels have been identified from the ancient world, and this may imply that the need to control the process, “not to spill the milk”, is much higher in the later period. At Panayia Ematousa the general degree of morphological specialisation appears to be low. Highly specialised shapes like the Ottoman milk bowl are unattested and detectable surface alterations, which could provide additional indication of the function, are virtually unregistered. Though mostly preserved in the form of rims at Panayia Ematousa cooking wares appear to be the group of

undecorated pottery subject to the highest degree of standardisation. However, the variety in detail of profile is considerable confirming the general low degree of morphological precision. Evidence from Dhiorios, a cooking ware kiln-site of the Late Roman period, supports this only partly, and perhaps the variety at Panayia Ematousa reflects many different workshops or potters each working by their own standard.³⁸ This seems to suggest that cooking vessels were bought not from one local workshop or travelling salesman, but maybe at a marked supplied by several workshops or potters.

Theoretically the function of most pottery vessels is inherently logical and must reflect habits of preparing, storing and eating food. The undecorated tablewares of the Archaic to Classical period (UC25-28) are all small open vessels probably reflecting a habit of eating not unlike the modern Cypriot meze, where a meal consists of many small dishes. The diameter averages between 15 to 20 cm, and they are usually shallow making sharing easier. In fact large pottery dishes are rare during this period. The Persian bowl (UC47-51) is a large open form not easily sealed or transported, but the rim is reasonably easy to grip and lift. They are sometimes described as mortaria, but the vessels found at Panayia Ematousa bear no traces of grinding. They were most likely used for storage of something that only needed to be covered with a cloth or a stone slab. It is difficult to imagine any kind of produce crossing land and sea in Persian bowls, yet the form is well-known all over the eastern Mediterranean area. Persian bowls were no doubt produced in several places, but the production is highly standardised.³⁹ J.-F. Salles suggested that the size corresponds with the Persian issaron

³⁰ Mitford 1980a, 254-5.

³¹ Mitford 1980a, 163-4 no. 221.

³² Hodder 1992, 201-7.

³³ Ionas 2000.

³⁴ Ionas 2000, 18-9

³⁵ Ionas 2000, 30-7.

³⁶ Leeuw 1999, 131.

³⁷ Ionas 2000, fig. 2.81.

³⁸ Catling 1971.

³⁹ Salles 1991, 219.

and this would suggest that the Persian system of measurement was used widely in the eastern Mediterranean.

In terms of function the above-mentioned votive pottery from the Nymphaeum at Kafizin raises some interesting questions. Several of the inscriptions mention the name or purpose of the pot dedicated: *trublion*, a generic term for a cup or bowl, *σιτοφόρον*, a vessel for carrying grain, *παντάβροκτον*, a vessel for soaking, *χιδροβρόκον*, a vessel for soaking wheaten groats, *τριβιον*, a mortarium, *ἄθαρρόφον*, a porridge bowl, *οἰνοφόρον*, a wine carrier, *σπλαγγεντεριφόρον*, a tray for carrying entrails. Most of these terms are used only once and variations of names for vessels for carrying water: *υδρία/ιον/οφόρον* are the most common ones. The meat tray is clearly a cult vessel not to be expected in domestic contexts, but vessels for soaking dried foods are. Morphologically the soaking vessels are highly standardised non-specialised large bowls with overfolded rim of a diameter around 20–35 cm and horizontal handles.⁴⁰ Most of the large bowls from Panayia Ematousa conform to this basic ideal (UC53–70), though handles are only preserved in a few cases (UC60–61). Grinding food is another domestic activity, but none of the large bowls found at Panayia Ematousa have any traces of interior gritting as known from the House of Dionysos at Paphos and many other places.⁴¹ According to Hayes this type of vessel did not survive long into the Hellenistic period. Hayes suggested a change of material, and a few suitable fragments of stone mortars have been identified at Panayia Ematousa (S10). In his introduction to the vessels identified as mortars by inscriptions at Kafizin Mitford writes that they are made of gritty clay and “readily identified as mortars for the fraying or pulping of food”.⁴² The Kafizin mortars look very fragile compared to the shallow thick-walled mortars of the earlier periods, and when looking at the individual vessels only one is in fact described as gritty, the other two as somewhat gritty and fine.⁴³ This may indicate that vessels for grinding did not need to be any grittier than other coarse wares to function properly, and that less specialised wares were adequate for the purpose. However the suspicion that names of vessels were

not always used carefully by the potters at Kafizin is confirmed by the variety of the names for vessels for water. A similar case could be made for the beehives (UC112). The hives known from ancient Greece have interior combing, but the ones found at Panayia Ematousa appear not to have been incised. The purpose of combing or incisions is to make the honeycombs stick to the walls of the terracotta hives, but in terms of function this level of specialisation was unnecessary.⁴⁴ The fabric is coarse enough as it is without the combing, and it seems that the time and expense were spared in Cyprus.

Conclusions

Based on the undecorated household pottery several observations have been made in this chapter concerning the broad range of questions dealing with the ancient Mediterranean cultures. The questions are mainly concerned with the production, preparation, eating, storing and exchanging of food, but on a wider perspective they also reflect the economic and social organisation of Ancient society. The patterns studied suggest a relatively prosperous way of life where not only pottery and glass, but also food supplies, which could have been produced locally, were exchanged and where money was used in the transaction. The surplus exchanged may have been something which was not transported in an amphora, something like flax, which is known to have been produced in the region.⁴⁵ The pottery form repertoire is fairly standardised, but the degree of specialisation is low, which is further indication that the surplus production at the site was unrelated to the ceramic containers.

The city centres of Cyprus played a central role in the network of the eastern Mediterranean as

⁴⁰ Mitford 1980a, 154–67.

⁴¹ Hayes 1991, 73.

⁴² Mitford 1980a, 82.

⁴³ Mitford 1980a, 82, 84–5.

⁴⁴ Crane 1983, 47.

⁴⁵ Mitford 1980a, 257.

transshipment centres for the rich produce of the island, copper, timber, grain and wine, mentioned by several ancient authors and as ports of call between the east and west.⁴⁶ The finds from Panayia Ematousa suggest that also the rural sites were part of this highly complex network. This is supported by the finds from Kafizin and Kalavassos-Kopetra, and by the results of the archaeological surveys working in the copper-producing Troodos foothills.⁴⁷ The distribution of imported transport amphorae reveals that extra-island connections were not permanent. During the first period the amphorae all came from the eastern Mediterranean. During the second period the network expanded and a few amphorae arrived from the Western Mediterranean, but the network retracted in the Late Roman period where contacts once again seem to have been restricted to the eastern Mediterranean.

When dealing with household production, preparation and storing of food it is important not to forget that some containers would have been made of perishable materials like skin, plant fibre/straw, and wood. These types of containers must have played a significant role in the household industry and storage, especially in the semi-arid climate of Cyprus, where keeping goods dry would not constitute a major problem most of the year. Certain products such as wine and oil would not have stored well in non-ceramic containers over a longer period of time, but surely seeds, beans, lentils and other vegetables and nuts could have been kept in baskets or sacks. If they did pro-

duce flax at Panayia Ematousa maybe that explains the absence of specialised industrial ceramic vessels. The type of flax produced in the Mesaoria was grown for the seeds alone.⁴⁸

Metal containers were another possibility. An intact bronze lid was found at Panayia Ematousa (M17.24), but the rare occurrence of such finds indicates that metals, even copper of which Cyprus was the single largest producer in Ancient times,⁴⁹ was much too expensive to be used extensively. The rarity also could be explained by the intrinsic value of metal, which makes it likely that broken vessels were collected in order to be melted down in the future. Metal was probably used for vessels mainly for eating and it is possible that the large dishes so rare among the pottery of the early period at Panayia Ematousa and the jugs were made in bronze. We can only guess at the combinations of containers appropriate in an ancient rural household, but if we wish to study economic and socio-historical aspects we must not forget the existence of a whole range of containers and activities of which we have little or no physical evidence.

⁴⁶ E.g. Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.8.14 and Strabo 14.6.

⁴⁷ Rautman 2003; Given *et al.* 2002; Given & Knapp 2003.

⁴⁸ Mitford 1980a, 257.

⁴⁹ Constantinou 1982.

The monetary circulation in Kition during the Classical period and the circulation of the coins of Kition outside the kingdom*

Anne Destrooper-Georgiades

Background of the monetary history of ancient Kition

The importance of Kition (modern Larnaca) during the Classical period is amply demonstrated.¹ Epigraphic and numismatic evidence provides us with the names of the Kings of Kition from 479 to 312 BC,² when Ptolemy I executed the last king, Pumiathon.³ Coins are attributed to each of the known kings. The two most important mints in Cyprus during the Classical period are those of Salamis and of Kition. During the 5th century BC both of these mints struck only silver coins, but in the 4th century BC gold and bronze coins were introduced. The coins of Kition are widely distributed. They have been found not only in the city of Kition itself and its surroundings, but also in the other Cypriot kingdoms and abroad.⁴

Coins of Kition dated to the 5th century BC found in Larnaca and its surroundings (Fig. 1 and Table 1)

Several coins of the 5th century BC have been found in Larnaca. The oldest ones, which are attributed to Kition are large silver coins, sigloi, although we cannot be certain about their attribution because the coins are anepigraphic. They represent on the obverse a recumbent lion with his head turned backwards. The reverse is plain. These coins were found in 1933 together with other Cypriot coins in an important hoard discovered close to the municipal hospital within the walls of the Classical city of Kition.⁵ Of the more than 700

coins included in the hoard the current location of only 475 of them is known, and only eight of these belong to this type.⁶ As these eight coins represent only 1.68% of the located coins in the hoard there

* This text submitted in 1999 is an updated version (completed at the end of 2000) of a paper given during the second Kitian symposium held in Larnaca, 27th - 28th of April 1996, Η κυκλοφορία νομισμάτων στο Κίτιο στη κλασική εποχή και των νομισμάτων του Κιτίου έξω από το Βασίλειο του, in: *Proceedings of the 11th Kitian Symposium, Larnaca, 27-28/4/1996*, 1999, 67-87. I thank R.C. Anderson for improving the English version.

¹ Yon 1992a, 243-60; *Idem* 1992b, 331-7; *Idem* 1994; *Idem* 1996, 441-50; *Idem* 1997, 9-17; *Idem* 1999, 9-24.

² Inscriptions RÉS 453: Baalmelek I, Azbaal & Baalmelek II; CIS I, 10 and 11: Melkiathon & Pumiathon; for the coins, see most recently Santamas 1999, 89-94.

³ Diodorus of Sicily XIX. 79. 4; see Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 250 n. 3.

⁴ The results are based on published and unpublished material made available to me. The numbers referred to are only indicative. Many coins are not yet available for study. Coins are continuously found and in all cases, they form just a small proportion of the coins which effectively circulated in Antiquity. The political situation in Cyprus since 1974, and the inaccessibility of the northern part of the island since this date, make these results even more incomplete.

⁵ Dikaios 1935a, 165-79; Robinson 1935, 180-90; *Idem* 1937a, 249-51; Schlumberger 1953, 8 no. 7; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, 140-61.

⁶ Since my article in 1984, six more coins of the hoard have been traced. Two are in the A. Kyrou collection in Athens, Destrooper-Georgiades 1981 (1989), 199-208 no. 16 (Paphos) and no. 19 (Salamis), four in commerce, Spink auction 46, 1985, lots 129 and 131 (Lapethos), 137-138 (Paphos); Dikaios 1935a, pl. XV.7, should also be included in the total of the studied coins of the hoard because, although not fully described, it is illustrated well enough to allow identification.

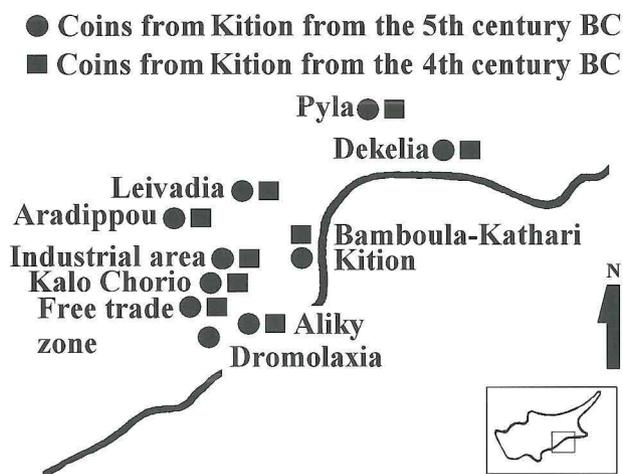


Fig. 1. Coins of Kition from the 5th and 4th centuries BC found in the area of Larnaca.

are reasons to doubt that this type was actually struck in Kition. The other coins in the hoard are all of Cypriot origin representing most, if not all of the other Cypriot mints.⁷

According to available information another hoard consisting of 17 sigloi of King Azbaal was found in Larnaca before 1973.⁸ Unfortunately, we know neither the context of the hoard nor the exact types of coins it contained because it was dispersed before the coins were carefully studied and recorded.

A number of large and small coins of Kings Baalmelek I, Azaal and Baalmelek II have been found scattered in the region around Larnaca within a radius of about 12 km. These finds are from Alyki and Dromolaxia to the south west, Aradippou to the west, Leivadia to the north and Pyla and Dekeleia to the east (see Table 1 and Fig. 1).⁹

5th century BC coins of Kition found in Cyprus (Fig. 2 and Table 2)

Coins of Kition of the 5th century BC have also been found together with other Cypriot coins in hoards in the rest of Cyprus (Fig. 2). Large and small coins of Baalmelek I, Azbaal and Baalmelek II, were included in two large hoards found in Idalion,¹⁰ in the precinct of Reshef Mikal, of Apollo Amyklos.¹¹ Of a total of at least 512 coins, 317 (60.73%) are from Kition, 120 (22.99%) from

Paphos, 28 (5.35%) from Salamis and another 28 coins (5.35%) from Idalion. The hoard also comprises eight coins (1.53%) from Amathus, seven (1.35%) from Lapithos and another seven (1.35%) from one or several mints, which are not yet identified. Yet another seven coins (1.35%) come from abroad, from Athens. At the time when the hoards were buried, a little after 400 BC, Idalion was part of the kingdom of Kition,¹² a fact which is corroborated by the large number of coins of Kition included in the hoard.

Five small coins of Baalmelek I were found in tomb 286 in the Eastern necropolis of Amathus together with six coins struck in Amathus. All five coins from Kition are 1/24th of a siglos and were buried in the second half of the 5th century BC.¹³

Large and small coins of Azbaal and Baalmelek II were included in a hoard found in the Palace of Vouni and dated to the beginning of the 4th century BC. The hilltop palace, which is located close to the ancient city of Soloi in north-western Cyprus, was destroyed by fire, probably in 380 BC.¹⁴ The coins of Kition number 51, present slightly over 20% (20.24%) of the hoard, which contained 252 coins. The hoard also contained one coin (0.40%) from Amathus, one (0.40%)

⁷ See below 67-68 and n. 28-29.

⁸ Coin Hoard (CH) II, 28.

⁹ 85 coins from Kition struck during the 5th century BC. (all but five from the second half of the 5th century BC) have been found isolated in a radius of 12 km around the Classical city, four south-west of the ancient city centre - three in Alyki and one in Dromolaxia -, 41 west of the centre, three of them in Aradippou itself, two north of the centre, in Leivadia, 29 north-east of it, in Pyla and in Dekeleia, and nine in unspecified spots of the region, all at present in private collections.

¹⁰ Lang 1871, 1-18; Hill 1904, *passim*; *Idem* 1914, 105-6; Price 1969, 1-2.

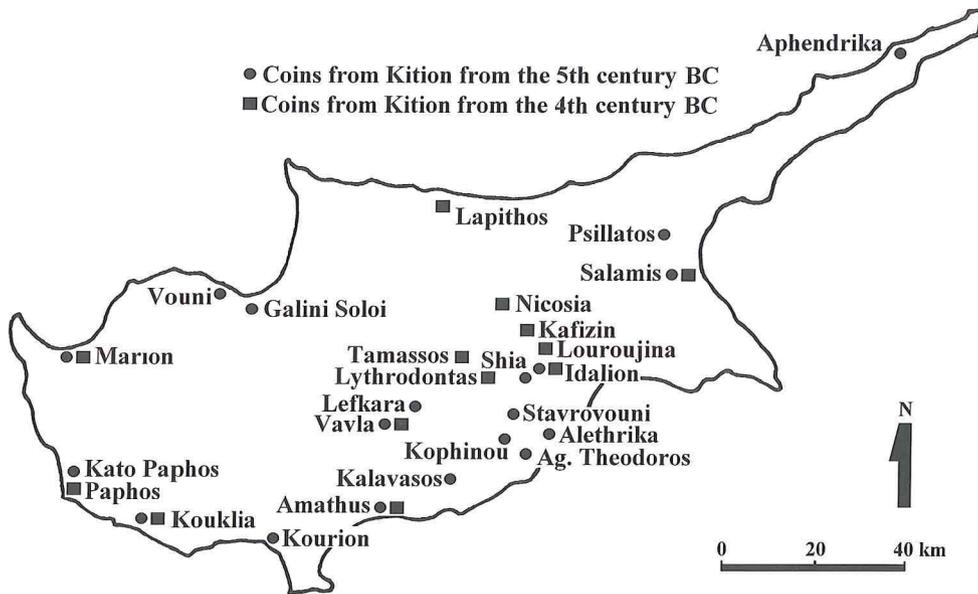
¹¹ For the identification of the temenos and the identity of Apollo Amyklos, see Gaber 1994, 161-4; *Idem* 1992, 176-8.

¹² Idalion was included in the kingdom of Kition in about 450 BC or a little later: Gaber 1995, 32-39, esp. 35; Hadjicosti 1997, 57 and 60 n. 13 is reluctant to date the event.

¹³ Amandry 1984, 57, 69 no. 125.E.4-8, attributed to Amathus; Picard 1991, 172, nos. 10-14.

¹⁴ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 111-292, esp. 238-249, 278, 285; Gjerstad 1948, 414, 494.

Fig. 2. Coins of Kition from the 5th and 4th centuries BC found in Cyprus outside the region of Larnaca.



from Idalion, 18 (7.14%) from Lapithos, 150 (59.52%) from Marion, and 20 (7.93%) from Paphos. Foreign currency is represented by four coins (1.59%) of the Persian kings, one (0.40%) of Aspendos in Pamphylia, and six coins (2.38%) are unidentifiable.¹⁵

Some small coins of Kition, dating to the 5th century BC have been found during excavations of the acropolis of Idalion and tombs in Salamis, Aphendrika and Amathus. Others have been found outside excavation contexts in the region of Idalion, Psillatos, Shia, Alethriko, Kophinou, Ayios Theodoros, Lefkara, Vavla, Kalavassos, Koukklia, Kato Paphos, Polis Chrysochous and Galani close to Soloi. A siglos of Baalmelek I was used as flan in the mint of Idalion.¹⁶

Value of the coins

All of these coins are of silver with the large ones called “sigloi”, as is written in syllabic characters on weights which have been found on the acropolis of Idalion and elsewhere in Cyprus.¹⁷ Their

¹⁵ Schwabacher 1947, 67–104.

¹⁶ Idalion acropolis (1 of Azbaal or Baalmelek II: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 533 no. 35 and 617; in tombs in Salamis (3 small denominations of Azaal and/or of Baalmelek I in T.113 no.70a and T.80 nos. 20–21; Helly 1970, 166 and 240 no.

11; *Idem* 1973, 125 and 205 nos. 6–7); in Aphendrika (one small denomination of Azbaal or of Baalmelek II in T.37, no. 24; Dray & Plat Taylor 1951, 67; Milne 1952, 121); in Amathus (6 small denominations of Azbaal and/or of Baalmelek II: T.159 no. 127, T.238 nos. 20.1 and 2, T.267 no. 62, T.423 no. 141, T.487 no. 170A; Picard 1991, 172 nos. 15–8; Destrooper–Georgiades 1985a, 270; Karageorghis 1987, 709, n. 74); scattered in the region of Idalion (four of Azbaal and/or of Baalmelek II: BM 1913–2–2–50, 51, 52, 53 and one overstruck coin of Baalmelek I: BMC Cyprus, p. 25 no. 6 and pl.V.5); in Psillatos (1 of Azbaal: CM 1956/V–30/1); Shia (1 of Azbaal: CM 1934/IV–19/8); Alethriko (1 of Baalmelek II – one siglos, private collection); Kophinou (2 of Azbaal and/or of Baalmelek II: ANS and private collection); Vavla (2 of the predecessor of Baalmelek I, 10 of Baalmelek I, 2 of Azbaal, 8 of Baalmelek II and 46 of Azbaal and/or of Baalmelek II: in trade and in private collections; in these numbers, I include the coins which were published as part of a hoard in CH VIII, 140 (= Classical Numismatic Auction Quarryville Pennsylvania and London, XX, 25.3.1992, 22–24, lots 217–64, as can be deduced from the photographs which are the same as those in CH [in the sale catalogue, p. 22, it is alleged that the coins formed a collection which was assembled over several years, and were in London in a vault] and Spink, sale, Numismatic Circular 99.10, 1991, lot 7858 [lots 7856 and 7857 have perhaps the same provenance]. The information that the coins formed part of a hoard found in Amathus in 1989 is very doubtful if not mere invention: see already my doubts expressed in Destrooper–Georgiades 2000b, 704 n. 4); Kalavassos (1 of Baalmelek II, private collection); Polis Chrysochous (1 plated siglos of Azbaal or Baalmelek II: Destrooper & Symeonides 1998, 111 no. 2); Galini–Soloi (1 of Azbaal or Baalmelek II: CM 1960/II–24/1).

¹⁷ Two weights in Idalion: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 552 no. 733

size and weight indicate that their value was quite high, but unfortunately, there is no direct textual information about the exact value of the coins in Cyprus during this period. Xenophon mentions in the *Anabasis of Cyrus* (1.3.21) that during the campaign of the 10,000 in 401 BC the monthly pay of a mercenary was one Persian gold coin, a daric, and during the campaign the salary was raised to one and a half darics. Each Persian gold coin was worth 20 Persian silver coins, sigloi, which weighed 5.5 grams. From this reference we may perhaps deduce that a daric was worth about 10 Cypriot silver sigloi, which weighing about 11 grams, are twice as heavy as the Persian sigloi. Thus a Cypriot siglos would have been worth nearly three, and later two days' pay of a mercenary. Apparently these large coins represent a substantial value and would not normally be used for small everyday expenses.

Circulation of the 4th century coins of Kition in Cyprus (Figs. 1-2 and Tables 3-4)

In the 4th century BC the circulation of the coins of Kition seems to change, one cause being that, gold and bronze coins were struck in addition to silver ones. These changes added coins of higher and lower values to the coins in circulation. Naturally, the very high value of gold coins ensured that they were carefully guarded and therefore seldom lost, and accordingly, they are rarely found. In contrast, the less valuable bronze coins were more frequently lost, probably because people were more careless with them, and consequently, many have been found. Only 10 gold coins of Kition, issued by King Pumiathon have been found in Cyprus. Four are from Larnaca, and single specimens have appeared in Kalochorio, Dali, Ayios Ermoyenis at Kourion, Episkopi, Paphos, and Polis¹⁸ (Figs. 1, 2 and Tables 3, 4).

Perhaps surprisingly only eight 4th century silver coins of Kition have been found on the island, and they were all issued by King Melkiathon. It appears that silver coins were rarely struck in Kition during the 4th century BC. Of the eight,

five were found west of Larnaca, one north of Leivadia and two east of Leivadia, in the region of Pyla towards Dekeleia.¹⁹

Bronze coins have been found in large numbers, of 192 or more, and most of them were struck under King Pumiathon. Inside the walls of the ancient city of Kition at least 33 were found at Bamboula and Kathari, and 110 were found in areas close to the ancient city. (Fig. 1 and Table 3). In other regions within the kingdom of King Pumiathon 26 coins are known from Dali, three from Tamassos, and one from Louroujina. The coins also circulated in regions a little further away from Kition, in Kaphizin, Lythrodontas, Nicosia, Salamis, Stavrovouni, where single coins have been found. Even further away, two coins have been found at Ayios Theodoros-Kophinou, six at Vavla, one at Amathus, Kourion and perhaps Kouklia, while two have appeared in the Paphos region (Fig. 2 and Table 4).²⁰ As far as I know, only one single bronze coin of King Melkiathon, the predecessor of Pumiathon, has been found in Cyprus,²¹ but this is

and 859 no. 42; IV.2, 138, 155, 178; a weight of unknown Cypriot provenance: Seyrig 1932, 189-90; Masson 1983, 249 no. 224, 351 no. 368; Picard 1994, 11.

¹⁸ Gold coins of Pumiathon in Larnaca (4): CM 1914, file 133, 42-4, Access. Reg.134; CM 1955/V-5/1; Voguë 1867, 373; Yon 1992a, 259, pl. XXXV.3 (in Kathari); in Kalochorio (1): private collection; in Dali, on the West acropolis (1): CM 1949/XII-22/1 = ARDAC 1949, 15 no.10; close to Kourion, in Agios Ermogenis (1) and in Episkopi (1): private collection and CM 1933/II-18/2; in Paphos (1): Jameson 1913, 391 no. 1624; in Polis (1): private collection.

¹⁹ All the silver coins of Melkiathon are in private collections and none have been found in any specific context.

²⁰ Bronze coins of Pumiathon: in the ancient city, about 33 at Bamboula and Kathari: Callot 1992, 297-300; *Idem* 1993, 47-9; *Idem* 1996; in the areas around the ancient city, South-West of Larnaca, in Alyki (3 in private collections); West of Larnaca just off the city (12 in private collections); in Kalochorio (12 in private collections); in Aradippou (4 from the excavations of the University of Copenhagen under the direction of L. Wriedt Sørensen: AR94.219, 94.276, 95.373 and 96.520, one in a private collection); East of Larnaca, just off the city (5 in private collection); in the region of Pyla and Dekeleia (67 in private collections); in unspecified areas of Larnaca (6 in private collections); in regions in the kingdom of Pumiathon, in Dali (Idalion) (c. 26): Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 532 no. 5 and 534 no. 82, cf. Destrooper-Georgiades 1985b,

not surprising as only a few bronzes struck during his reign are known (Fig. 1 and Table 3).

None of the 4th century coins issued in Kition has been found in hoards. But according to the evidence from the few hoards actually known from the 4th century they differ from the 5th century hoards, as they tend to contain similar coins compared with the many different types of coins of various Cypriot mints found in the earlier hoards.

Interpretation of the coin finds in Cyprus

Coins issued in Kition during the 5th and 4th centuries BC have been found together with other coins in various locations in Cyprus, but the specific function i.e. religious, public or private of these locations is not always known. For example, we have no idea of the function of the site near the hospital in Larnaca where a large hoard was found in 1933. Furthermore, many coins have unknown provenance, for instance the hoard with 17 coins of Azbaal found somewhere in Larnaca and many bronze coins of Pumiathon, which were found scattered in the eastern and southern parts of Cyprus. Other coins have been found in hoards or singly in urban contexts - in public buildings, in commercial and industrial, religious or perhaps military areas, for instance at Bamboula in Larnaca, in Tamassos, on the acropolis of Idalion, and in the Palace of Vouni.²² Still others were used as grave goods as known for instance from Salamis, Aphendrika and Amathus.

The coins amply demonstrate that the city of Kition and its inhabitants interacted with other regions in Cyprus. They reflect the political, military, religious, commercial and very likely also private relations that the city of Kition and its inhabitants had with the rest of Cyprus.

Coins of Kition found outside Cyprus and their significance (Fig. 3 and Tables 5-6)

Coins of Kition have also been found outside Cyprus, although in small numbers. They have

appeared both in hoards and as single finds in the coastal area of the neighbouring countries of southern Asia Minor and the Levant (Fig. 3). Both large and small coins are represented, and almost all of them date to the second half of the 5th century BC. In the hoards they were buried together with many local and some "international" coins of the time, such as coins struck on Aegina and in Athens.²³

101 and n. 30, 100 and n. 24; Nicolaou 1989, 447-455 nos. 5-6, 13-15, 20(?), 25, 30, 32(?), 38, 62, 65; CM 1942/III-19/2; CM 1953/II-9/2; and probably BMC Cyprus, 60-1 no. 69, 71; in the excavations of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus under the direction of M. Hadjicosti (Dali 1992/92, 94, 105; ID.A.98, inv.608), in the excavation of the University of Arizona (U.S.A), under the direction of P. Gaber (O.R. 68, 417, 489, 519, 690 and 852; in Tamassos (3): CM 1948/IX-28/1 and in the excavations of H.-G. Buchholz, TA.376/1973 and TA.1281/1978; in the region of Louroujina (1): CM 1947/III-24/1; in Kafizin (1): CM 1962/II-23/1; in Lytrodostas (1): private collection; in Nicosia (1): private collection; in Salamis (1): private collection; near Stavrovouni (1): private collection; in Ag. Theodoros-Kophinou (2): private collection; in Vavla (6+): private collections; in Amathus (1): private collection; in Kourion (1): Cox 1959, 15 no.21; in Kouklia (1?): private collection; in the Paphos area (2): private collection.

²¹ One bronze of Melkiathon, now in a private collection, was reported to have been found west of Larnaca.

²² The hiding of the hoard in the Palace of Vouni is probably related to the agitated political situation on the island at the beginning of the 4th century BC, as mentioned by Diodorus of Sicily XIV 98.1-5, 110.5.

²³ Coins of Kition have been found in hoards near the coast of Southern Asia Minor, from West to East in Side, IGCH 1254: 1 siglos of Azbaal, constituting 5.88% of the hoard, together with coins from the region of Side (82.35%), from Athens (5.88%) and from Corinth (5.88%), buried c. 400 BC; in an unknown context in South Western Asia Minor, IGCH 1252: 3 coins from Kition (IGCH mentions erroneously 4), 2 sigloi of Baalmelek I and 1 1/3th of siglos of Azbaal or Baalmelek II, forming 9.09% of the hoard, together with other Cypriot coins of Salamis (2), of Amathus (3?), of Idalion (1?), of Paphos (1), of an unidentified Cypriot mint (1), coins of Western Asia Minor (9), of Phoenicia (3), of Athens (2+), of Cyrenaica (2) and of the kings of Persia (4), buried c. 430/20 BC; in Kelenderis, hoards IGCH 1255: 12 sigloi of Azbaal (0.87%) and several other coins from Cyprus, of Lapithos (3), of Paphos (1), of Salamis (1), together with many coins of regional mints (84%), of Athens (14.54%), buried c. 410/00 BC, and CH VIII.100(=173) = Des-trooper-Georgiades 1988, 19-39: two small denominations, 1 1/6th and 1 1/12th of Azbaal and/or of Baalmelek II (3.85% of the hoard) together with other small denominations, 1 of

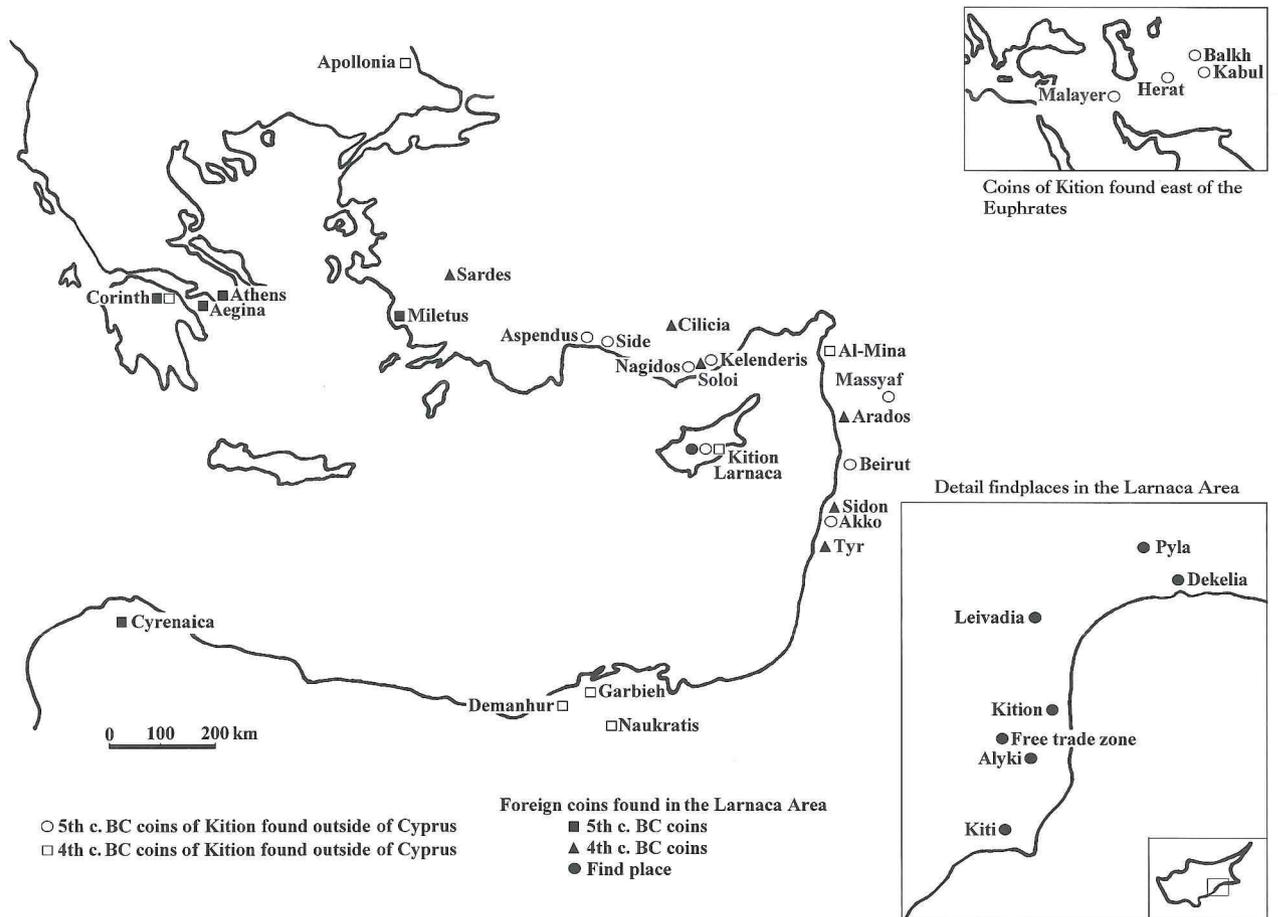


Fig. 3. Mint place of foreign coins from the 5th and the 4th centuries found in area of Larnaca and coins of Kition from the 5th and 4th centuries BC found outside of Cyprus.

Several other coins of the 5th century BC, usually large denominations, have been found in hoards farther inland in Syria and Jordan, and some even reached western Iran and the Indus river.²⁴

Lapithos, 2 of Salamis and 88.5% regional ones, buried in c. 370 BC; in Nagidos, CH VIII.91 = Levante 1994, 7-11 and Casabonne, 2000, 29-30: 8 sigloi of Baalmelek II (1.84% of the hoard) together with 2 sigloi of Evagoras I of Salamis, one of Timocharis of Paphos, forming together 2.53% Cypriot coins in the hoard, about 30% of the coins being of Nagidos which are part of the 54.71% Cilician coins, 13.56% from Pamphylia and 29.20% of Athenian owls, buried c. 380 BC; in several unknown places in Cilicia as hoards CH VIII.165: 2 sigloi of Baalmelek II and 1 similar coin with unclear inscription, of the same ruler or of his successors Baalram or Melekiathon (7.32% of the hoard), together with 1 siglos of Evagoras I, forming together 2.44% of the hoard, with 37 = 90.24% local sigloi, 35 = 85.36% being struck for Tiribazus (the hoard seems to date to about 380 BC: Casabonne 2000, 31 [number of coins inaccurate], rather than to 330 as pro-

posed in CH) and IGCH 1263: 13 small coins (7 1/12th, 5 1/24th, 1 1/48th of Azbaal, Baalmelek II and or of Baalram (9.49% of the hoard), together with other small Cypriot coins, 10 of Salamis and 1 of Amathus (8.03%) and local coins (82.48%) [in a late 6th century hoard known on the market, which might have been found in Asia Minor or in the Levant, two Cypriot sigloi have tentatively been attributed to Kition though I do not exclude their attribution to Amathus: Kagan 1994, 27/8, nos 40-41]; on the Near Eastern coast, close to Beirut, IGCH 1500: 1 1/12th of Azbaal or of Baalmelek II (3%) together with 79% local coins, 15% from Asia Minor and 3% from Greece, buried c. 360 (?) BC; isolated coins of Kition on the coast of the Near East, South of Akko, according to Y. Meshorer: 4 small denominations, 2 1/6th and 2 1/48th of the second half of the 5th century BC; finally one siglos of Azbaal or Baalmelek II has been overstruck in the mint of Aspendos, at the end of the 5th or the first quarter of the 4th century BC: SNG Sweden, I.2, Collection E. von Post, no. 342.

²⁴ In Jordan, in the region of the Hauran (?), IGCH 1482: 5 sigloi of Baalmelek I (4.42% of the hoard), 4 fragmented, together with coins of Idalion (4), of Lapithos (2), of Paphos

Coins of the 4th century BC have also been found abroad. Gold coins were buried in hoards in Egypt, a few silver coins may have been found in a hoard, which was probably buried in Cilicia, and bronze coins have been found in archaeological excavations. Four coins reached Al Mina, another four Naukratis, and single coins have appeared respectively in Corinth and Apollonia Pontica in Bulgaria.²⁵

The Cypriot coins found in foreign coastal areas prove the normal and expected relations between neighbouring countries. The coins of the 5th century BC that travelled farther to the East are frequently fragmentary and have deep cuttings like the other coins found in these hoards. It is thought that these coins were probably valued by the weight of the metal.²⁶ The two bronze coins reaching Corinth and Apollonia Pontica in the West, probably did so fortuitously, and very likely remained there because they were useless, or perhaps because they were regarded as curiosities.

It should be noted that the coins of Kition found abroad are probably not expressions of any particular relations between Kition and each of these regions, because coins of the other Cypriot mints reached the same places.²⁷ Furthermore, the small number of coins of Kition found abroad do not allow us to draw any firm conclusions about the nature of relations that may have existed between Kition and other countries.

Other Cypriot coins found in the region of ancient Kition (Figs. 4-5 and Tables 7-8)

Coins of other Cypriot kingdoms as well as other contemporary foreign coins also circulated in ancient Kition (see Figs. 3-5). Most of the hoarded Cypriot coins of the 5th century BC were found in the single hoard buried in the first quarter of the

in Syria, in the region of Massyaf (?), IGCH 1483: 2 fragmented sigloi of Azbaal (2.5% of the hoard) together with 2 coins of Salamis, many of Athens (42%), of Aegina (13%), of various other mints (17%) and 23% from neighbouring Phoenician mints, buried between 425 and 400 BC; in West Iran, in Malayer (?), IGCH 1790: one siglos of Azbaal and one of Baalmelek I or II, forming only 0.51% of the hoard, and one of Salamis, large silver coins from Athens (42%), from Aegina (12%), from Phoenicia (32%) and from different mints in the Greek world, from Sicily to Cyrenaica (13%), buried c. 375 BC; in modern Afghanistan, in Balkh, IGCH 1820: one siglos of Azbaal together with one of Paphos, of Salamis and one of a not yet identified Cypriot mint, forming each 0.58% of the hoard, many from Athens (89%) and some from several other Greek mints (8.66%), buried c. 380 BC; in Kabul, IGCH 1830: two sigloi of Azbaal, forming 2.78% of the "Greek" coins of the hoard (only 1.74% if the 43 local coins are included in the hoard) together with three of Paphos and one of Salamis, many from Athens (46% of the Greek part of the hoard) and from the whole Greek world (45.66%), the Greek lot of the hoard suggesting a burial c. 380 BC, the local coins a burial c. 330 BC; in Herat (?), CH II.37, buried c. 380(?) BC: one Kitian siglos of the second half of the 5th century together with one of Paphos and one of Aspendos in Pamphylia (each forming 33.33% of a little known "hoard").

²⁵ In Egypt four gold coins of Melkiathon and/or of Pumiathon were found, three in the hoard of Demanhur, IGCH 1654, and one in the hoard of Garbieh in the Delta, IGCH 1656, forming a very small part of these hoards which included an important but not exactly known number of "international" gold coins but no other Cypriot coins; two silver coins of Baalram and Melkiathon were probably found in a hoard in Cilicia, IGCH 1259: 1 siglos of Baalram and 1 1/3th of Melkiathon together with 2 sigloi of Salamis (each mint c.2% of the coins in the hoard), and other coins, mostly large denominations: 32% of Athenian coins, about 30% regional coins, 6% from Phoenicia, 18% from various mints from the Greek area and 10% eastern imitations of Athenian coins, buried c. 380 BC (the exact findspot of the hoard and its content are unknown); bronze coins have been found in the excavations at Al-Mina, one rare bronze coin of Melkiathon and three of Pumiathon: Robinson 1937b, 192-3; at Naukratis, four of Pumiathon: Head 1886, 12; at Corinth, on the agora, one bronze coin of Pumiathon: Price 1967, 355, 385 no. 13; at Apollonia Pontica, in a tomb, one bronze coin, also of Pumiathon: Gerassimov, Venedikov *et al.* 1963, 340 no.1259; Destrooper-Georgiades 1985c, 3-4 (this coin had been attributed to Evagoras II).

²⁶ The hoards IGCH 1482, 1483, 1790 and 1830. It is characteristic that the two hoards from the East, CH II.37 and IGCH 1820, which include whole coins, were not found in excavations but were presented in commerce. We do not know if the entire hoards were presented or only a selection of the more marketable pieces.

²⁷ See ns. 23-5 above.

(4), of Salamis (5), of a not yet identified Cypriot mint (1), together 22% Cypriot coins, many coins from Athens (34%) and the rest, 44%, from the Greek world, buried c. 445 BC;

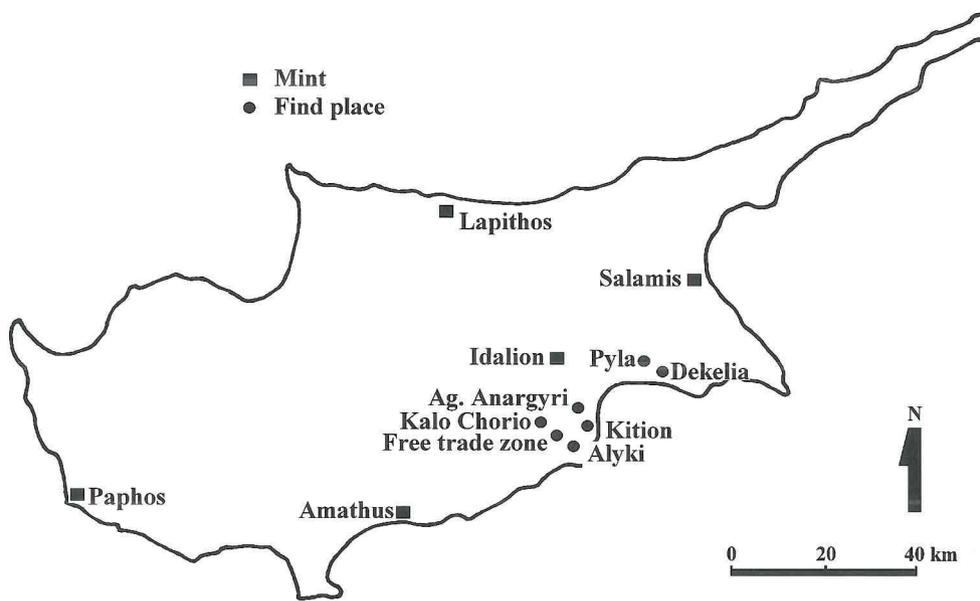


Fig. 4. Coins of Cyprus from the end of the 6th and 5th century BC found in the area of Larnaca.

5th century BC or a little later next to the hospital mentioned above.²⁸ Nearly 234 coins (50%) are from Paphos, 122 (25.68%) from Lapithos, 50 (10.53%) from Salamis, 33 (nearly 7%) from Idalion, and 28 (6%) are from Cypriot mints, which have not yet been identified.²⁹ Other coins were found scattered in the area of Kition: 11 from Amathus, six from Lapithos, three from Paphos, nine from one or more unidentified Cypriot mints, but in particular 36 from the neighbouring Salamis.³⁰ To these must be added two coins from nearby Amathus, dated 450/30 BC, which were overstruck in Kition during the reign of King Azbaal.³¹ (Table 7).

Most of the 4th century coins found in Larnaca and its region were struck in Kition, and only 22 coins minted elsewhere in Cyprus are so far known. 15 are from Salamis and three from Amathus, while single coins come from Lapithos, Marion, Paphos and Kourion. Many of them were found to the east of Larnaca in the direction of Salamis. The 4th century coins of Salamis comprise one small gold coin, a tenth of a stater of Nikokles (371–361 BC) and 14 silver and bronze coins of Evagoras I and II, Nikokreon and issues of the city of Salamis, while only seven coins derive from five other Cypriot mints.³² (Table 8).

Difference in the coin circulation in Kition during the 5th and the 4th century BC

Based upon the evidence from hoards and scattered finds it appears that 5th century coins reaching the area of Kition came from various mints. 85 isolated coins were issued in Kition, 36 in Salamis and 31 in five other Cypriot mints. More coins of the 4th century BC have been found separately in the region. Only 22 of the altogether 179 coins

²⁸ See above 61 and n. 5–6; I refer here only to the 475 coins studied of the 700 that have been roughly listed.

²⁹ A study of these coins is currently in progress by the author.

³⁰ All the coins are in private collections except one from Lapithos which formed the bezel of a ring (CM, CS 1794/27; Destrooper–Georgiades 1998a, 217) and one from an unidentified Cypriot mint found at Alyki (Museum Larnaca 1568a; Destrooper–Georgiades 1995, 629–638).

³¹ Destrooper–Georgiades 1996, 108 n. 30, pl. 3.26–27; for the chronology of the coins of Amathus: Amandry 1984, no. 126.A2.4.

³² Coin of Nikokles of Salamis: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, J.G. Milne, 1924, Lawson, Larnaca 11/1922; didrachm of Nikokreon in private collection; bronze of the city of Salamis found near Dekeleia: CM 1976/VI-29/9; the other coins, from Salamis (12), Amathus (3), Lapithos (1), Marion (1) Paphos (1) and Kourion (1) are in private collections.

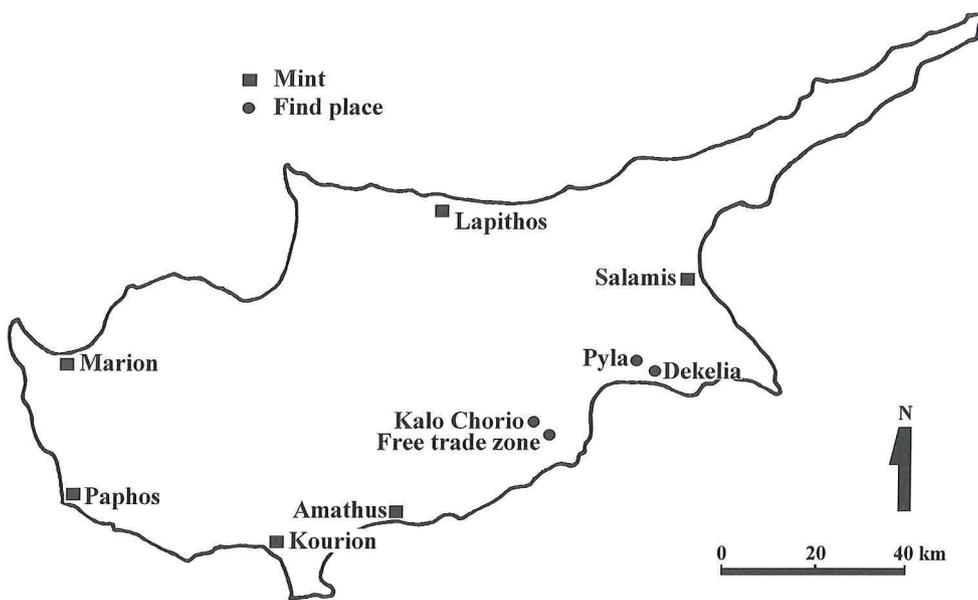


Fig. 5. Coins from Cyprus other than from Kition from the 4th century BC found in the area of Larnaca.

from this period were struck in mints outside Kition. The 15 coins of Salamis represent the largest group. They were in particular found in the eastern part of the region and similarly, the coins of Amathus dated to the 5th century BC, have mostly been found in the western part of the region, closer to Amathus. In the 4th century BC, coins from Cypriot mints more distant from Kition seem rare in the region of Larnaca.

It is worthy of note that coins found individually are of small value. These coins probably most accurately reflect the daily use of coins in the region.

Non-Cypriot coins found in Kition (Fig. 3 and Table 9)

According to the present evidence only 37 coins reached Kition from abroad (Table 9). Two coins from Athens and 12 from Aigina, which reached the city centre of Kition, were all overstruck by Azbaal and Baalmelek II. Scattered in the region of Larnaca were at least another three coins from Athens, a small coin from Corinth, one from Miletus and one from Cyrenaica. All of these coins date to the 5th century BC. Furthermore, six gold Darics of the kings of Persia, probably from the beginning of the 4th century BC, were reportedly found in the sea near the village of Kiti. Ten small

silver denominations and one bronze from neighbouring Cilicia and Phoenicia, also dated to the 4th century BC, were found in the region of Larnaca.³³

The number of foreign non-Cypriote coins is very small, and based upon this material alone, it is indeed difficult to interpret their significance in Kition. We may note, however, that the coins

³³ Overstruck coins of Athens and of Aegina in Kition: Destrooper-Georgiades 1996, and one more of Azbaal of Kition overstruck on a coin from Aegina: Malter sale 55, nov. 1993, no. 224; 3 small coins of Athens east of Larnaca: private collections; one coin of Cyrenaica in Alyki, Mus. Larnaca 1568c: Destrooper-Georgiades 1995; 6 dareikoi said to be found near Kiti: CH VI.13; the other coins are all in private collections: a small one of Miletus from the beginning of the 5th century representing a forepart of a lion and a floral pattern, one of Corinth representing a Pegasus and a quadripartite incuse square, dated to the beginning of the 5th century BC, 4 of Soloi in Cilicia representing Athena's head and a bunch of grapes and one unattributed coin of Cilicia representing a female head frontal and the head of Bes frontal: collection A.G. Pitsillides (for the identification and the chronology about 350 BC: Mildenberg 1995, 63-5; SNG Switzerland, Cilicia, no. 233; SNG France, Cilicie, no. 486; until recently they were attributed to Palestine); 6 coins from Phoenicia, 3 from Arados (with the head of a marine deity and a galley), one from Sidon (with galley and the king of Persia fighting a standing lion), one from Tyre (with Pegasus and owl) and one unattributed one, all from the 4th century BC.

from Cilicia and Phoenicia may be seen as the most general expression of at least some communication with neighbouring regions, while other coins bear witness to the “international” monetary traffic of the time: they circulated and were accepted everywhere abroad.

Dramatic changes in the coin circulation since the time of Alexander

With the submission of the Cypriot kings to Alexander in 332 BC the monetary history changed in Cyprus. Alexander, by standardizing coin types and weights, established an international currency that would be current throughout his whole realm. In consequence, his coins though still struck in the old mints of the Cypriot city-kingdoms circulated freely and are found across the

greater Hellenistic world. For instance, gold and silver coins bearing a Kition mintmark have been found from Rumania to Iran,³⁴ and it seems clear that Kition maintained its status as one of the most important Cypriot mints during this period.

³⁴ Coins of Alexander struck in Kition and found in Rumania: Destrooper-Georgiades 2000a, 13-5; in Greece and Macedonia: IGCH 81, 83, 93, 143, 144, 148, 187 and CH VIII.193, 261; North of Greece: IGCH 432, 444, 445; in former Yugoslavia: IGCH 448; in Asia Minor: IGCH 1293, 1369, 1399, 1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1442 and CH VIII. 187, 189 (the Cypriot Alexanders are not mentioned in the final publication of Hersh & Troxell, 1995), 201; in the Near East: IGCH 1510, 1511, 1512, 1516, 1520, CH V.26, VIII.185; in Egypt: IGCH 1664, 1665, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1678 and CH II.55; in western Iran, in Pasargades: IGCH 1794.

Abbreviations used in the tables

Mints

Idal.	Idalion
Kour.	Kourion
Undet.	Undetermined Cypriot mint
Cyren.	Cyrenaïca
Phoen.	Phoenicia
A	Arados
S	Sidon
So	Soloi (Cilicia)
T	Tyre

Periods of the coins of Kition

b.BI	before Baalmelek I, before 479
B.I	Baalmelek I, c. 479–c.450
Azb.	Azbaal, c. 450–c. 425/20
B.II	Baalmelek II, c. 425/20–400
Azb./B.II	Azbaal or Baalmelek II, c. 450–400
Br.	Baalram, c. 400–392
Melk	Melkiathon, c. 392–362
Pum	Pumiathon, 362–312

Periods of the coins of the Cypriot mints

520 :	520–450 BC
450 :	450–400 BC
400 :	400–350 BC
350 :	350–312 BC

5 th	5 th century BC
4 th	4 th century BC

All coins are silver except when indicated by:

AV	gold coin
AR	silver coin
AE, E	bronze coin

Regions of Larnaca

South-West:	Alyki, Dromolaxia, Kiti
West:	Tremithous, Kalo Chorio, Aradippou, Industrial area (Ind.ar.), Free Trade Zone (FTZ), <i>Kamares</i>
North:	Ag. Anargyri, Leivadia, Kellia
East:	Industrial area, Pyla, Dekelia
L/ca area:	Larnaca area, unspecified

Archaeological context of the coins

t:	tomb
i:	isolated
o:	overstruck
c:	ancient context

Coin collections and excavation collections

ANS	American Numismatic Society Collection
CM	Cyprus Museum Collection
Cop	Copenhagen Royal Coin Collection
Cox	Coins found in the American excava- tions at Kourion until 1953
Den	Danish excavations at Panayia Ematousa
James	Jameson Collection
K	Kathari
KEF	French excavation at Kition-Bamboula
Ox:	Ashmolean Museum Collection, Oxford
SCE	Swedish Cyprus Excavation at Kition- Bamboula
Sym	Symeonides Collection
TA	German excavations at Tamassos
Vog	Voguë Collection
*	private collection(s)

Identifications of coins of Salamis:

EVI:	coin of Evagoras I
EVII:	coin of Evagoras II
NI:	coin of Nikokles
Nr:	coin of Nikokreon
Ep:	bronze coin with prow
Et:	bronze coin with bull's forepart

Table 1. Coins of Kition from the 5th century BC found in the region of Larnaca within a radius of 12 km.

period		b.BI	B.I	Azb.	B.II	Azb./B.II	TTL.Vth/region
region of Larnaca							
ancient city centre							
	IGCH 1272, H	8?	--	--	--	--	8?
South-W.	Alyki	--	1	--	1	1	4
	Dromolaxia	--	--	--	--	1	
West	Kalo Chorio	--	--	--	--	--	41
	Aradippou	--	1	--	2	--	
	FTZ+Ind.area	--	1	3	6	26	
	<i>Kamares</i>	--	--	--	--	1	
	Unspecified	--	--	--	1	--	
North	Leivadia	--	--	--	--	2	2
East	Ind.area	--	--	--	--	--	
	Pyla-Dekelia	--	1	1	7	20	29
L/ca area	unspecified	--	1	1	--	7	26
	CH II.28, H	--	--	17	--	--	
TOTAL		8?	5	22	17	58	102/110? (85 isolated)

All coins have been found isolated except some found in two hoards, indicated by the letter H

Table 2. Coins of Kition from the 5th century BC found in Cyprus outside the region of Larnaca.

period	b.BI	B.I	Azb.	B.II	Azb./B.II	5 th	Br.	4 th
*HOARDS								
Idalion IGCH 1275	1?	5	17	17	-	40/	1	1
Idalion IGCH 1276	-	-	3	1	272/274	276/8	-	-
Amathus T.286	-	5	-	-	--	5	-	-
Vouni IGCH 1278	-	-	9	42	--	51	-	-
total	1?	10	29	60	272/4	372/4	1	1
period	b.BI	B.I	Azb.	B.II	Azb./B.II	5 th		
*ISOLATED								
Salamis	t	-	-	-	3t	3		
Aphendrika	t	-	-	-	1t	1		
Psillatos	i	-	1CM	-	-	1		
Nicosia	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Kafizin	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Idalion	c o	1o	-	-	5c	6		
Tamassos	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Lythrodontas	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Louroujina	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Shia	i	-	1CM	-	-	1		
Stavrovouni	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Alethriko	i	-	1*	-	-	1		
Kophinou	i	-	-	-	2ANS,*	2		
Ag.Theodoros	i	-	-	-	1*	1		
Lefkara	i	-	-	-	1*	1		
Vavla	i	2	10	2	8	46*	68	
Kalavassos	i	-	-	1*	-	1		
Amathus	t	-	-	-	6t	6		
Kourion	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Kouklia	i	-	-	-	3*	3		
Kato Paphos	i	-	-	1*	2*	3		
Paphos region	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Polis	i	-	1Sym	1*	3*	5		
Galini Soli	i	-	-	-	1CM	1		
total	2	11	6	11	74	104		
GRAND TOTAL	3?	21	35	71	346/8	476/8		

Table 3. Coins of Kition from the 4th century BC found in the region of Larnaca within a radius of 12 km.

period		Melk TTL/ region	AV	AR	AE	Pum TTL/ region	AV	AE	TTL.4 th / region	
region of Larnaca	context									
ancient city centre										
Bamboula and Kathari	c	-	-	-	-	36+	3CM K	33SCE KEF,K	36+	
South-W	Alyki	i	-	-	-	3	-	3*	3	
	Dromolaxia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
West	Kalo Chorio	i	-	-	-	13	1*	12*	36	
	Aradippou	i,c	-	-	-	5	-	4Den 1*		
	FTZ+Ind.ar.	i	6	-	5*	1?*	10	-	10*	
	Kamares	i	-	-	-	2	-	2*		
North	Leivadia	i	1	-	1*	--	-	-	1	
East	Indust.area	i	-	-	-	5	-	5*	74	
	Pyla-Dekelia		2	-	2*	67	-	67*		
L/ca area	unspecified	i	-	-	-	7	1Vog	6*	7	
TOTAL			9	-	8	1	148	5	143	157

Table 4. Coins of Kition from the 4th century BC found in Cyprus outside the region of Larnaca.

period		Br. TTL	Melk TTL	AV	AR	AE	Pum TTL	AV	AR	AE	4 th TTL
ISOLATED context											
Salamis	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Aphendrika		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psillatos		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nicosia	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Kafizin	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1CM	1
Idalion	c i	-	-	-	-	-	27	1CM	-	26	27
Tamassos	c i	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3,1CM,2TA	3
Lythrodontas	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Louroujina	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1Cm	1
Shia		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stavrovouni	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Alethriko		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kophinou		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ag.Theodoros	i	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2*	2
Vavla	i	-	1	-	1*	-	6	-	-	6*	7
Kalavassos		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amathus	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Kourion	c i	-	-	-	-	-	3	2CM,*	-	1Cox	3
Kouklia	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1*	1
Paphos	i	-	-	-	-	-	3	1James	-	2*	3
Polis	i	-	-	-	-	-	1	1*	-	-	1
Galini Soli		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total		-	1	-	1	-	51	5	-	48	54
GRAND TOTAL		1	1				51				55

(the coin of IGCH 1275 included)

Table 5. Coins of Kition from the 5th century BC found outside Cyprus.

HOARDS ISOLATED	Date	Kitian coins	date	denomination	% in the hoard
<i>South Asia Minor</i>					
Side IGCH 1254	c. 400	1 Azbaal	c.450-425/0	1 siglos	c.6
S.W. As.Min. IGCH 1252	c. 430/20(?)	2 B.I 1 Azb.-B.II	c.479-450 c.450-400	2 sigloi 1 1/3 th	c.9
Kelenderis IGCH 1255	c. 410/00	12 Azbaal	c.450-425/0	12 sigloi	c.1
Kelenderis CH VIII.100 (173)b	c. 370	2 Azb.-B.II	c.450-400	1/6 th , 1/12 th	c.4
Nagidos CH VIII.91	c. 380	8 B.II	c.425/0-400	8 sigloi	c.2
Cilicia CH VIII.165	c. 380	2 B.II 1 B.II-Bram- Melk.	c.425/20-400 c.425/0-392	3 sigloi	c.7.5
Cilicia IGCH 1263	c. 370	13 Azb.-B.II- B.ram	c.450-392	7 1/12 th , 5 1/24 th 1 1/48 th	c.9.5
Aspendos overstruck SNG von Post	e.Vth-b.IVth	1 Azb.-B.II	c.450-400	1 siglos	-
<i>Near Eastern coast</i>					
Beirut IGCH 1500	c. 360?	1 Azb.-B.II	c.450-400	1 1/12 th	c.3
South of Akko Isolated	-	4 Azb.-B.II	c.450-400	2 1/6 th 2 1/24 th	-
<i>Farther East</i>					
Hauran(?) IGCH 1482	c. 445	5 B.I	c.479-450	5 sigloi (4 fragmented)	c.4.5
Massyaf(?) IGCH 1483	425-400	2 Azbaal	c.450-425/20	2 sigloi (fragmented)	2.5
Malayer(?) IGCH 1790	c. 375	1 Azbaal 1 B.I/B.II	c.450-425/0 479-400	2 sigloi	c.0.5
Balkh IGCH 1820	c. 380	1 Azbaal	c.450-425/0	1 siglos	c.0.5
Kabul IGCH 1830	c. 380 or 330	2 Azbaal	c.450-425/0	2 sigloi	c.2 or 3
Herat(?) CH II.37	c. 380?	1 Azb.-B.II	c.450-400	1 siglos	c.33(?)

Table 6. Coins of Kition from the 4th century BC found outside Cyprus.

HOARDS ISOLATED	Date	Kitian coins	date	denomination	% in the hoard
<i>Cilicia</i>					
Cilicia IGCH 1259	c.380	1 Baalram 1 Melk.	c. 400-392 392-362	1 siglos 1 1/3 th	c.2
<i>Near Eastern coast</i>					
Al Mina excavation	-	1 Melk. 3 Pum.	392-362 362-312	AE AE	- -
<i>Egypt</i>					
Demanhur IGCH 1654	c.330?	3 Melk./Pum.	392-312	AV stater	?
Garbieh IGCH 1656	c.330?	1 Melk./Pum.	392-312	AV 1/2 th st.?	?
Naucratis excavation		4 Pum.	362-312	AE	-
<i>West</i>					
Corinth excavation		1 Pum.	362-312	AE	-
Apollonia Pontica Tomb		1 Pum.	362-312	AE	-

Table 7. Coins from Cyprus other than from Kition from the end of the 6th and the 5th century BC found in the Larnaca region.

Mint	Amathus		Idal.	Lapithos		Paphos		Salamis		Undet	
Period	520	450	520	520	450	520	450	520	450	520	
<i>Ancient city centre</i>											
IGCH 1272	-	-	33	122	-	234	-	50	-	28	
Overstruck	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>South-West</i>											
Alyki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	1CM	
Dromoloxia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>West</i>											
Kalo Chorio	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2*	1*	-	
Aradippou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
FTZ+Industr.area	-	7*	-	1*	-	-	1*	5*	4*	4*	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	2*	
Kamares	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Unspecified	-	3*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>North</i>											
Ag. Anargyri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	-	
Leivadia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>East</i>											
Indust.area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Pyla	-	-	-	1CM	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	2*	-	-	1*	5*	4*	1*	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	
Pyla-Dekelia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3*	2*	1*	
Dekelia	-	-	-	-	1*	-	-	2*	-	-	
<i>Larnaca area</i>											
Unspecified	-	1*	-	1*	-	-	1*	1*	2*	-	
TOTAL	534	-	13	33	127	1	234	3	72	14	37
Total isolated	67	-	13	-	5	1	-	3	22	14	9

Table 8. Coins from Cyprus other than from Kition from the 4th century BC found in the Larnaca region.

Mint	Amathus		Idal.	Lapithos		Mario		Paphos		Salamis		Kour.	
Period	400	350	-	400	350	400	350	400	350	400	350	350	350
<i>Ancient city centre</i>													
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>South-West</i>													
Alyki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dromoloxia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>West</i>													
Kalo Chorio	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1EVI*	-	-	-
Aradippou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FTZ+Industr. Area	1*	-	-	-	-	-	1*	-	1E*	2EVI*	-	-	-
										1EVII*			
Kamares	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>North</i>													
Ag. Anargyri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leivadia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>East</i>													
Indust.area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pyla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1EVI*	3Et*	1Ep*	-
Pyla-Dekelia	2*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2EVI*	-	-	-
Dekelia	-	-	-	1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1Nr*	-	-
											1EpCM		
<i>L/ca area</i>													
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1AV	-	1E*	-
										Nl/Ox			
										1NI*			
TOTAL 22	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	9	6	1	

Table 9. Non-Cypriot coins from the 5th and 4th centuries BC found in the Larnaca region.

Mint	Athens		Aegina		Corinth		Miletus		Cilicia		Phoen.		Persia		Cyren.	
Period	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth	Vth	IVth
<i>Ancient city centre</i>																
Overstruck	2	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>South-West</i>																
Alyki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1CM	-
Dromoloxia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kiti ? H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1T*	-	-	-	-
<i>West</i>																
Kalo Chorio	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aradippou	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FTZ+indust.ar.	-	-	-	-	1*	-	1*	-	-	-	-	1A*	-	-	-	-
Kamares	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>North</i>																
Ag. Anargyri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leivadia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1S*	-	-	-	-
<i>East</i>																
Industr.area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pyla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pyla-Dekelia	3*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2So*	-	1?*	-	-	-	-
Dekelia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1?*	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>L/ca area</i>																
Unspecified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2So*	-	2A*	-	-	-	-
TOTAL 37	5	-	12	-	1	-	1	-	-	5	-	6	-	6	1	-
Vth : 20																
IVth : 17																

All coins have been found isolated except some found in one hoard, indicated by the letter H.

Sculpture in Roman Cyprus¹

Jane Fejfer

I. Introduction

This paper gives a short presentation of the rich sculptural material from the Roman period and poses questions on the wider archaeological and historical context of sculpture in Roman Cyprus. The focus is on monumental sculpture i.e. sculpture which is half life-size or over,² in stone and bronze but reference will be made to sculpture in miniature when relevant. The basis for the study is more than 1200 published Hellenistic/Roman sculptures and statuettes, of which more than 700 are of monumental size, as well as epigraphic sources, primarily inscriptions on statue bases, all of which have been registered in a database.³

Due to its small size and geographically well-defined limits, the island of Cyprus is ideal for examining the significance of sculpture in a province of the Roman Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean. The sculptures form, with the help of the database, a manageable corpus,⁴ and it is possible to draw a picture of the whole repertoire of sculpture found in Roman Cyprus. It is possible to follow how metropolitan and provincial Roman styles and iconographies made an impact on the sculptural programmes, how traditional local habits persisted and survived in the sculptural tradition well into Late Antiquity, in particular in local sanctuaries, and how Christianity made its unmistakable impact on sculpture in the civic and religious centres on the island. The majority of the sculptures of the Roman period seem to have been carved of local limestone just as they were in the previous Archaic to Hellenistic periods, and emphasis is put on demonstrating continuity in both iconography and use, as well as demonstrating changes and new influences. As most of the marble sculptures found on the island date from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods,⁵ a further focus will be on the interrelations between the

sculptures in local limestone and those in marble. Cypriot Hellenistic and Roman sculptures are, compared to those of many other geographical areas around the Mediterranean, although scattered in collections around the world, relatively well published, and the published material seems to comprise a relatively high percentage of the total number of Roman sculptures found in Cyprus.⁶ Furthermore, a substantial number of the sculptures in the corpus have a more or less exact findspot which is essential for understanding the physical as well as the wider historical context of sculpture. The evidence from the sculptural mate-

¹ I thank Lone Wriedt Sørensen for encouraging me to work on Roman sculpture for this volume and for providing me with funding. I also thank Pavlos Flourentzos, Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for all the support which I received during my studies in museums on Cyprus, and the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI), Nicosia for all their assistance. For ever-ready engagement, discussions and many helpful suggestions on the text I thank Demetrios Michaelides, Cyprus University. I also thank Frini Hadjichristophi, Cyprus Museum and Kristina Winther Jacobsen, University of Copenhagen for useful discussions.

² Statuettes have only been included in the discussion when they form a larger group from a well-defined context.

³ Stud.mag. Rikke Christoffersen and Rebecca Scheutz assisted me in building up this database. The programme used is Access which makes possible an overview of this rich material.

⁴ This corpus does not at all pretend to be exhaustive as it is based on already published material.

⁵ Marble sculptures are, it seems, abundantly present among the sculptures attributed to Temple A at the Sanctuary at Cholades near Soli and dated to the late second century AD, see Westholm 1936, 149-53.

⁶ This is only valid for the sculptures of monumental scale. From Palaipaphos, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, for example, more than 2000 stone objects including sculptures, mainly statuettes less than half life-size, have been found and only a small number of these have been published, see Counts 2001, 137 with n. 42.

rial will be compared to the information which may be extracted from epigraphical evidence i.e. primarily statue bases. Although only very few of the sculptures can in fact be related to a specific statue base the information found in the inscribed texts on these bases, their physical appearance and archaeological context are all important for the wider picture of sculpture in public spaces in Cyprus during the Roman period. Statue bases provide the chronological, thematic and iconographic framework for the sculptural display of a site and they may cast light on the relationship between the use of stone and bronze for sculpture. Though Cyprus is rich in resources for the making of bronze, and there is evidence for at least one workshop producing monumental bronze sculpture during the Roman period,⁷ only a handful of Roman bronze sculptures have been found on the island. As bronze is prone to reuse it can therefore be expected that the vast majority of the bronze statues have been lost. The top of a statue base, though, shows whether it originally supported a statue in bronze or in stone. Bronze statues were attached to the base by large dowels under the feet leaving three or four distinct deep holes on the top of the base reflecting the stance of the statue while statues in stone were cut with a square or oval plinth which was either placed directly on top of the base or led into the base. The statue bases, therefore, tell a different story not dependant on what has been recycled.

While emphasis is on the Roman period, defined as beginning when the Ptolemies lost control of Cyprus and the island came under Roman control and a senatorial province in 58 BC, it is clear that while this control in many ways represents a significant break with earlier periods' use of sculpture, there are many aspects of the wider context and iconography of sculptures which represent not just a continuation from the Hellenistic into the Roman period, but even from the Archaic into the Roman period. In order not to lose this continuation, the Hellenistic period serves during the entire work as a period of reference to the Roman. Furthermore, sculptures carved in locally available stone also tend to be very traditional in style and technique and as very few of these lime-

stone sculptures can be dated absolutely it is often impossible to decide whether a sculpture dates from the late second to first centuries BC or is Roman.

The sculptures derive from four prime archaeological contexts including

- 1. public buildings in the large urban centres of Nea Paphos, Salamis, and Kourion,
- 2. old sanctuaries many of which have isolated locations in the countryside where there were age-long traditions of setting up substantial numbers of sculptures interpreted as "votaries",
- 3. from tombs, and

- 4. from private houses, a context which is until now only known from Nea Paphos, Kourion, and Soli. Bearing these four main contexts in mind the study of the physical context of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture in Cyprus is inevitably subject to the archaeological situation. Although Cyprus is archaeologically relatively well explored,⁸ there are still significant lacunae in our knowledge. These are, on one hand, due to the circumstances of preservation because many marble sculptures have without doubt been burned to lime as a number of lime kilns found in Nea Paphos bear evidence, and bronze sculptures, as mentioned above, have been melted down. On the other hand, evidence of the architectural and sculptural furnishing of public spaces in the important urban centres is to a wide extent restricted to Salamis as the public spaces of, for example, the Hellenistic/Roman capital of the island, Nea Paphos, still remain largely unexplored.⁹ As only relatively few ostentatious private houses have been excavated, and these only in Nea Paphos, Kourion, and Soli, sculpture in private contexts is restricted to these cities.

Before turning to the sculptural corpus itself, it may be useful to look briefly at previous scholarship on sculpture from Roman Cyprus. In an article published in 2001, David Counts gives an overview of scholarship on Cypriot sculpture.

⁷ See for example Vermeule 1976, 845.

⁸ See for example the author in Fejfer 1995, 54-62.

⁹ This is due to change within the near future as excavations are now going on in the theatre and other sites in Nea Paphos.

Counts discusses the different approaches which scholars have taken over the years towards the subject and builds on the discussions previously presented by Antoine Hermary. Counts' emphasis, though, is different: "In particular, recent discussions of the function of Cypriot sculpture within the religious, political, and social environment are considered, as well as its role at the confluence of western and eastern iconographic and cultic traditions". Counts also includes an exhaustive bibliography.¹⁰ As for the Roman period, however, Counts restricts himself to a few remarks. This is neither an exceptional case nor to be blamed because studies of sculpture of the Roman period, in general, are almost totally non-existent. Apart from the works by V. Karageorghis and C.C. Vermeule on the finds from Salamis,¹¹ by W.A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides on finds from Nea Paphos,¹² a few brief discussions on finds from Amathus, Kourion,¹³ and Phasoula¹⁴ as well as the more general works by Karageorghis, Vermeule and V. Tatton-Brown,¹⁵ and specific problems of chronology by R. Senff,¹⁶ research and interest into Roman sculpture has been very limited. In general works on the Eastern Mediterranean in the Roman period, Cyprus and Cypriot sculpture are omitted.¹⁷ However, within the last few years interest has increased and in an article, based on her unpublished dissertation, D.A. Parks surveys funerary monuments including funerary sculpture of the Roman period.¹⁸ In his monograph from 1976 *Greek and Roman Cyprus: Art from Classical through Late Roman Times*, Vermeule pays special attention to sculpture from Roman Cyprus. He divides art (including sculpture) into three main groups: 1. Works created on Cyprus in local materials in styles traditional to the island, 2. Works created in the international Graeco-Roman styles, and 3. Purely Roman imperial works. These divisions are useful in structuring the material and as a starting point for discussions of foreign influence contra local tradition, the latter being a subject which has dominated many of the studies of Cypriot sculpture of the Archaic and Classical periods.¹⁹ Style though, is, as is well known, not always a straightforward phenomenon to handle and the divisions

leave out consideration of the wider context of sculpture in Roman Cyprus.

II. The sculptural corpus

1. Chronology

One of the main problems in working with sculpture from Roman Cyprus concerns chronology. The difficulty is not that significant for sculptures in marble as these often follow general technical and stylistic traits in Roman sculpture from around the Mediterranean but with sculptures cut in local limestone, often in typical Cypriot styles and iconographies, the problem becomes apparent. Absolute datings among this material are almost totally lacking and there is therefore, at least at the moment, only very little to build on when establishing a relative chronology based on stylistic analyses. Dating of the sculpture based solely on analysis of style is problematic because there seems to be a strong continuation in both iconography, technique and style in the sculptures cut in local limestone from the Early Hellenistic into the Roman period. As many limestone sculptures derive from sanctuaries it is particularly sculpture within a cultic context which is difficult to date and interpret. It is

¹⁰ Counts 2001, 129-81.

¹¹ Karageorghis 1964a and Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966.

¹² On trapezophora, table supports found in Nea Paphos, see Michaelides 1989 and Stephanidou-Tiberiou 1987-1990. For finds by the Polish Mission in the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos, see Daszewski 1968, 52-6, *idem* 1970, 114-35, *idem* 1972, 228-30, *idem* 1976, 219-25, *idem* 1994c, 153-60 Karageorghis 1982, 733-36, *idem* 1988, 804.

¹³ See Hermary 2000 with previous literature on Roman sculpture from Amathous, Christou 1996, 82 on finds from the house of Gladiators and other sites in Kourion.

¹⁴ See Prokopiou 1999, 315-26 and Hermary 1992, 333-37.

¹⁵ See Vermeule 1976, Tatton-Brown 1985, Karageorghis 1985b and 2000.

¹⁶ Senff 1989, 188-92.

¹⁷ See, for example, Alcock 1997.

¹⁸ Parks 1999 and Parks 2002.

¹⁹ Counts 2001. For the Roman period, see Senff 1989, 188-92.

therefore uncertain whether the traditional so-called “votaries” were produced in abundance not just during the Hellenistic, but also during the Roman period.²⁰ Only portrait heads or specific datable costumes permit close datings. Even though the exact date of a sculpture within the Late Hellenistic/Roman period may seem less important than for example its wider social and cultic context, such questions become more relevant when a sculpture can be related to a specific historical period. Nevertheless, in order to understand sculpture in Roman Cyprus in a wider historical context the sculptural corpus will be discussed mainly with reference to criteria of material, physical context, function, and iconography.

2. Material

The majority of the Hellenistic/Roman sculptures registered in the database are of limestone and derive from over 50 different sites. The use of local limestone for sculpture represents a tradition which goes back to the Archaic period and at numerous sites, in particular sanctuaries, limestone still played the overall dominating role as the material for the sculptural production during the Roman period. Although many statuary types and funerary monuments co-existed in limestone and marble (and probably bronze) some types are exclusively known in limestone. The latter types seem to follow in the tradition of setting up votaries as they mainly derive from sanctuaries and mainly show standing draped men and women holding an attribute and seated naked boys, so-called temple boys. Although no petrographic analysis has as yet been made of the Hellenistic/Roman limestone sculptures, in contrast to the Archaic/Classical material,²¹ there is plenty of evidence for Hellenistic and Roman sculpture being extracted from a number of limestone quarries from the Mesaoria area as well as from the south coast, in particular Xylophagou west of Larnaca. Some of these quarries have boasted both prefabricated sculptures and heaps of chips.²²

White marble, on the other hand, as well as any coloured marble,²³ had to be imported. White

marble sculptures are very rare from the Archaic and Classical periods but a number of sculptures are known from Hellenistic Cyprus. At the sanctuary site of Cholades near Soli, for example, the marble sculptures which can be associated with the first temple dating to the second century BC are both small and pieced and later, probably during the late first century BC repaired for reuse.²⁴ The vast majority of the 165 marble sculptures registered are, however, Roman. Little doubt remains that the use of imported marble for the architectural and sculptural decor in private houses and public spaces was an important part of the *romantitas* on the island. Evidence of marble sculptures in Roman Cyprus shows clear patterns of distribution. Relatively few sites have boasted marble sculptures and the sites where several marble sculptures have been found are all cities of political and economic significance situated with easy access to ports whereas the mainly inland rural sanctuary sites of Arsos, Golgoi, Idalion, Phasoula, Voni etc. which have boasted literally hundreds of limestone sculptures from the Archaic into the Hellenistic/Roman periods, are devoid of marble sculpture. Salamis, Nea Paphos, Soli, Kourion and Amathus were, during the Roman period, cities fully equipped with the usual public spaces of agora, theatre, nymphaea, baths, sanctuaries, colonnaded streets,²⁵ and private residences which could be compared to any major city in the Eastern Mediterranean. Public and private spaces in these cities with aspirations to Imperial grandeur were furnished with a sculptural decor mainly of imported white marble.²⁶ White marble or marble sculptures seem to have been readily available from

²⁰ See Senff 1989. For the Hellenistic period, see Connelly 1988.

²¹ See now Karageorghis 2002.

²² Note in particular the half-finished four colossal limestone sculptures found at the quarry of Xylophagou by the sea on the south coast east of Larnaca, see below 123, fig. 55.

²³ Marble being defined here as a stone which takes a polish.

²⁴ See Westholm 1936.

²⁵ So far only known from Soli, see below.

²⁶ For the significance of the use of coloured marble in a Roman province, see the important article by Paton & Schneider 1999, 279-304.

site	marble sculpture	bases
Akrotiri	1	
Amargetti		1
Amathus	2	3+
Arsos		3?
Anogyra		1
Ayios Philon		1
Carpasia		4
Enkomi		1
Idalion	1	1
Karmi	1	
Kition	3	1
Knodara		2
Kourion	12	27
Kyrenia		2
Kythrea		3
Lapethus		2
Larnaca	2	
Marion-Arsinoe	1	1
Nikosia	1	3
Palaiphos and Nea Paphos*	26	127
Phasoula		1
Salamis	81	56
Soli	16	4
Tamassos	1	
Voni		?

*Due to lacking descriptions of closer find contexts I have for now not been able to distinguish between inscriptions found at Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos. This problem needs further investigation.

Table 1. Table showing the distribution of marble sculptures and statue bases of the Hellenistic/Roman period. The actual figures are only meant as a guide but the overall picture is clear.

the first century AD onwards and very extensively from the second century. Evidence from the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos and the House of the Gladiators in Kourion suggests that from the late third or early fourth century reuse of marble statuary rather than new production or new acquisitions sets in.

As only a few isotopic or other scientific analyses have been undertaken on marble sculptures

from Cyprus there is no point in discussing the origins of these marbles. Most of the types of white marble used for sculpture during the Roman period are of a relatively coarse grain often with large grey veins and they probably came from quarries in Asia Minor.²⁷ Granite and coloured marble, green, grey and red, have survived from architectural settings in for example both the public and residential buildings of Nea Paphos and Kourion,²⁸ but for sculpture the only coloured marble known to have been used is a grey/black, perhaps Nero Antico. The black marble was, though, rare in Cyprus, only known to have been used for twisted columns at Kourion and for five sculptures of which four are of monumental size and derive from the Gymnasium in Salamis while the last example is a statuette group found in the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos. In all of these sculptures the black marble was used in combination with white marble extremities of heads, feet and hands creating, of course, a stunning contrasting visual effect.²⁹ The inspiration for this use of contrasting black and white marble may have come from Italy, but perhaps Asia Minor in particular the cities of Perge and Aphrodisias which have boasted stunning examples too, is more obvious as sources of inspiration or even places of production for the Cypriot examples. Whatever the origins of these sculptures, it is important to notice that the use of coloured marble was associated with the imperial splendour of the capital cities throughout the Empire. In Cyprus the extensive use of marble, both the white and coloured varieties for architecture and, until now the only known black and white combination for sculpture was something new in the Roman period and altered both the

²⁷ Isotopic analysis of a table support P.M. 913 found in Nea Paphos has suggested Proconessos as a possible source, see Michaelides 1989, 154.

²⁸ In a recent walk across the agora of Kourion and around the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos I noticed fragments of grey, red, green, and black marble slabs as well as white.

²⁹ From Salamis, 'Persephone', Isis, River God in Karageorghis 1964a no. 15, and here Figs. 14-15, Jupiter in Karageorghis 2000, 222-3 fig. 174 and in one statuette from Paphos also in Karageorghis 2000, 214 fig. 163.

Fig 1. Map of sites mentioned in the text.



public space and gave them specifically Roman appearance.³⁰

We have no evidence of how the marble trade was organised on the island. Asia Minor may have supplied the white and black marble for sculpture, but the polychrome marbles used for architectural veneering may have come from other parts of the Empire.³¹ It is also uncertain whether some or all the sculptures were produced on the island, imported as prefabricate or finished products. A large unfinished frieze sarcophagus showing groups of wrestling erotes found recently in a chamber tomb some kilometres east of Nea Paphos is a striking evidence of prefabricate import.³² A collection of several sculptures of the same style, dimensions and apparently marble is known from both the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos and the House of the Gladiators in Kourion suggesting that a collection was one special commission but whether ordered from abroad or selected from a stock of imported sculptures, available, for example, in Nea Paphos, or made in workshops on the island itself remains uncertain. Evidence from pottery shows that Cyprus was part of the lively trade in the Eastern Mediterranean with imports from Africa Proconsularis, Asia Minor, Egypt and the West including Rome as well. Shipwrecks from around the Mediterranean loaded with finished sculptures attest that the possibility cannot be

excluded that ready-made sculptures were imported to the island either as special commissions or, less likely, as stock. On the other hand, the prefabricated sarcophagus may imply that workshops were active on the island and skilful repairs and alterations were carried out on marble sculptures during the fourth century AD.

How does the use of bronze, for which there is almost no evidence preserved,³³ fit into this pattern? It may be worth noting that there is some

³⁰ See in particular Schneider 2001, 3-10 and De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, *passim*.

³¹ For models of the marble trade, see Paton & Schneider 1999, 292-4 and Fant 1993.

³² Now in the garden of Paphos District Museum.

³³ Evidence for a bronze workshop in Nea Paphos, see Vermeule 1976, 84-5. Apart from the mould for a torso found in the above-mentioned structure interpreted as a bronze making workshop, monumental bronzes include a statue of Septimius Severus found at Kythrea, see below with Figs. 16-17. See also Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 245-7. A head or portrait? of a youth was found in a Late Antique house, 'House of the Antonine Youth', in Soli and now in Nicosia, Cyprus Museum inv. Soloi 1971.A23 latest in Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 223 cat. 136 (see also below here). A fragment of a male portrait of the Julio/Claudian? period was found in 1971 by the podium? in the cella of the Temple of Zeus in Salamis, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum inv. see Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 139 cat. 80. Part of an arm of a child? found at Salamis, Gymnasium, Frigidarium in Karageorghis 1964a no. 47.

Fig. 2. Statue base in grey marble with depression on the top for securing a bronze statue.

Inscribed in Greek on the front: "The city of Citium honours Antipater the Gymnasiarch".

From Kition.

Larnaca Museum

LAM 11. H 38 cm.

W 72 cm. D 62 cm.



congruence between the distribution of marble sculptures and the geographical distribution of inscribed statue bases. Inscribed statue bases were rarely relevant and in fact rarely used in private spaces, but in public spaces the inscribed text on a statue base informed the viewer about who dedicated the statue, who the statue represented etc. In Cyprus the inscribed bases are concentrated in the cities which have boasted marble sculptures from public spaces, both civic and religious, but the vast majority of the bases which I have examined supported bronze statues. The fact that a number of the inscribed bases which supported these bronze statues are carved in imported marble strongly suggests that monumental bronze statues remained important in public spaces during the Roman period.³⁴ The preferred statue base in Cyprus was low, only about 40 cm high and with a square top ca. 70 cm in width and depth (Fig. 2). Compared to the tall elegant profiled bases from the main cities in Asia Minor, North Africa etc. the base type used in Cyprus (and to some extent, for example, also in Greece) did not add much to the overall visual impression of the sculpture, the text was certainly not as eye catching either as on the tall bases. When a tall base was preferred in Cyprus it was the cylindrical base, often a reused funerary cippus.

Because marble had to be imported, marble

sculptures represented a considerable monetary outlay which made them a symbol of prosperity, luxury and wealth. The use of marble for sculpture increased extensively during the Roman period and therefore added a specific Roman atmosphere to public and private spaces. The geographical distribution of marble sculpture suggests that it was the administrative and politically important centres of the province which favoured this new "Roman" fashion. In the age-old rural sanctuaries probably closely bound to the local population limestone continued to be the preferred material for sculpture. No doubt economic constraint was a considerable factor in the choice of material but it may not have been the only one. Limestone probably added connotations of the cultural identity of the person represented in the votive or of its dedicator. To some patrons therefore the choice of limestone may have expressed if not scepticism towards the culture of the Roman Empire then certainly an emphasis on local identity.

³⁴ Some of these may though be of the local Mamonia limestone which looks a bit like marble and is therefore often described as imported marble.



Fig. 3. Kourion, the Roman Agora.

3. Context

3.A. Public space in urban centres

While the public spaces of the Roman capital of Nea Paphos remain unexplored the typical public urban space of Roman Cyprus can be reconstructed by combining evidence from in particular, the three sites of Salamis, Kourion, and Soli. Soli was no doubt the most important city on the north coast in Roman times and its wealth came from the rich copper mines which were still being extensively exploited in the second century AD when Galen visited the city. Although Soli has boasted the only colonnaded street hitherto known from Cyprus, a paved agora surrounded by impressive colonnaded porticoes and furnished with a large three-basin nymphaeum, a theatre, an acropolis with temple, private residences, city wall and a harbour, the only Roman sculpture recorded from the city itself is the bronze head found in a private house and discussed above.³⁵

Architectural decoration including friezes of masks and floral ornamentation cut in local limestone are plentiful from public buildings implying that the free standing statuary of either marble or bronze has been recycled. Evidence for imperial statuary is also present in epigraphic sources from the Tiberian period when Drusus, son of Tiberius was honoured with a statue and Trajan was honoured not only with a statue (*agalma*) but also a small sanctuary (*naos*), etc.³⁶ Soli continued to be a city of importance at least into the 7th century AD to judge from the construction of a basilica and use of the nymphaeum into the 6th or 7th century.

Although we have only scant evidence from the literary sources of the importance of the old king-

³⁵ For the city of Roman Soli, see Mitford 1980b, 1327-9 and Ginouvès 1989. I owe this last reference to Kristina Winther Jacobsen. The team from University of Laval had to stop its fieldwork in 1974.

³⁶ See Mitford 1950, 32 no. 16.



Fig. 4. Kourion, the Nymphaeum.



Fig. 5. Boy on a Dolphin. From the Nymphaeum in Kourion. Marble. H 52 cm. Kourion Museum.

dom city of Kourion during Roman times (Curium), the archaeological remains, including theatre, agora, fountains, baths, stadium and private houses all richly furnished with mosaics and imported white and coloured marble and sculpture, leave the impression of a highly sophisticated urban life during that period (Fig. 3). Kourion is one of the few cities in Cyprus where many Roman citizens are attested and a 3rd century AD inscription list a number of its propertied families.³⁷ In this coastal city situated on a natural hillock overlooking the sea the only public building which has boasted statuary is the nymphaeum 20 metres northwest of the agora. The nymphaeum, which awaits publication, seems to have consisted of a large central semicircular niche flanked by rectangular niches as well as additional semicircular niches in a facing wall and no doubt all for statuary (Fig. 4). If reconstructed correctly it was of huge dimensions and paved with a pink marble floor and several basins. Shell-shaped recesses found nearby crowned the niches. The

³⁷ For citizenship at Kourion, see Mitford 1980b, 1363 with n. 398 and for propertied families at Kourion, Mitford 1980b, 1364.



Fig. 6. Bacchus. From the Nymphaeum in Kourion. Marble. H 180 cm. Kourion Museum.

nymphaeum is believed to have had several phases and the sculptures, all of marble, include a boy with a dolphin (Fig. 5), a slightly over life-size, badly weathered, naked statue of Bacchus wearing only a small nebris, (Fig. 6-7) and a fragmentary slightly over life-size statue probably of one of the Dioscuri, Castor, wearing a round cap, pilos, on his head and a small himation around his shoulders while a protome of a horse rests at his feet (Fig. 8-



Fig. 7. Detail of Fig. 6. Bacchus. From the Nymphaeum in Kourion. Marble. Kourion Museum.

9).³⁸ Even though the figure of Bacchus is more sensual with the downturned head than the Castor which has a gaze directed more at the viewer and even though the Dioscuri has stronger indication of muscles, the size of the figures, their nudity, youthful bodies, long slim proportions, postures with strong accentuation of the hip etc. make it likely that they were displayed with close reference to each other. The extensive drill work in the hair of both figures makes a date in the late second century AD likely.

The richest evidence, however, comes from Salamis. Although Salamis was replaced by Nea Paphos as a capital during the Ptolemies and did

³⁸ Compare LIMC III 1986 Castores nos. 30-32 for parallels.

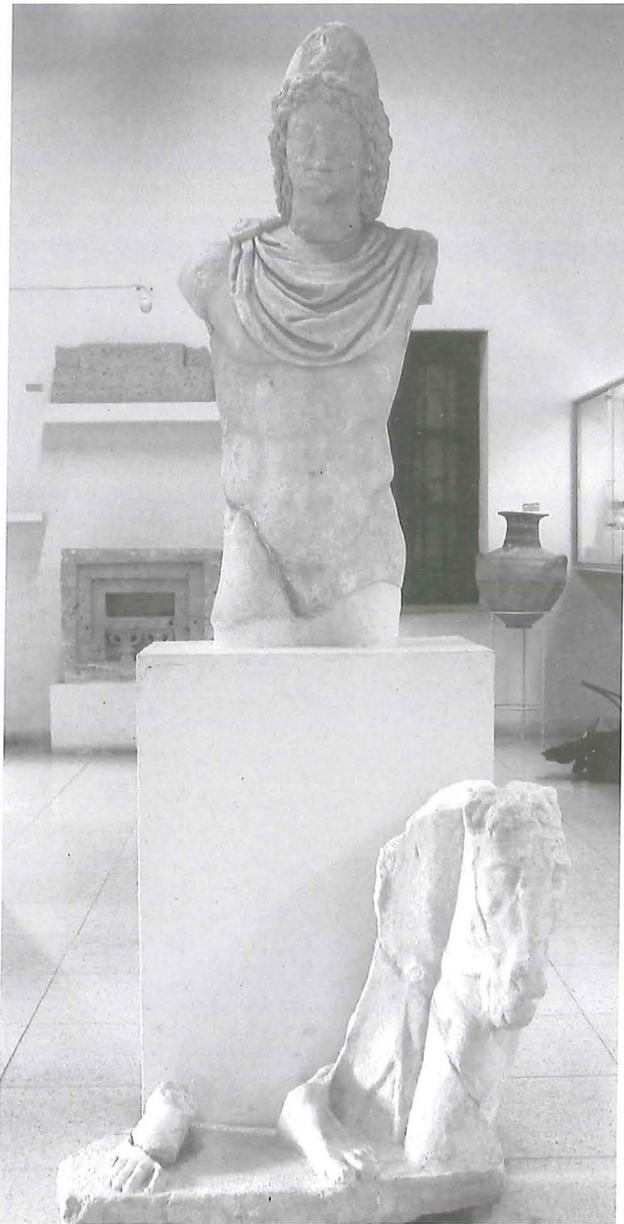


Fig. 8. Dioscurus. From the Nymphaeum in Kourion. Marble. Estimated H 185 cm. Kourion Museum.

not formally regain its status as metropolis until 346 AD when it was refounded as Constantia, it remained during the entire Roman period one of the important political and industrial cities in the Eastern Mediterranean. Building activities were vast with the construction and rebuilding of no less than four gymnasia, rebuilding of the Hellenistic agora and Temple of Zeus as well as the construction of both a theatre and an amphitheatre. The extensive use of marble for both architecture and

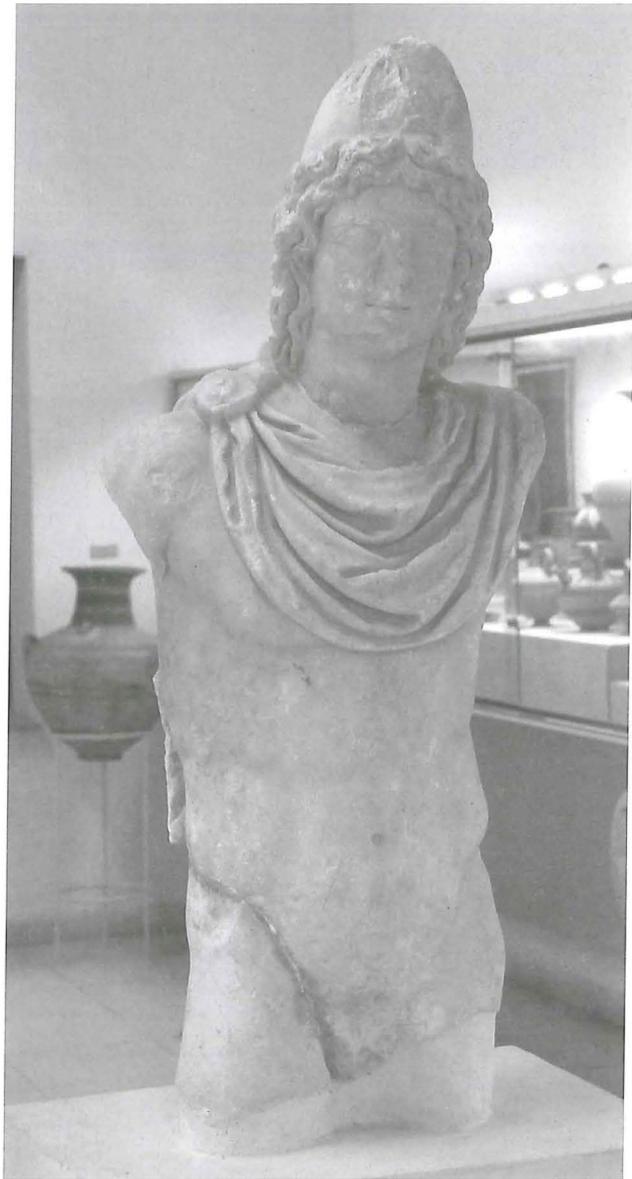


Fig. 9. Detail of Fig. 8. Dioscurus. From the Nymphaeum in Kourion. Marble. Kourion Museum.

sculpture, numerous honours to Roman emperors and their families, the presence of Roman citizens, etc. confirm its importance. The sculptural finds are primarily from the theatre and the gymnasium (the other three gymnasia are only known from inscriptions) both situated within the city wall. Unlike, for example, Soli where almost no marble sculpture has been found within the city itself, Salamis is extremely rich in marble sculpture. There may be more reasons for this: earthquake debris has protected much of the sculpture from

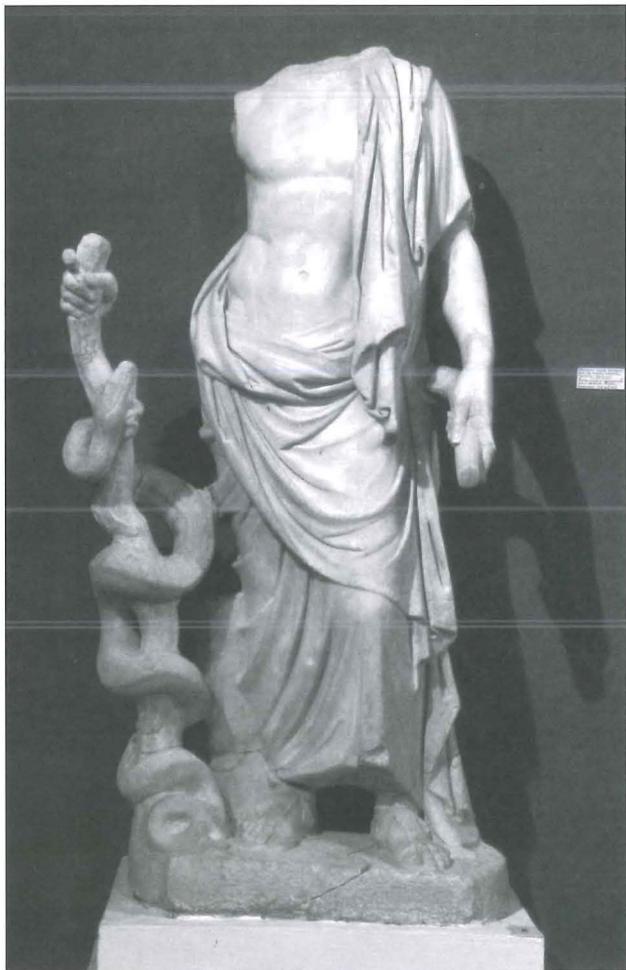


Fig. 10. Asclepius. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the east stoa of the palaestra. Marble. H 145 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

reuse as building material or lime. In the theatre, for example, a small theatre was built on top of the debris after the 332 and 342 AD earthquakes. Other sculptures must have been in use into Late Antiquity when they were recut and redisplayed in a Christian context before they tumbled over either during the Arab Invasions or in a final earthquake during the seventh century AD. Both the gymnasium, the theatre and the Sanctuary of Zeus were excavated during the 1960s and 1970s by the Department of Antiquities and the exact findspots of sculptures as well as of statue bases have been carefully recorded and published.³⁹

Inscriptions from the gymnasium include several portraits of Hellenistic kings, queens and governors from 203 BC and onwards, Roman second

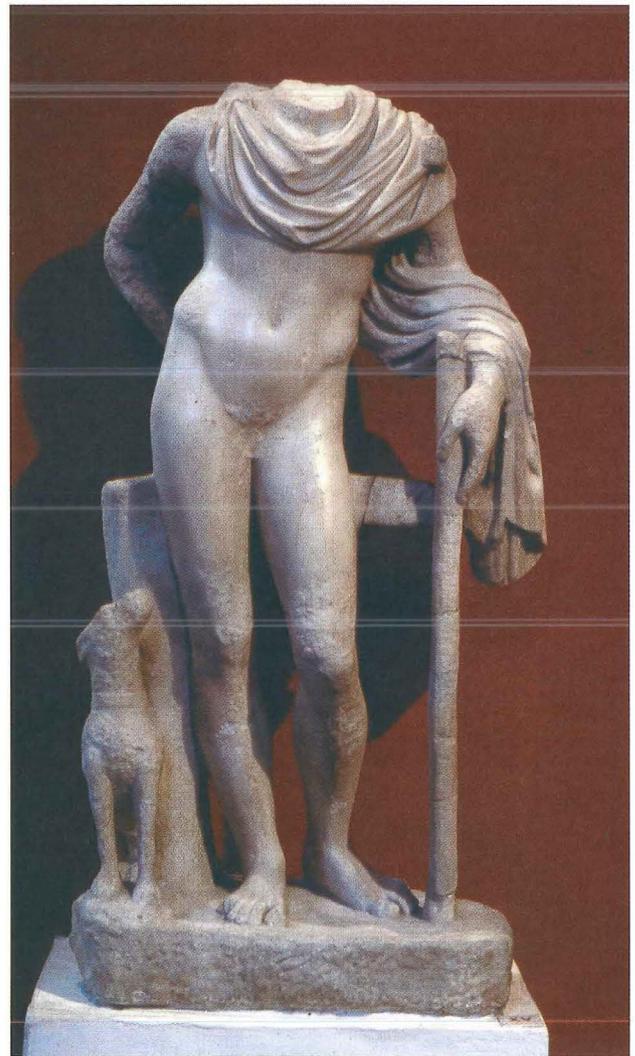


Fig. 11. Meleager with chiselled off genitals. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in a drain below the floor of the east stoa. Marble. H 165 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

century and third century inscriptions and a few tetrarchian inscriptions. The baths of the gymnasium, which also includes a large palaestra surrounded by columned porticos, was fully equipped during the reign of Trajan when the emperor had the roof repaired. Almost all the ca. 50 marble sculptures including four statues of black marble were

³⁹ See Karageorghis 1964a and Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966. Inscriptions are mainly published in Mitford & Nicolaou 1974 and in Pouilloux, Roesch & Marcillet-Jaubert 1987. For the late antique context of some of the sculpture from the gymnasium see now Hannestad 2001, 75–6.



Fig. 12. Apollo with chiselled off genitals. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the north annex of the palaestra. Marble. H 220 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

found in the eastern part of the gymnasium in or close to the baths. Most of the sculptures are life-size or slightly over or under, and the sculptural types include several gods and goddesses; among them Apollo, Jupiter, Minerva, Diana, Venus, Bacchus, Nemesis, Asclepius, Hygeia, Hercules, Meleager, river gods, water nymphs, a group of Satyr and Hermaphrodite (Figs. 10-16) and several male and female statues reflecting statues of gods and goddesses but with separately added heads and therefore perhaps serving as portrait statues. The date range of these sculptures seems basically to be the later second century, but some of the sculp-



Fig. 13. Aphrodite. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the north frigidarium of the baths. Marble. H 85 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

tures may date from as early as the first century BC to AD. This would imply that the sculptural decor of the gymnasium developed and changed up to the late second century AD,⁴⁰ but that portrait statues continued to be set up perhaps until the first devastating earthquake of the early fourth century AD. Apparently the gymnasium was left in ruins for more than a century when the baths complex

⁴⁰ The snail curls of the statue of Apollo correspond well to early to mid Antonine portraiture, the drill work in the hair of a black marble female statue may date from the Severan period, a female portrait dates from the Hadrianic period and a male portrait from the Severan period, see Karageorghis 1964a nos. 3 and 15, and Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966 nos. 101 and 102.

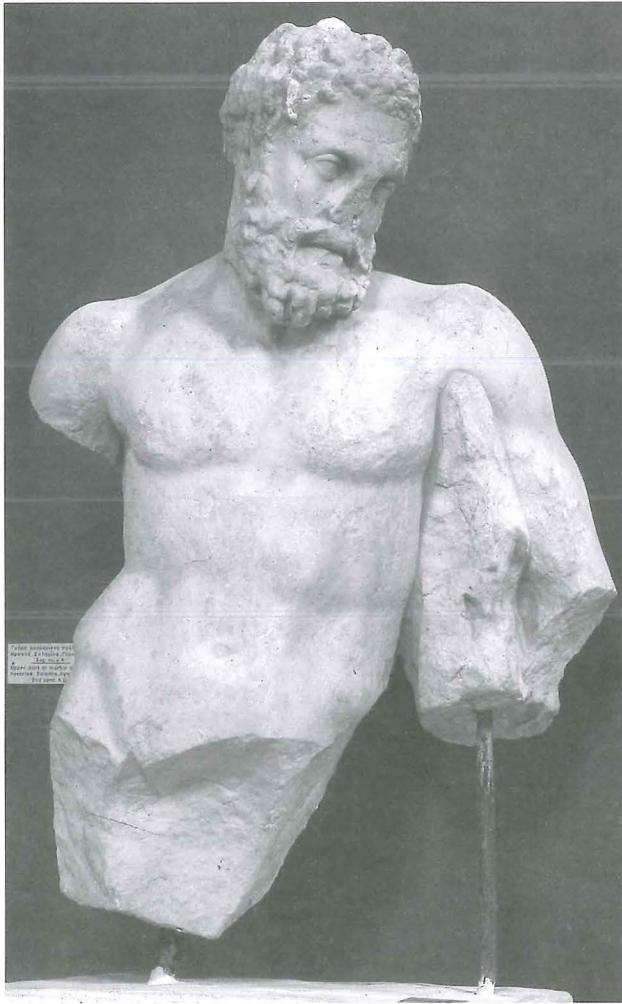


Fig. 14. Heracles. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the north frigidarium of the baths. Marble. H 72 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

was finally restored. It then served as the bathing facility of the new Christian city and it can be assumed that the statues were collected from different parts of the ruined gymnasium and set up to adorn the Christian baths. Many of the sculptural types could work in a Christian context, but some of the naked figures were mutilated with genitals and breasts being chiselled off. Although it can be assumed that none of the statues have been found in the exact location for which they were originally made there is on the other hand no reason to believe that they do not derive from the gymnasium. All the mythological sculptural types as well as the habit of setting up portraits of both male and female benefactors and emperors are well-known

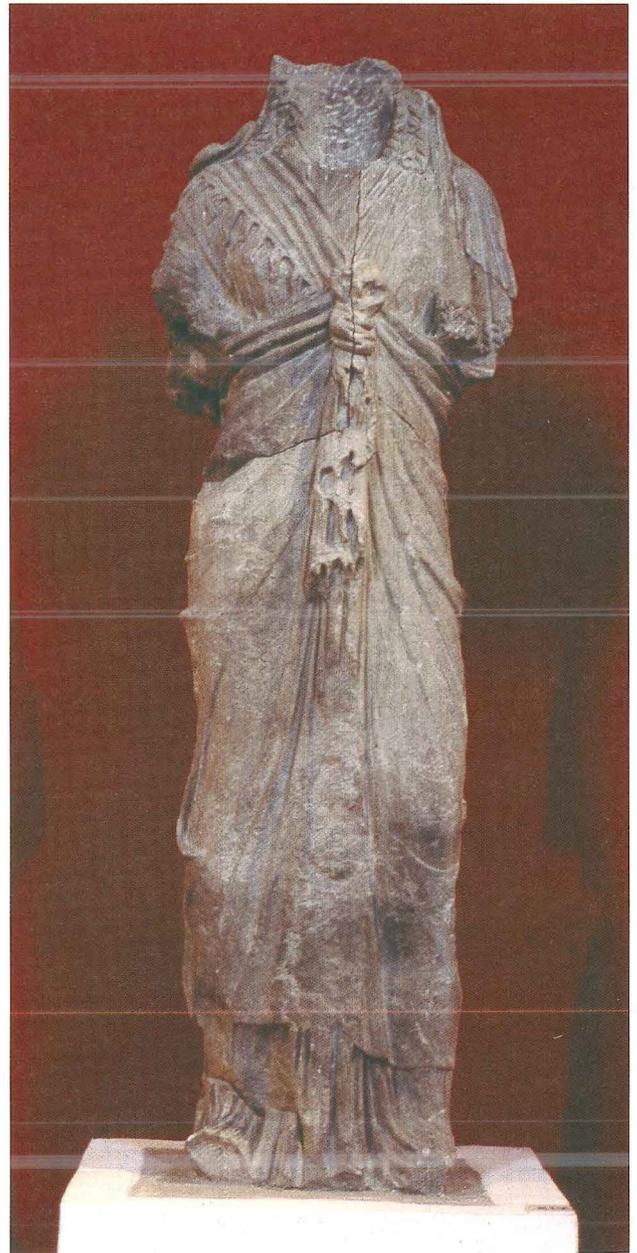


Fig. 15. Isis. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the palaestra. Black marble, nero antico?, with separately added head probably in white marble, now missing. H 119 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

phenomena from gymnasia in the eastern Mediterranean showing how important a role this institution still played in civic life in the east.

The situation of the sculptural decor from the theatre is different. Most of the statues have been found where they fell from the scenae frons, the three-storied facade behind the stage during the



Fig. 16. River God. From the Gymnasium in Salamis. Found in the south frigidarium of the baths. Black marble, nero antico?, with separately added head probably in white marble, now missing. L 101 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

early fourth century AD earthquake. Their context has been preserved by the debris and a short-lived construction of a small theatre built on top. Perhaps during the sixth century the area was used as habitation. Most of the statues seem to have belonged to a group of Apollo and the Muses with one or more statues of Dionysos, but there are also fragments of cuirassed statues perhaps of Roman emperors. A headless herm shaft inscribed with the name of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos may have been one of several such herms adorning the actual stage front. The statue bases from the theatre are found spread around the cavea and mainly include honours to imperial and private persons. One family, that of Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus who founded the theatre (and built new baths) during the reign of Domitian stands out with more statue groups showing Pancles Veranianus himself as well as his wife, daughter and son.⁴¹ As none of the sculptures represent private individuals it must be assumed that the sculptural decor of the scenae frons was restricted to the

emperor, Dionysos the patron god of the theatre and Apollo leading the muses while the cavea was used for the display of statues of private benefactors as well as the emperor.

Portrait inscriptions from several public complexes in Salamis including the Temple of Zeus,⁴² the theatre,⁴³ and the gymnasium,⁴⁴ testify to the presence of images of the imperial house around the city. No imperial portraits have, however, been found in Salamis. This is not surprising as we only have a handful of safely identified imperial portraits in total from Cyprus.⁴⁵ The most interest-

⁴¹ See Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 131-43 nos. 101-9.

⁴² Caracalla see *RDAC* 1968, 80 no. 14.

⁴³ For Commodus, see Mitford & Nicolaou 1974 no. 95 and 96.

⁴⁴ Trajan no. 14, Diocletian and Galerius no. 39, Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus no. 40 and 42 in Mitford & Nicolaou 1974

⁴⁵ For Trajan, Hadrian and Caracalla, see Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 26-8 no. 12, 28-9 no. 13 and 42-3 no. 21.

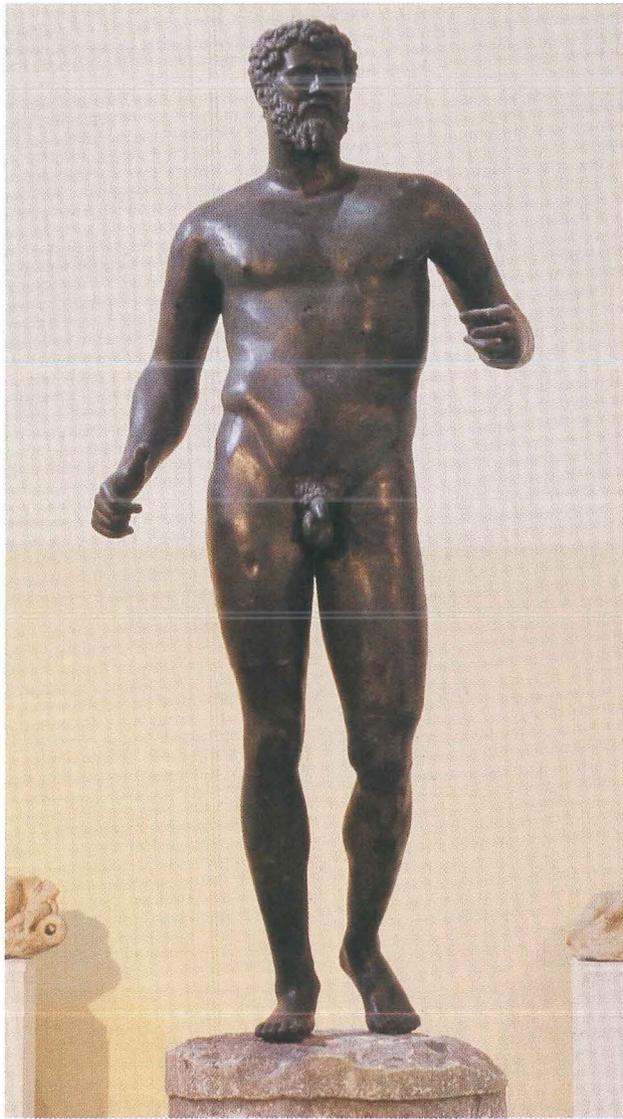


Fig. 17. Life-size statue of Septimius Severus found at Kythroi. He may have held a spear and sword alluding to Jupiter. Bronze. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

ing one but only known to have come from Cyprus and without any more precise findspot is an over life-size limestone relief portrait of Augustus wearing a laurel wreath.⁴⁶ The use of limestone for what was probably a public monument honouring the Roman emperor proves that this material continued to play a significant role after marble had become readily available and it cannot be excluded that the choice of material had the specific meaning of local loyalty towards the new regime. On the other hand, the head is carved superbly by a sculptor who was very skilled in

working in limestone and perhaps material and sculptor were chosen because a portrait of Augustus was needed instantly. Nevertheless, all the other imperial portraits are either of marble or bronze including a marble one of a Julio-Claudian prince without provenance, a marble portrait of Agrippina Major from the sanctuary site of Cholades outside Soli, an over life-size marble portrait perhaps representing Trajan from Nea Paphos, and an over life-size bronze statue of Septimius Severus found at Kythroi, west of Salamis. In spite of excavations following the find of this bronze statue no context could be identified.⁴⁷ Imperial portrait inscriptions from a number of other sites in Cyprus such as Kourion, Nea Paphos, Soli, Kition and Lapetus as well as the oath of allegiance to Tiberius on his accession and in which the Cypriots swear loyalty to and worship of the whole imperial house confirm the strong ties which bound Cyprus to the imperial house. The imperial image was important in a civic, juristic and cultural context in the gymnasium, on the agora and in the theatre, but several inscriptions also mention priests of the imperial cult. Emperor worship replaced the worship of the Ptolemies on the island and no doubt the imperial image played an important role in the worship of the emperor.⁴⁸ In Nea Paphos, probably close to the agora, there was a temple for the cult of the Severan family. The above-mentioned inscription from Soli, is concerned with the construction of a sanctuary and statue, possibly a cult statue of Trajan. The bronze statue of Septimius Severus may give us a clue to how Trajan was represented in that context. Raised on a cylindrical grey marble base Severus (Fig. 17-18) is depicted completely nude in a guise no doubt evoking depictions of Hellenistic kings which may still have been extant during the imperial period, for example in the main sanctuaries of Palaipaphos, Kourion and Salamis. The heroic nudity of the statue makes it

⁴⁶ Boston Museum, in Vermeule 1976, pl. III.1.

⁴⁷ See latest Lahusen and Formigli 2001, 245-7 with references.

⁴⁸ For emperor worship in the East and the role of the image, see Price 1984, 170-206.

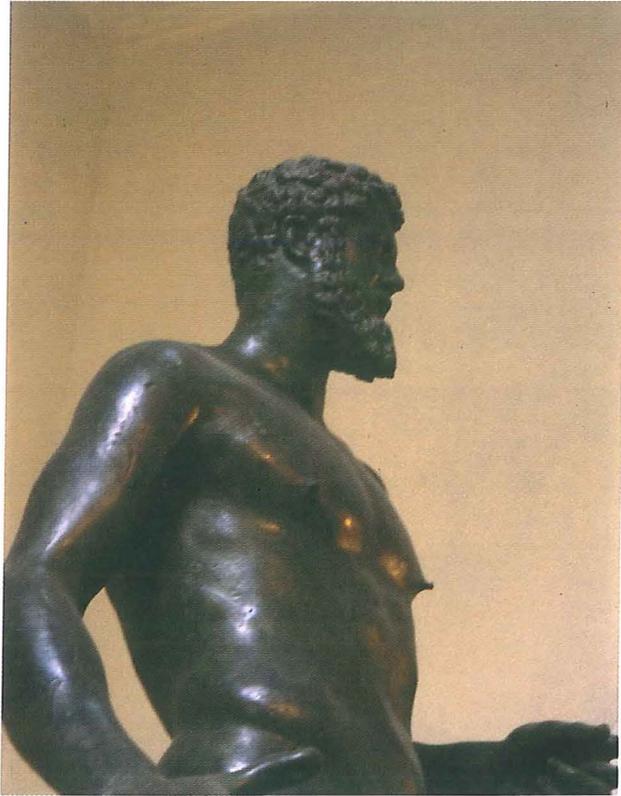


Fig. 18. Detail of Fig. 17 of a life-size statue of Septimius Severus found at Kythroi. Bronze. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

suitable for display in a cultic context,⁴⁹ but nudity does not exclude display in a non-religious setting. The Roman civic costume par excellence of both emperors and private persons, the toga, is absent from Cyprus and the only other mode of representation of a Roman emperor hitherto known from Cyprus is the cuirassed statues from the theatre of Salamis probably representing Roman emperors.⁵⁰ Lower down the social ladder Roman senators were honoured in several cities in Cyprus including Kition, Kourion, Palaipaphos, Nea Paphos and Salamis, but with bilingual inscriptions only in the capital of Nea Paphos.⁵¹

3.B. Isolated and rural sanctuaries

Traditional pre-Roman and imperial cults were important elements in the civic centres as mentioned briefly above, but here the emphasis is on the sanctuaries with isolated locations away from the city centres. Not only the religious but also

cultural and political functions of these sanctuaries made them into centres of power and it may be worth noting that of the total 415 Hellenistic to Roman sculptures registered with a relatively exact findspot, the vast majority of the sculptures with a safe findspot, in total 272, derives from sanctuaries or temples. The high number of sculptures preserved in the sanctuaries at Idalion boasting 80 sculptures, at Cholades by Soli 50, the sanctuary of Apollon Hylates at Kourion with 44, at Golgoi with 42 and at Arsos with 12, suggests that the display of sculpture played the most important role here during the Hellenistic/Roman periods. Such figures, however, only tell part of the truth because when statue bases are added to these figures the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos takes first place. Furthermore, the figures do not tell us anything about continuity from the Hellenistic into the Roman period and the shift to Christianity. From literary sources, though, we know that the sanctuary at Palaipaphos must have continued to play a significant role because it was granted *asylia*, inviolability, together with only two other sanctuaries, that of Aphrodite at Amathus and of Zeus in Salamis during the reign of Tiberius. While only the isolated sanctuaries of Palaipaphos, Kourion and Soli have boasted numbers of marble sculptures the other isolated and rural sanctuaries at Golgoi, Arsos, Lefkoniko and Voni which have boasted literally hundreds of limestone sculptures from the Archaic into the Hellenistic and perhaps Roman period are almost devoid of marble. These sanctuaries represent though, only the more important ones among hundreds of others. For the Archaic to Hellenistic period Anja Ulbricht has registered more than 300 sanctuary sites in Cyprus, but just how many of these sites continued in use and how many new sanctuaries were

⁴⁹ Compare, for example, the just over life-size nude bronze statues of Septimius Severus and Lucius Verus from the Sebasteion, an imperial cult dwelling, at Boubon in Asia Minor in Johansen 1995, 20 and Vermeule 1980, pl. 62.

⁵⁰ For the habit of the Roman emperor, see Niemeyer 1968. For a very brief survey of the emperor in the east, see Rose 1997, 108–21.

⁵¹ See Salomies 2001a, 159.

founded during the Roman period remains unknown.⁵²

While my intention was initially to put special emphasis on the sculptures from the old traditional sanctuaries in the light of continuation and change from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, this has proven extremely difficult because, as mentioned above, safe dating criteria are lacking. It is a further obstacle that a substantial part of the literally thousands of sculptures carved in the local limestone found in the sanctuaries remains unpublished and it is therefore uncertain to what extent the tradition of setting up so-called votaries in sanctuaries continued as a significant element in the communication and relationship between gods and mortal worshippers in the Roman period. In order to illustrate questions on continuity and sculptural tradition I have chosen to look briefly at four different sanctuaries: that of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, the sanctuaries at Soli and Arsos and finally that of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula.

Due to continuous occupation very little is known about the most important sanctuary in Cyprus of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵³ Only a few Hellenistic to Roman sculptures can be attributed to the site, but it is rich in epigraphic evidence, in particular statue bases. The majority of the inscriptions from Palaipaphos⁵⁴ belong to the Hellenistic period and a surprisingly large number of inscriptions honour women, especially wives or daughters of governors. From Paphos 18 statue bases are dedicated to Hellenistic women while an additional base supported the group monument to a governor, his wife and daughter. Most of these are registered with only the provenance Paphos, but as the Paphian Aphrodite takes a prominent place in the dedicatory inscription it can be assumed that they derive from the sanctuary.⁵⁵ Two families stand out, that of the governor Polykrates of Argos and that of the governor Theodoros. Polykrates is honoured on his own in the Temple of Aphrodite, he is honoured with his father Ptolemaios and also a governor in Paphos, and the father is honoured on his own in Paphos. Polykrates' two daughters Zeuxo and Hermione are honoured together on a base in Paphos and his wife, also by the name of

Zeuxo, is honoured twice with statues in the

⁵² Ulbricht 2001, 300. There is a list of the more important Hellenistic sanctuary sites in Al-Radi 1983, 64–6. M. Rautman presents a brief survey of the main sanctuaries adapting to Christianity during the course of the third and fourth centuries, Rautman 2002.

⁵³ Maier 2000, 496–505.

⁵⁴ It must be stressed that there is no comprehensive study of the rich epigraphical material from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos. For references, see Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 278 w. note 34.

⁵⁵ They include 1. a base of Archetine (275–225 BC) daughter of Apelles. 2. of Timo (275–225 BC). 3. of a daughter, the name is lost, of Timokrates (225 BC). 4. of Kreto, a daughter of Kleon (225–200 BC). 5. of Aristion (221–205 BC) and in 163 to 145 Sokrates or his daughter Aristion are honoured in Paphos. 6. of Zeuxo and Hermione, daughters of Polykrates of Argos (203–197 BC). Polykrates, governor was honoured with his father in Paphos between 203 and 197 BC, no. 1574 and alone in the Temple of Aphrodite between 203 and 197 BC. The father of Polykrates, Ptolemaios is honoured in Paphos between 197 and 193 BC. 7. of a daughter, the name is lost, of Metrodoros (180 BC). 8. of Demonike and a lost name (160 BC). 9. of Onasion (150 BC). 10. of a daughter, the name is lost, of Theodoros, son of Seleukos, governor (142–131 BC). 11. of a daughter, the name is lost, of Lochos, governor of Thebaid? (127–124 BC). Lochos is honoured in Paphos between 127 and 124 BC. 12. of Olympias, wife of Theodoros, governor (123–118 BC). A later? Olympias was also honoured with a statue in Salamis and a Theodoros was honoured with a statue in the temple of Aphrodite between 150 and 50 BC and a Theodoros in the temple in 123–118 BC, and again in the temple in 119 BC, no. 1616, and in Paphos in 143 BC and in Paphos in 124 and twice between 123 and 118 BC, his father Seleukos was honoured between 142 and 131 BC in Paphos and between 142 and 131 BC also in Paphos, a son of Theodoros is honoured between 150–50 BC in the Temple of Aphrodite and in 123 and 118 BC in Paphos and in 120 BC. 13. of a daughter, Polykrateia?, of Theodoros, governor (123–118 BC). 14. of Aristonike, daughter of Ammonios, wife of Aristokrates (114–107 BC). 15. of Zois (100–80 BC). 16. is a dedication to the governor Helenos, his wife and daughter in 117 BC. The base 17. of Myrsine, daughter of Hyperbassas and wife of Pelops, governor and between 217–209 BC (a granddaughter also called Myrsine is known to have been commemorated with a statue in Salamis). Two bases (18–19) of Zeuxo of Cyrene, wife of the governor Polykrates dated between 203–197 BC are registered as found in the Temple of Aphrodite in Kouklia. However, it can be assumed that a number of the bases with provenance “Paphos”, may also derive from the sanctuary as the Paphian Aphrodite takes a prominent place in the dedicatory inscription. These include the bases nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15 and 16.

Temple of Aphrodite. These two latter bases date from between 203 and 198 BC and one of them may have formed part of a family group monument with the above-mentioned base honouring Polykrates also found in the temple. Theodoros was also governor of Cyprus and the son of a governor Seleukos. A daughter of Theodoros is honoured on her own, a further? daughter Polykrateia is honoured on her own, a son is honoured on his own as is his wife Olympias. Olympias is also honoured with a statue in Salamis and Theodoros himself is honoured with several statues in both Paphos and Salamis.⁵⁶ The other women honoured with statues in Paphos when we know their social rank are all wives or daughters of governors. Even though some of the statues honouring Hellenistic women from Paphos were set up as group monuments with their male relatives and even though the sanctuary, often the only place where women could participate in public life, was a place where many women were honoured,⁵⁷ the presence of Hellenistic women in this particular sanctuary is significant. None of the inscriptions from Palaipaphos honour Roman private women,⁵⁸ although there is an inscription honouring Livia, one honouring Tiberius and Julia as well as inscriptions for Roman governors, and the emperors Tiberius, Caracalla, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, demonstrating that the Paphaeian sanctuary still played a certain role in that period. Two issues seem to crystallise here: firstly, that the sanctuary was a very important place to honour women of the ruling class during the Hellenistic period. Perhaps this may be seen in the light of a text of Theocritus from the 3rd century BC mentioning the special relationship which existed between the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoe II and Aphrodite.⁵⁹ Secondly, the significance of the sanctuary during the Roman period is much more uncertain. Perhaps the public spaces of the city centre such as the agora, theatre, baths etc. had become much more important as places to demonstrate loyalty and power in the sculptural programmes. By the fourth century AD it has lost any importance as it was never rebuilt after a mid-fourth century AD earthquake.

The Sanctuary of Cholades is situated 800 m



Fig. 19. The Egyptian god Canopus found in the third century AD Temple E, probably dedicated to Sarapis in the Sanctuary of Cholades near Soli. Limestone. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

west of the city of Soli itself. The main temple, founded in the second century BC was dedicated to Aphrodite but it went through several rebuilding and refurbishing phases. The sanctuary contin-

⁵⁶ Theodoros is known from two statues from Salamis no. 1511 and 1512. Theodoros was the son of Seleukos also governor and known from a statue in Salamis from 142 BC, no. 1515 and from Knodara (Salamis?), no. 1516. A son of Theodoros is commemorated with a statue in Kouklia dated 150-50 BC no. 1531.

⁵⁷ See Bremen 1996, 185 note 150.

⁵⁸ For statues of Roman women in the provinces, Marshall 1975, 106-29.

⁵⁹ This passage, however, according to Connelly 1988, 75 refers to Golgoi.



Fig. 20. Head of Isis found in the Sanctuary of Cholades near Soli. Limestone. H 40 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

ued in use at least into the third century AD. The sculptural material reveals that marble and limestone were used concurrently throughout the whole period. Both materials were used for representing Aphrodite in a style and an iconography reflecting Greek prototypes. Statuary traditionally interpreted as votaries such as a temple boy, draped youths holding for example a bird and some draped female statues are of limestone and probably date from the second phase of the sanctuary from the late first century BC and into the first century AD thus demonstrating a continued use of these votaries into the Roman period. Limestone continued to be used for statues of local significance such as one showing the Egyptian god Canopus (Fig. 19) and one of Isis associated with the third century AD temple of Isis (Fig. 20-21). There is some evidence which suggests that the

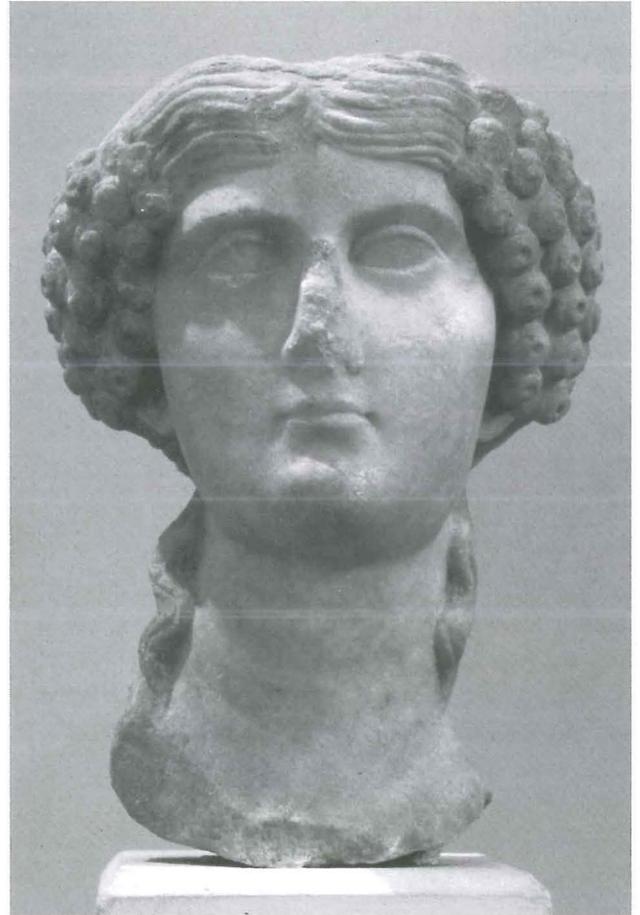


Fig. 21. Portrait of Agrippina Major found in the first century BC to AD Temple C, probably dedicated to Isis in the Sanctuary of Cholades near Soli. A cutting on top of the head may be due to the attachment of an attribute perhaps a half-crescent. Marble. H 33 cm Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

cult of Mithras was established or continued to be practised during the time of Constantine.⁶⁰

At the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Arsos on the Mesoria Plain the predominant statue type is a standing female figure of limestone, each of which is shown fully wrapped up in a chiton and a large himation, which also covers the back of the head as a veil. Each figure wears heavy jewellery, such as earrings and a necklace and probably held an attribute in the outstretched left hand. These figures have been interpreted as votaries (Fig. 22-23). The typical draped standing male statue wearing a

⁶⁰ Westholm 1936, 151.



Fig. 22. Torso of a Late Hellenistic life-size female votary statue from Arsos. Limestone. Larnaca District Museum 653.

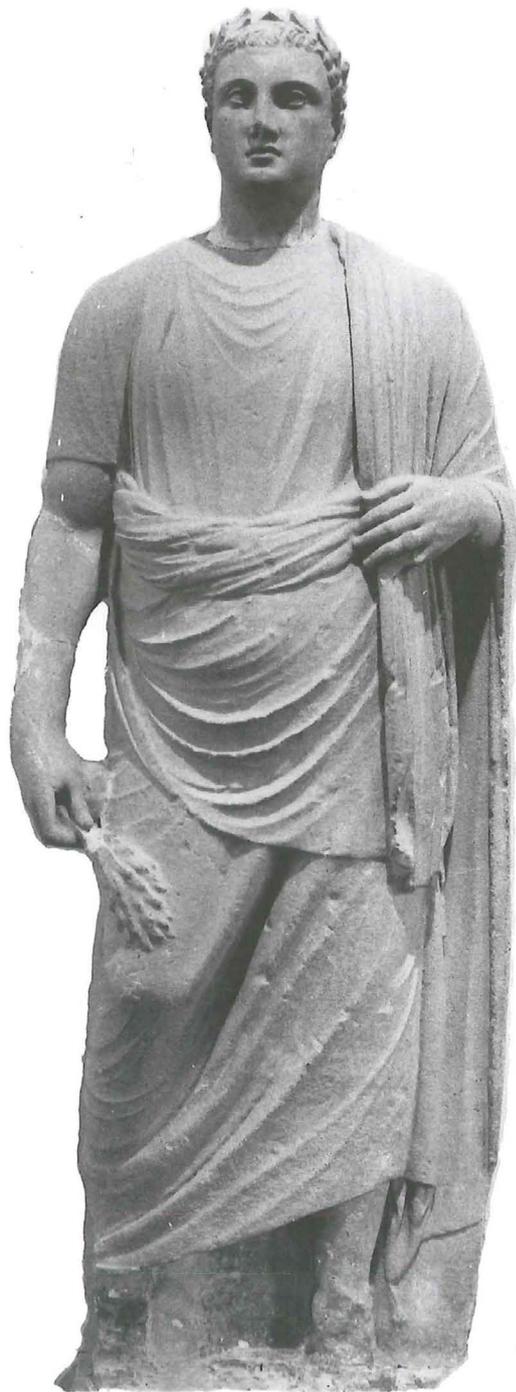


Fig. 24. Late Hellenistic over life-size male votary statue from Vouni. Limestone. Nicosia Cyprus Museum inv. E513. Courtesy of Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 23. Head of a Late Hellenistic life-size female votary statue from Arsos. Limestone. Larnaca District Museum 659.

wreath around the head holding a twig and dominating the Sanctuary of Apollo at Vouni (Fig. 24) is far less common and it seems that the dedication of votaries was dependent on the sex of the main deity to whom the statues were dedicated. The so-



Fig. 25. Temple boy holding a rabbit. Unknown provenance. Limestone with traces of red paint. H 20 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum E134

called temple-boy, a figure depicting a seated young boy with short hair wearing a short tunic which almost always reveals his genitals, a necklace with large amulets and sometimes a wreath around the head, is only represented by one example at Arsos (Fig. 25). With more than 200 known examples from Cyprus this sculptural type of a boy, always carved in limestone (and terracotta) is the most common type in the sculptural corpus of the Hellenistic to Roman period. When provenances are available temple boys derive from sanctuaries, in particular those sanctuaries in which male deities were worshipped. Their interpretation and chronology are disputed. Appearing perhaps as early as the Late Classical period none of the temple boys from Cyprus can be safely ascribed to a Roman context but it is significant that similar statues of seated boys, without jewellery, though, are also known, for example, from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Cyrene in the late second century AD. Here the statues may have been set up by grateful parent after the successful cure of a child.⁶¹ The

function of the type also seems connected to the age of the boy represented. If representing an infant about two years old as is often assumed they may represent votaries set up by grateful parents after the birth of a boy (only a handful of figures may represent girls) but as some of the boys are depicted with a long lock of hair on one side of the head, a so-called youth lock which was cut off when the boy reached a certain age, it is possible that they were set up to commemorate a rite de passage in the life of the boy and to place him under the protection of a god.⁶² A temple boy found in the Sanctuary of Apollon Hylates with

⁶¹ Rosenbaum 1960, 49 no. 28 and 66 no. 72. Successful healing is also the case of a marble temple boy found in the temple of Ashmun in Lebanon, according to the inscription, see Beer 1994.

⁶² A head from Golgoi in Louvre MA 2846, if a temple boy, has a long lock at the back of the head in Hermery 1989, 111 cat. 212 fig. 212. For the latest theories and literature on temple boys, see Karageorghis 2000, 268–9.

Fig. 26. The hill-top Sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula.



Fig. 27. View of the landscape around the Sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula.



the inscription in the syllabic on the base “to Apollo” also supports such an interpretation.⁶³ According to Connelly the latest male and female limestone votaries in these rural sanctuaries date from the first century BC, but this is based on stylistic criteria. The significance of this type of tradi-

tional rural sanctuary in the Roman period therefore remains unresolved. Evidence from Soli seems to suggest that the statuary votary types of both the

⁶³ Mitford 1971 no. 18 and Swiny 1982, 72.



Fig. 28. Sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula. The limestone outcrop forms a natural quarry. The many votaries found in the sanctuary may have been cut on site from the limestone rock.



Fig. 29. Votaries from the Sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula in the gardens of Limassol Museum.



Fig. 30. Torso of a life-size statue of a man from the sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula and discussed by Vermeule (1976). Limestone.

standing male and female figure continued to be popular for some time into the Roman period.

At the isolated and strikingly situated hilltop sanctuary of Zeus Labranios at Phasoula 10 km. inland from modern Limassol (figs. 26–28),⁶⁴ the sandalled feet and base of a standing male figure bearing the dedicatory inscription to Zeus Labranios was found and dated to the fourth century AD. According to Mitford this inscription and eight further inscriptions found in the same sanctuary date from the second to the fourth century AD.⁶⁵ Ca. 50 torsoes of a coarse easily deteriorating limestone showing life-size or just under life-size standing male figures draped in a long tunica over which is worn what seems to be a large himation have been recovered from the Phasoula sanctuary since the 1930s⁶⁶ (Fig. 29). The few heads

that have either been found in or associated with the sanctuary show bearded men with a large curly hairstyle and wearing a wreath of laurels? Vermeule earlier suggested that one of the statues represented a high magistrate or even an emperor of the fourth century AD (Fig. 30). Vermeule based his dating partly on Mitford's dating of the inscriptions, partly on style and on the draping of the himation which he compared to that of magistrates represented on the obelisk of Theodosius.⁶⁷ Vermeule saw other statues from Phasoula as variations on this particular statue of a magistrate. However, this comparison is not totally convincing. The indication of folds is too schematic and the state of preservation of the statues so poor that they may just as well date to the second or third century AD.⁶⁸ It must be noted also that none of the inscriptions from Phasoula can be absolutely dated but an inscription to Zeus Labranios found at Khandria dates from the reign of Commodus. This is the only securely dated inscription to Zeus Labranios. Further studies of the statuary and inscriptions from this sanctuary are needed in order to confirm or dismiss the continuity of a pagan cult and the tradition of setting up votaries well into the Christian period when most of the other sanctuaries had been abandoned.⁶⁹ Phasoula certainly played a role in the fourth century AD when, however, a Christian took refuge there.⁷⁰

3.C. Tombs

Sculpted cinerary urns, sarcophagi, altars, reliefs and stelai as well as portrait statuary and busts played a significant role in the furnishing of tombs throughout the Empire.⁷¹ In Cyprus tombs were

⁶⁴ For the sanctuary, see Prokopiou 1999, 315–5.

⁶⁵ See Mitford 1946, 27–32 and Mitford 1961, 111–2.

⁶⁶ See Prokopiou 1999.

⁶⁷ Vermeule 1976, 121. For a good survey of late Antique costumes, see Smith 1999, 176–82.

⁶⁸ See also the important arguments presented by Hermay 1992, 333–7.

⁶⁹ See generally Rautman 2002.

⁷⁰ See Aupert & Hellmann 1984, 23 no. 46.

⁷¹ See for example Hessberg 1992.



Fig. 31. Funerary cippi of limestone in the gardens of Larnaca District Museum.

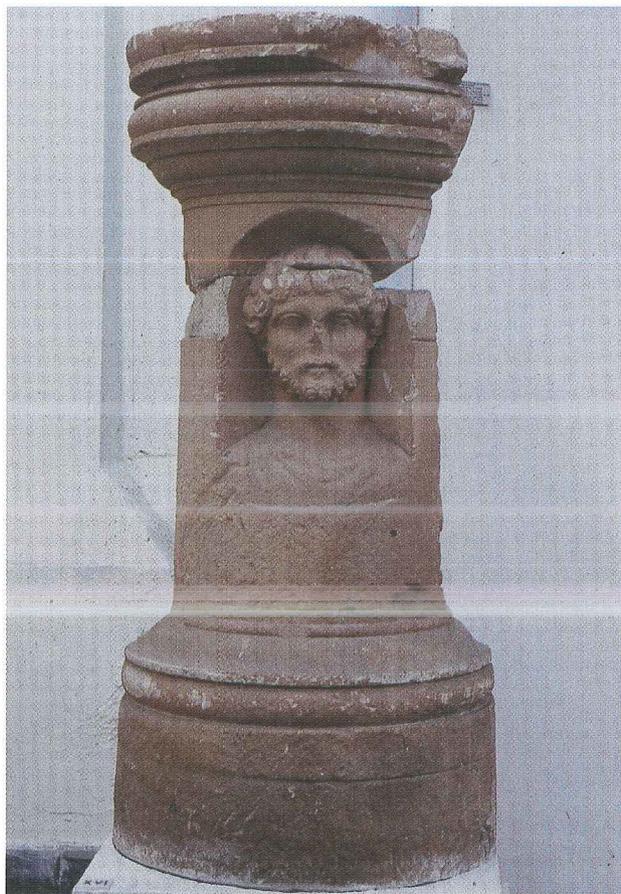


Fig. 32. Funerary column with portrait in a niche. It once bore the inscription ΜΑΡΚΕ ΧΡΗCΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ. Limestone. H 118 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 33. Detail of Fig. 32 with Antonine male portrait.

not as richly furnished as in other parts of the empire but we can trace a number of the above-mentioned elements. Elaborately decorated tomb

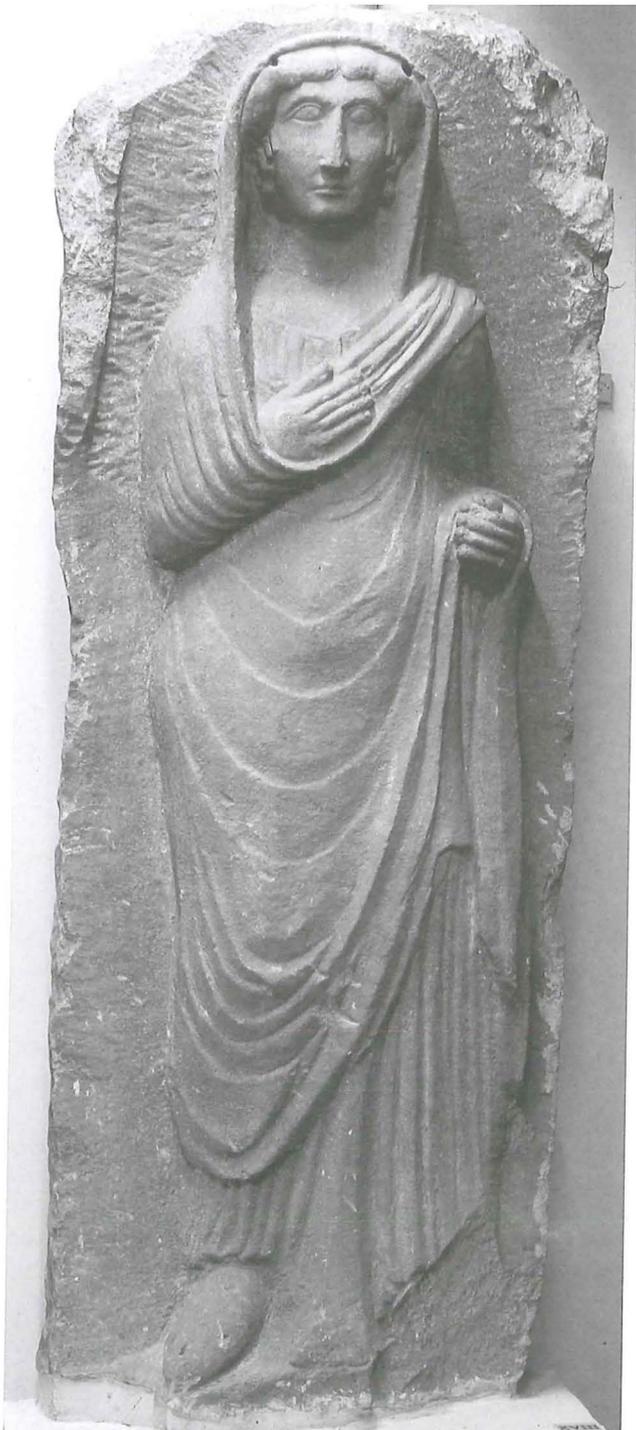


Fig. 34. Funerary stele of a woman wrapped in a large himation and wearing heavy earrings and a finger ring. From Pera. Limestone. H 1.6 m. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1940-V-25.

chambers are restricted to Paphos, to the so-called Tomb of the Kings,⁷² and they probably all date from the Hellenistic period and relief decoration as known from Roman Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor etc. is absent. One of the few sculpted tomb from the Roman period is from Kourion and shows the large bust? (with arm stumps) of a bearded man cut in low relief on the interior wall of a chamber tomb. The overwhelmingly predominant monument used to commemorate the dead was the limestone cippus (Fig. 31 cippi in Larnaca Museums Garden), a low cylindrical drum with base and top profile and sometimes ornamented with either painted or sculpted decoration most often a garland. Cippi, as demonstrated by Parks on the basis of analysis of the inscribed epigrams, often commemorated freedmen and members of the upper classes.⁷³ Three second century A.D cippi are sculpted in low relief with the portrait head of the deceased set in a small niche (Fig. 32-33) and relating them closely to columns with portraits found in the eastern part of Greece and Asia Minor.⁷⁴ The portraits are in style and form connected to the Roman metropolitan tradition boasting Antonine male and female hairstyles that could have been worn by a citizen in Rome while other portraits from funerary contexts relate closely to those found in Syria and Egypt. A limestone funerary stele showing the life-size figure of a standing woman from Pera,⁷⁵ for example, (Fig. 34) shows her with an “un-Roman” hairstyle, heavy earrings and a ring on the little finger of her left hand. Two drill holes in the veil suggest that a metal ribbon or wreath was attached and as the left hand is drilled through she must have held an object, perhaps of metal. Hairstyle and jewellery relate the stele to funerary reliefs of Palmyra. A final example of portraiture which has long been associated with a funerary context are the so-called funerary busts, of which more than twenty are known.⁷⁶ Carved in limestone they represent

⁷² See Carstens below 154.

⁷³ Parks 1999, 122-32 and Parks 2002.

⁷⁴ For parallels, see Kreilinger 2001, 97-8.

⁷⁵ Cyprus Museum inv. no. 1940-V-25-2.

⁷⁶ See Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 9-33.



Fig. 35. So-called funerary bust of a man with wreath. Limestone with traces of red paint on pupils, lips and wreath. Unknown provenance, ex-collection Michaelides. H 27 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1968/V-30/702.

young beardless men wearing a wreath and women with a veil and probably a chiton of which only the neckline is represented and jewellery (Fig. 35-36). There are traces of red paint on eyeballs, lips and wreaths on many of the portraits. They all have extremely long trunk-like necks which flare out at the base before being cut abruptly off in a flat plane section, which enables them to stand upright. Cut into the centre of the base is a large square hole, while four small circular drilled holes penetrate through the base of the neck (Fig. 37).⁷⁷ These technical devices are obviously for attachment. Karageorghis suggests that the heads were attached to wooden statues or poles as many of the heads show traces of fire while Parks suggests that they were attached to stone perhaps shelves in a



Fig. 36. Back of Fig. 35.

tomb or as finials on cippi. The latter seems less likely as this would be a technique unknown and completely unsuitable for piercing stone. If, however, attached to a wooden statue or pole the lower part of the long neck could have been concealed by drapery, either real or in a different material. Another possibility is that they were attached to a wooden coffin and thereby recall with their long necks the upraised position of Egyptian stucco mummy masks being attached to the embalmed body by wooden dowels at the edges.⁷⁸ It must, however, be stressed that firstly, none of the busts have a safe provenance except that they are from Cyprus, mainly the Mesaoria

⁷⁷ See Karageorghis 1969b, 460-61 fig. 41.

⁷⁸ The parallel to Egyptian mummy masks of the Roman period was first suggested by Westholm 1936, 204 no. 110. For mummy masks, see Jørgensen 2001.

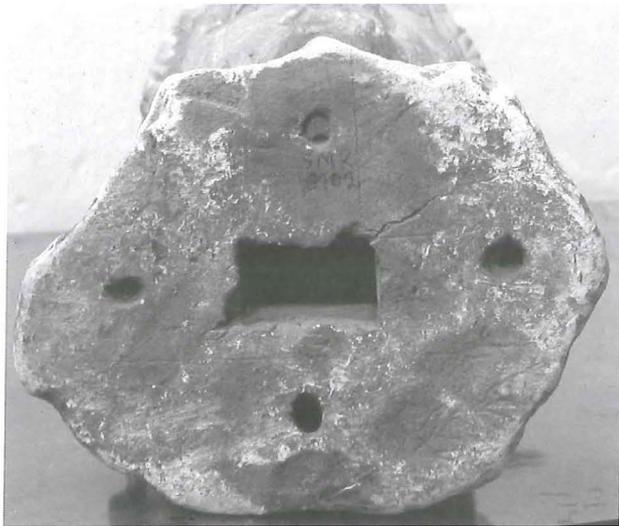


Fig. 37. Base of fig. 35 showing holes for attachment.

plain and the only association between the heads and a funerary context rests on Cesnola's writings.⁷⁹ According to Cesnola he found a chamber tomb with a sarcophagus adorned at each corner with a funerary bust – a highly doubtful display.⁸⁰ Cesnola regrets that three of four busts were destroyed right after their discovery but he does illustrate the last one and of which Vessberg & Westholm later publishes a photo.⁸¹ This bust, which is in fact a proper bust with part of the shoulders and a circular bust base and showing a woman draped in chiton and wearing a necklace, has nothing to do with the so-called funerary busts which are not busts but heads on long necks. Further the Cesnola bust – on which Cesnola also claimed that there was an inscription with reference to a proconsul and certainly not visible in the photo – looks more like a miniature bust and perhaps rather of terracotta than limestone?⁸² Cesnola, however, illustrated a few of the so-called funerary busts with long necks and wrote in the accompanying text "... Found in different tombs in the necropolis (Golgoi). Most of them have holes, both square and round, which seem to indicate that they were fastened to something; but nothing was discovered in the tombs with them, except pottery and lamps".⁸³ Secondly, that in particular the hairstyles of the female busts need closer examination in order to establish a chronology,⁸⁴ and finally, that there is very little in the physiognomy



Fig. 38. Bone container in limestone. Unknown provenance, ex collection Michaelides. H 50 cm. W 68 cm. D 33 cm. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1968/V-30/731.

of the heads which positively characterises them as portraits representing specific individuals.

As inhumation was the rule in Roman Cyprus the island boasts several corpse and bone containers. Most are cut in the local limestone and left plain without any decoration, but a number of sarcophagi are of marble and with elaborate relief decoration being imports either from Greece or Asia Minor. A large marble sarcophagus found recently in a tomb chamber east of Nea Paphos and showing a sculpted frieze with pairs of Erotes is left unfinished and was probably exported from Asia Minor to be finished on the spot in Cyprus.⁸⁵ A 68 cm long limestone bone container ostotheca (Fig. 38) decorated with garlands suspended from

⁷⁹ See Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 19.

⁸⁰ So Parks 1999, 149-52. However, her recording is confused.

⁸¹ Cesnola 1884; Vessberg & Westholm 1956, pl. XVII.

⁸² Not unlike terracotta busts found in a tomb in Nea Paphos, see Karageorghis 1985a, 964 figs. 43-4.

⁸³ Cesnola 1885, vol. I.5, pl. 145 with description to nos. 1139-48. Only 1143-5, 1147 are for certain of the so-called funerary bust type with fastening holes.

⁸⁴ I have not examined any of the female heads but Cyprus Museum inv. D99 in Connelly 1988 pl. 5 fig 20 may recall Palmyran second century AD female portraits with its jewellery in the hair around the centre parting and according to Parks 1999, 149, one woman is depicted with a hairstyle reminiscent of Faustina Maior.

⁸⁵ This will probably be published by E. Raptou.



Fig. 39. Nea Paphos, the House of Theseus.

bucrania and with the faces of a young man and a veiled woman⁸⁶ is so close to an ostotheca found in Perge in Asia Minor that they must have been sculpted in the same workshop showing that limestone sculpture could also be exported or imported.⁸⁷

Built tombs or mausolea which often dominate the landscape around provincial cities both in the western and eastern part of the Empire are apparently not completely unknown to Cyprus. An inscription from Soli probably dating to 129 AD mentions a peribolos and family tomb. This tomb has been identified with a small circular temple building visible in the landscape between the city itself and the harbour.⁸⁸

Although the most common monument used to commemorate the dead in Roman Cyprus was the cippus often found on top of the burial itself, all the other funerary monuments discussed above were probably displayed inside tomb chambers. Portraiture, as we have seen,⁸⁹ played an important

role in the commemoration of the dead probably expressing personal grief and remembrance directed towards the immediate family who had access to the tomb rather than reflecting social status and wealth as is often read in Roman funerary symbolism.

3.D. The private sphere

Floor mosaics and wall paintings were standard elements in the fixed decoration of private spaces of the privileged owners of grand houses and villas across the Empire. Of the portable decor sculpture

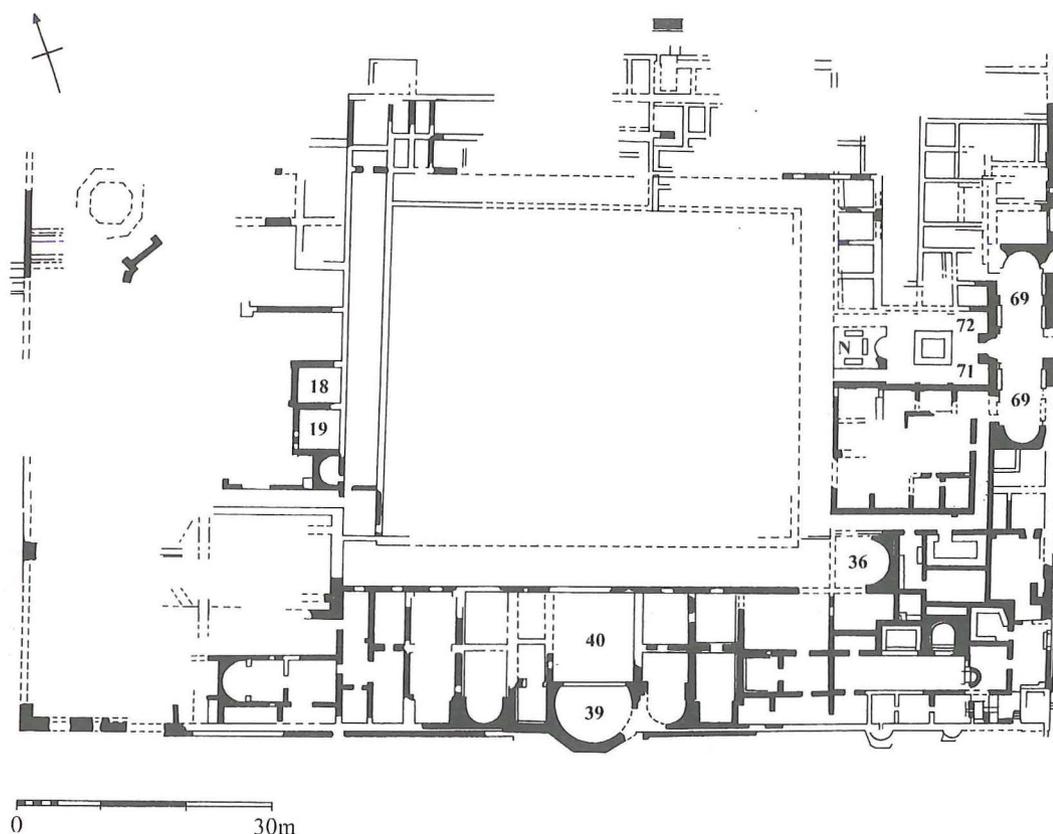
⁸⁶ Cyprus Museum inv. 1968/V-30/731 in Karageorghis 1969b, 458-9 fig. 40a-b, and latest Parks 1999, 268 with discussion.

⁸⁷ See Spanu 2000, 172 fig. 17.5.

⁸⁸ See Mitford 1980b, 1328.

⁸⁹ For portraits in general in Roman Cyprus, see Vessberg & Westholm 1956, 97-104.

Fig. 40. Plan of the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos 1:800 (Drawing by Constantin Methenitis from Karageorghis, *BCH* 106, 1982, 733 fig. 102).



collections are often the only remaining evidence. Sculpture collections may be uniform in material, scale, style and date, suggesting that the collection constituted a single commission perhaps from the same workshop while other collections are diverse and were possibly, but not necessarily, assembled over a longer period of time. Many collections included scaled down close or more distant versions of famous Greek masterpieces, portraits of homines illustres, sometimes portraits of the imperial family and the owner's own family, and decorative marble furniture, fountains and other ornaments suitable for display in a garden. There may be a certain consistency in theme, colour scheme, and style between the painted wall decoration, the mosaic floors and the sculptural decoration, suggesting a well-thought-out overall design. While the decorative aspect played a perhaps not insignificant role, sculpture collections and the decor in general also demonstrated wealth and helped to create a certain atmosphere in the house emphasising the impression that the owner wished to convey to the visitors on issues such as his own intel-

lectual interest and taste.⁹⁰ Sculpture collections are known from two different complexes interpreted as private residences, from the so-called House of Theseus in Nea Paphos and the House of the Gladiators in Kourion.

The House of Theseus is situated about 250 m from the western and southern coastline of the promontory within the city wall of the Hellenistic/Roman capital of the island, Nea Paphos. This south-western part of the promontory seems to have been largely occupied by huge residential dwellings each occupying several insulae and surrounded by streets,⁹¹ while the public spaces of agora, odeon, theatre and sanctuaries which are still to a large extent unexplored were located further inland towards the north-east. The House of Theseus (Fig. 39) seems to have been laid

⁹⁰ On the sculptural decor of private spaces, see above all Bartman 1994, 71-88.

⁹¹ For a discussion of the character of these dwellings - are they in any sense domestic, palaces, villas or houses, I refer to Kondoleon 1995.



Fig. 41. Nea Paphos, the House of Theseus, entrance hall with stone benches looking towards the southern apsis.

out in three different main phases during the Hellenistic period and of which there is little evidence, with the construction of the south wing during the second half of the second century AD and with the extensive restoration and construction of the rooms around the central peristyle after a devastating earthquake which affected most of the southern part of Cyprus in 365 AD. It therefore seems that the house did not assume its final plan until the fourth century AD.⁹² Laid out with four wings around a columned peristyle court (Fig. 40) the house occupies ca. 1500 m² and is one of the largest private dwellings in the Roman Empire. It is therefore often interpreted as the “residence”, in the widest sense of the word, of the Roman governor. The house was entered in the east wing through a wide hall (Fig. 40 no. 69) provided with stone benches, probably originally marble veneered, and an apsis at either end (Fig. 41-42). The main axis of the hall was accentuated by statue niches flanking a doorway leading to a large room with a rectangular basin for collecting rainwater and con-

⁹² I am most grateful to Henryk Meyza for supplying me with information about the various construction phases of the house before the final publication of the House of Theseus is due to appear.



Fig. 42. Nea Paphos, the House of Theseus, entrance hall with statue niche on either side of the so-called atrium entrance.

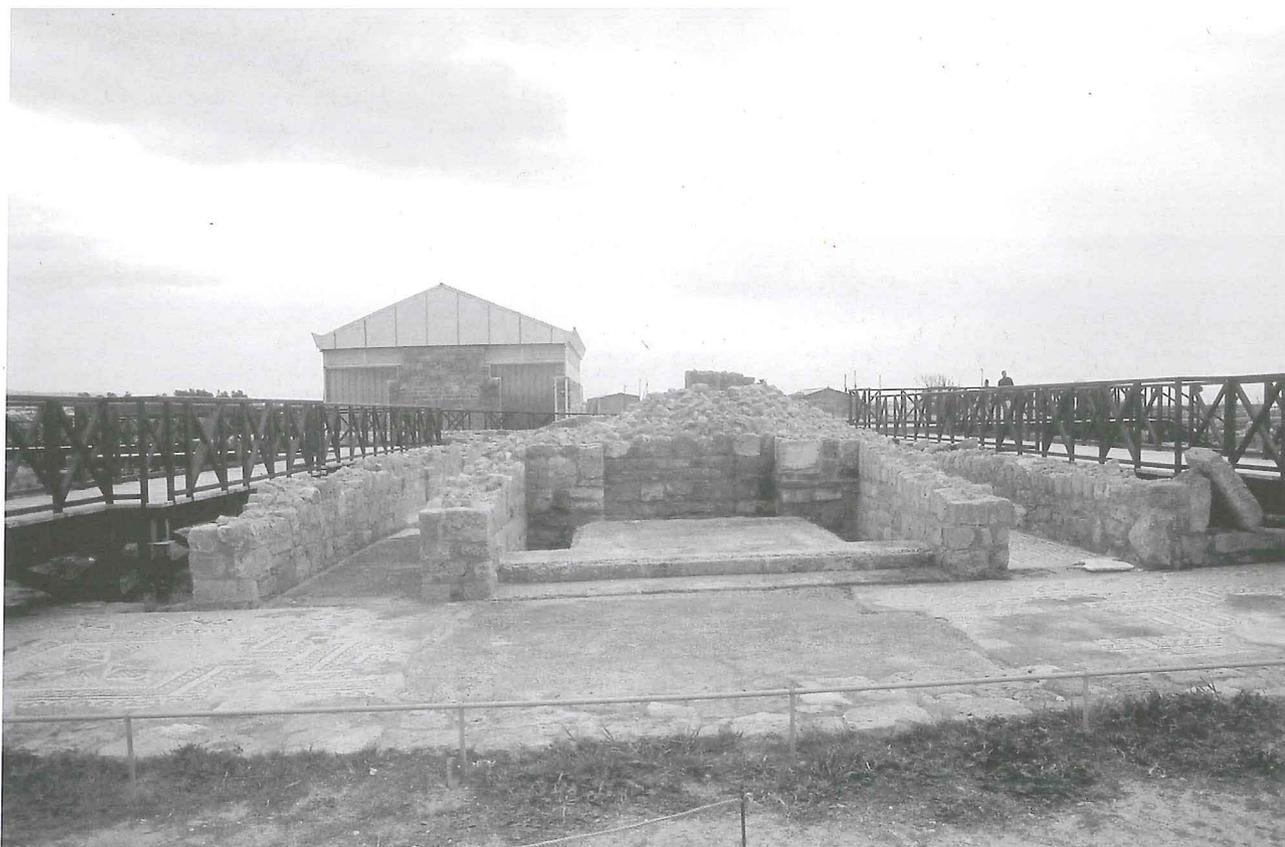


Fig. 43. Nea Paphos, the House of Theseus, small nymphaeum.

nected to a cistern. The rear wall of this room, interpreted as an atrium (Fig. 40 nos. 71-72), forms a deep niche, which “probably contained some statuary”.⁹³ Behind the so-called atrium and facing the peristyle court was a small nymphaeum (Fig. 40 no. N) lined with marble slabs and with three oblong basins (Fig. 43). In the south wing were more principal rooms, in its eastern part a semicircular one with the mosaic showing Theseus fighting the Minotaur (Fig. 40 no. 36), lending the house its name, and on the main axis of the south wing is the so-called Grand Aula (Fig. 40 nos. 39-40) with a wide apsis with an opus sectile floor of coloured marble at the south end and a large mosaic panels on the other three sides and of which only the one facing the northern portico showing The First Bath of Achilles in the north towards the portico.⁹⁴ While the north wing remains mainly unexcavated the west wing is partly excavated, and consists of a series of minor and less pretentious rooms, interpreted as storage and utility spaces at least during the

final phase of the house.⁹⁵ Most of the sculptures found in the house were concentrated in the west wing in rooms 18 and 19 including: one limestone head, thirteen well-preserved marble statuettes, fragments of at least fourteen other marble statuettes including two heads and two face fragments, one monumental marble head of Isis and one monumental marble statue of Aphrodite (Fig. 44).⁹⁶

⁹³ According to the excavator W.A. Daszewski in Daszewski & Michaelides 1988, 53.

⁹⁴ See Michaelides 1987, 24-5, 44-5 pl. 9 and 31.

⁹⁵ See Lichočka 2001, 251-61 and more generally Lichočka & Meyza 2001, 145-208.

⁹⁶ Tentative list of sculptures found in the House of Theseus: *In miniature:*

1. Late head not of marble. Not seen. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 154.

2. a. FR 18/76 Torso of Silvanus found near lime kiln in south wing. Marble. H 48 cm (Fig. 45d).

b. Lower part found at the entrance. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 154.

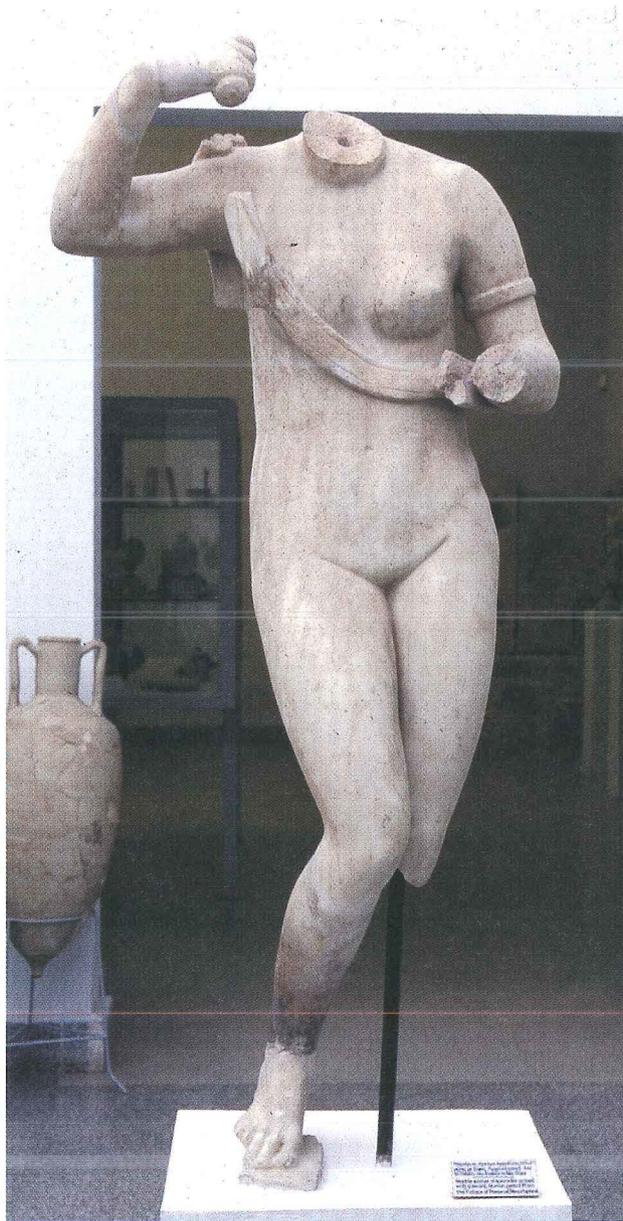


Fig. 44. Aphrodite Armata found in Nea Paphos, the House of Theseus. Marble. H 91 cm. Paphos Museum FR 67/73.

Obviously the sculptures were not in their original setting in these two small rooms of the west wing. The find of adjoining parts of two of the statuettes near lime kilns in other parts of the house suggests that they were being gradually burned into lime. Eight of the statuettes stand out as a uniform group in both material, size, style and subjects.⁹⁷ Contrary to other statuettes found with them of different marble and style none of the eight statuettes have

3. a. FR 9/66 a Lower part of Satyr found south west corner. Reference Karageorghis 1982, 734 fig. 106 (Fig. 45f).
 - b. 1284/8 matches fragment in Museum. Reference Daszewski 1994c, 154 and Daszewski 1970, pl. 23,2. Marble. H 37 cm.
 4. Sleeping Eros. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 155; Karageorghis 1998, 249 fig. 197. Marble.
 5. FR 2/67 Hercules. Reference: Daszewski 1968 pl. 14,5. Found in rooms XIX lying on the floor. Marble. H 35 cm. Remains of red paint in beard (Fig. 45c).
 6. FR 1/66 Asclepius. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 153-4; Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966, 355-8. Marble. H 38 cm (Fig. 45b).
 7. FR 1/67 Asclepius Giustini. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 153-4; Daszewski 1968 pl. 14,1; Sirano 1994; Karageorghis 1998, 236 fig. 184. Found in room XIX lying on the floor. With beginning of inscription PH on the base. Very fine grained white marble. H 48 cm (Fig. 45h).
 8. FR 3/67 Dionysos. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 153; Daszewski 1968, pl. 14,2; Karageorghis 1998, 232 fig. 180. Found in room XIX. Marble. H 50 cm (Fig. 45e).
 9. FR 2/65 Artemis. Reference: Daszewski 1994c 154; Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966, 355-8. Marble. H 46 cm (Fig. 45a).
 10. FR 70/73 Muse? Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 154; Daszewski 1976 pl. 36,2. Marble. H 47 cm (Fig. 45g).
 11. FR 31/67 and FR 32/67. A Black/white group. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 154; Daszewski 1968, pl. 14,3-4; Karageorghis 1998. Found in room XVIII with their base. Black marble and white marble.
 12. FR 62/73 and FR 66/73. Two head fragments: Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 153, 158 pl. 46a; Daszewski 1976 pl. 36,3. Found west of portico 5. Marble.
 13. Head of Aphrodite. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 158, pl. 46b-c.
 14. Head of Aphrodite. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 158, pl. 46d.
 15. FR 68/73 Base with two naked feet and tree trunk. Marble. H 17 cm; W 21 cm.; depth 13.2 cm. i.e. also a miniature. According to Daszewski 1976, 224 perhaps in the pose of Apollon Sauroctonos. Not illustrated.
 16. FR 65/73 Base with leg and hand. H 28 cm i.e. also miniature. Daszewski 1976, 225. Not illustrated.
 17. Eight fragments of statuettes. Reference: Daszewski 1972, 229 piece of drapery, part of hand, foot.
 18. FR 29/67 Seated Demeter. Fine grained white marble with black veins. H 51 cm. Both arms were separately added. Found in room XVIII. Reference: Karageorghis 1998, 239 fig. 186 (Fig. 47).
 19. 546 5-9 Hygeia. Not published. Marble. H 35.5 cm.
- Monumental:*
20. a. FR 67/73, Aphrodite, armed, slightly under life-size. Marble. H 91 cm. Reference: Daszewski 1994c, 154-5 with references. Found in the west wing portico 5.
 - b. FR 64/73 Head of Isis found west of portico. Reference: Daszewski 1976 pl. 36,4. Marble.

⁹⁷ Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 in n. 96.

their heads preserved, but their height can be estimated as about 60 cm. At least four of them were repaired some time during Antiquity as evidenced by the small iron pins that were used to repair heads and arms.⁹⁸ Representing the gods and mythical figures of Artemis, Hygieia, Asclepios, Heracles, Silvanus, Dionysos, probably a Satyr and a Muse (Fig. 45–46) most of them reflect more or less well-defined Late Classical and Hellenistic originals,⁹⁹ and although they exhibit very long and slim somewhat mannerist proportions and elegant body postures and twists, the hands and legs are heavy, sometimes clumsy. Struts are kept to a minimum and all statuettes are relatively carefully carved on the back while only two of them are carved just as detailed on the back as on the front. Whether this difference in the treatment of the back has anything to do with their original setting remains uncertain. It is possible, but not certain that the eight statuettes not only represent a single commission, but they may also have been carved in the same workshop. Difference in treatment of details as for example between the nebris of the two statuettes interpreted as Satyr and Dionysos,¹⁰⁰ may seem substantial but the treatment of genitals and thighs is close suggesting that the statuettes could derive from the same workshop in spite of these stylistic and technical differences. Various dates either for isolated sculptures within the collection or the collection as a whole ranges from early Roman to the late second century.¹⁰¹ They may date from the late second or early third century AD contemporaneously with the building of the southern wing but were kept, cared for and repaired perhaps for generations until they went out of fashion, perhaps as a consequence of Christianity, and were put in storage. A fourth century date when the house expanded around the central peristyle can, however, not be excluded.¹⁰² A few other statuettes from room 18 and 19 of different marbles and styles including Asclepius of the Guistini type,¹⁰³ a seated Demeter,¹⁰⁴ and some face fragments¹⁰⁵ have details in common with statuettes of a fourth century date and should be dated accordingly (Fig. 45–47).¹⁰⁶ Also a group of two female figures, perhaps Isis and Aphrodite, standing on a common base with the one figure in black marble wrapped in a large mantle adorned with stars and

the other similar figure in white marble may also be from the fourth century AD. Whether these other statuettes were bought to supplement or enlarge the other eight statuettes remains uncertain. There does not seem to be a single mythological theme in which to accommodate either the eight or the additional figures and perhaps their role was mainly decorative. Typically they could have adorned the nymphaeum in the east wing or have been displayed in the peristyle garden (Fig. 43). Dionysos, Silvanus, Satyr, and Artemis were all associated with the leisure activities that took place in the cultivated garden and wilder countryside. The visitor to the house was met with statuary right at the entrance adorned with niches for the purpose (Fig. 42). Perhaps the just under life-size statue of an armed Aphrodite adorned one of the niches in the entrance hall (Fig. 44). Aphrodite with male attributes, physiognomic by the wearing of a beard or

⁹⁸ Nos. 2, 6, 11, 12 in n. 96.

⁹⁹ Compare the Satyr (Paphos Museum 1284/4) to the so-called resting Satyr attributed to Praxiteles though reversed in Bartman 1992, 54, 60 fig. 9, the Dionysos (Paphos Museum RE 3/67) Dionysos to the dancing gesture of Satyr with Hare in Bol 1989, 169 no. 59 pl. 92–93, and the Silvanus (Paphos Museum FR 18/76) to a Silvanus in Villa Albani inv. 533 in R.M. Schneider in Bol 1998, 417–9 no. 923 pl. 191–3.

¹⁰⁰ Nos. 3 and 8 in n. 96.

¹⁰¹ Młynarczyk 1990, 103 suggests early Roman for the Artemis statuette while Daszewski in the many report of the excavation articles prefers a late to the second half of the second century AD for most of the pieces.

¹⁰² Several arguments could be advanced for a late date such as the treatment of the lumpy hands, the muscles of the knees etc. I shall, however, refrain from dating on uncertain stylistic criteria and await the publication of the House of Theseus with a discussion of the archaeological evidence. There has been a tendency on the basis of both stylistic and ceramic evidence to lower the date of the mosaics in for example the neighbouring House of Dionysos to the late second century AD, see Kondoleon 1995, 316–7. For dating criteria of late Antique sculpture see Hannestad 1994, 154 and Bergmann 1999, 70–1.

¹⁰³ No. 7 in n. 96.

¹⁰⁴ No. 20 in n. 96.

¹⁰⁵ No. 14 in n. 96.

¹⁰⁶ Material collected in Filges 1999, 377–430. I owe this reference to Lea Stirling. For the interpretation of late antique miniature groups, see Stirling 1996.



Fig. 45. Marble statuettes of Artemis, H 46 cm, Paphos Museum FR 2/65 (a); Asclepius, H 38 cm, Paphos Museum 1/65 (b); Hercules, H 35 cm, Paphos Museum P.E. 2/67 (c); Silvanus, H 48 cm, Paphos Museum FR 18/76 (d); Bacchus, H 50 cm, Paphos Museum P.E. 3/67 (e); Satyr, H 37 cm, Paphos Museum 1284/4 (f); Muse, H 47 cm, Paphos Museum 70/73 (g); Asclepius, H 48.5 cm, Paphos Museum FR 1/67 (h).

Fig. 47. Statuette of Demeter from the House of Theseus. Marble. H 51 cm. Paphos Museum FR 29/67.



material by wearing men's weapons had a long tradition in Cyprus and persisted well into Late Antiquity no doubt referring to both imperial Roman iconography as well as to the androgynous nature of Aphrodite in Cyprus.¹⁰⁷ There may be thematic consistency across different media in the house of Orpheus. A large table support, trapezophoron, though only known to have been found in Nea Paphos shows Orpheus playing for the beasts (Fig. 48).¹⁰⁸ In the House of Orpheus, situated

¹⁰⁷ See the discussion by Michaelides 2002, 359-61.

¹⁰⁸ Hercules trapezophoron P.M. 913 and Orpheus trapezophoron P.M. 1718 are both in Paphos Museum, see Michaelides 1989, 151-5, pl. 39-41; Karageorghis 2000, 168.



Fig. 46. Rear view of marble statuettes of Artemis (a); Asclepius (b); Hercules (c); Silvanus (d); Bacchus (e); Satyr (f), Muse (g) and Asclepius (h).



Fig. 48. Table support with lower part of Orpheus playing for the beasts. From Nea Paphos, perhaps a house. Marble. Paphos Museum 1718.

behind the House of Theseus, one of the principal rooms, perhaps a triclinium, is decorated with a mosaic of Orpheus.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the Orpheus theme is, although admittedly this is purely hypothetical, an example of a carefully designed interior. Dining and entertainment of which the hunting of wild beasts in the arena was the most dramatic enchanted the host and placed him among the most famous aristocrats of the Empire. A further trapezophoron showing the drunken Hercules surrounded by Erotes was excavated recently in Nea Paphos south of the House of Dionysos and perhaps *in situ* in a private house (Fig. 49). This trapezophoron must have been used in a

¹⁰⁹ See Michaelides 1989, 12-4 pl. 20.



Fig. 49. Table support with drunken Hercules surrounded by Erotes. Genitals of Hercules removed probably by the Christians. From Nea Paphos. Marble. H 90 cm. Paphos Museum 913.

Christian context as both the faces of the Erotes and of Hercules as well as the genitals of Hercules have been mutilated and deliberately cut away.¹¹⁰

In Kourion, briefly discussed above, the spectacle of the arena dominated the theme of the so-called House of the Gladiators (Fig. 50). Although difficult to determine its precise function it is usually interpreted as a private residence although its close proximity to the agora as well as its general layout does not exclude other functions.¹¹¹ The house is situated ca. 150 m north west of the Roman agora and about 100 m from the cliff. According to the excavators it was built during the late third century AD and was destroyed by the earthquake in 365 AD after which it was partly rebuilt, but probably not as a residence.¹¹² As much of the house collapsed dur-

¹¹⁰ See Michaelides 1989, 154 and Hannestad 2001, 76.

¹¹¹ For example annexes of the bath, see Kondoleon 1982, 103.

¹¹² See Loulloupis 1971, pls. 31-38 and Christou 1996, 53 (plan of the house), 54-5 and p. 82 for the two sculptures found in the house.



Fig. 50. Kourion, the House of the Gladiators.

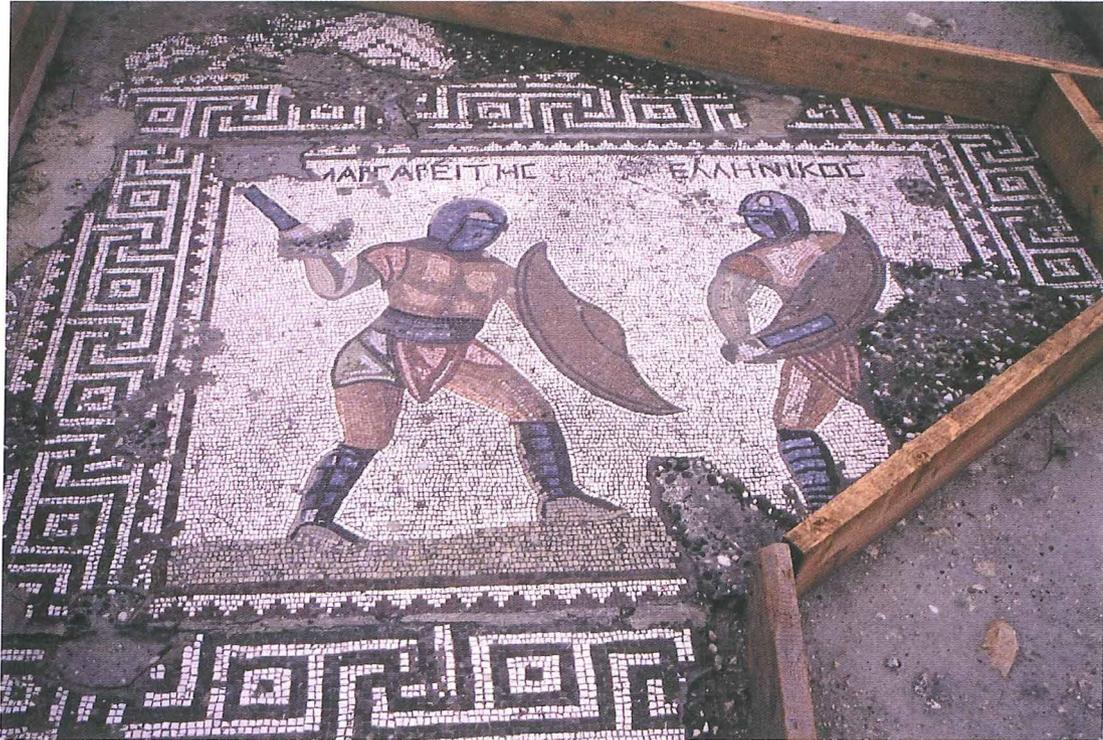


Fig. 51. Kourion, the House of the Gladiators. Mosaic with combat between Margareites and Hellenikos.



Fig. 52. Kourion, the House of the Gladiators. Mosaic with combat between Lytras and E... and watched by Dareios.

ing the 365 AD earthquake its full extent is not clear. As far as can be judged from the remains it covers an area well over 1.000 m² and is laid out around a colonnaded peristyle court. Behind the northern portico is a large hall interpreted as a dining or reception area and at the south-eastern corner of the house is a large bath. The centre of the peristyle floor was decorated with a polychrome mosaic in geometric patterns, but at the southern end is a series of figural mosaics of which each of the two preserved panels shows a combat between two named gladiators (Fig. 51-52).¹¹³ No doubt these scenes allude to the spectacle taking place in the Kourion theatre rebuilt during the time of Caracalla as an arena for hunting and combat spectacles.¹¹⁴ The mosaics probably refer to the owner of the house as a generous benefactor of gladiatorial games. Gladiatorial games had connotations of imperial and aristocratic splendour and placed the owner in this social milieu. Several sculptures were found in the house either concentrated around the peristyle or in the baths

¹¹³ See Michaelides 1989, 22-4, pl. 10.

¹¹⁴ Mitford 1980b, 1316 with reference to Mitford 1971, 206 n.4.

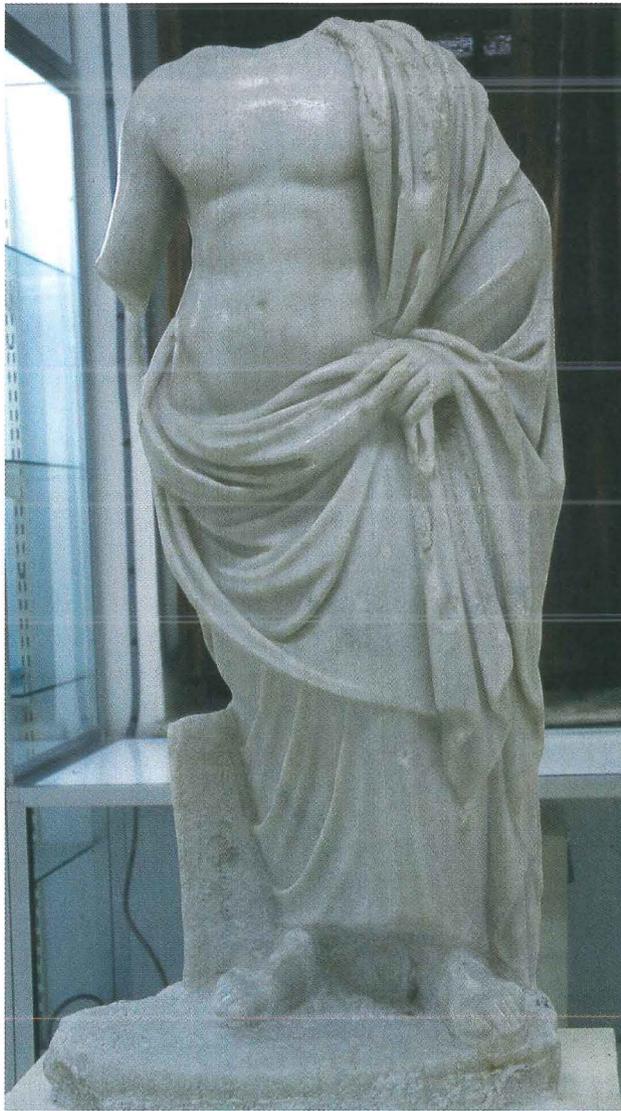


Fig. 53. Statue of Asclepius. The staff with the twisting snake which Asclepius originally held in his right hand and resting on the plinth has been removed perhaps to change the figure into an image of Christ. Found in the House of Gladiators in Kourion. Marble. H 100 cm.

in eastern part of the complex.¹¹⁵ The best preserved sculptures are two 3/4 life-size statues found in the baths showing Asclepius (Fig. 53) and Mercury.¹¹⁶ The statues are both carved in a large-crystalline white marble with black veins. Although the Mercury statue (Fig. 54) is fully sculpted in the round it is left in a rough state of chiselling at the back while the front is highly polished. The Asclepius statue is almost flat at the back while the front is treated like the statue of Mercury with a high polish. The Asclepius statue has been recut

sometime probably during Late Antiquity as the staff with curling snake usually supporting the right armpit has been cut away. Traces of this recutting are particularly clear on the top of the base. The alteration may have been made in order to change the figure from an image of the pagan healing god Asclepius into a figure of Christ. The naked figure of Mercury accompanied by a ram sitting by the tree trunk support was left in its original state probably because it would serve as a representation of the Good Shepherd.¹¹⁷ The statues may be of the same type of marble, they are of the same scale and they show many of the same stylistic and technical details in particular the somewhat squat proportions and the highly polished surface of the front and they may derive from the same workshop. Reflecting fourth century BC Greek originals the statues are usually dated to the second century AD,¹¹⁸ but there is nothing which argues against a

¹¹⁵ The publication of the house is Louloupis 1971 with many of the sculptural finds illustrated. Some of these are discussed and illustrated also in Vermeule 1976; Christou 1996 and Karageorghis 1998. Tentative list of the sculptural finds (all in marble except for no. 11):

1. Hermes, Kourion Museum Louloupis 1971, pl. 28, 4-5. Found in the baths with nos. 2, 3 and 12.
2. Asclepius, Kourion Museum, Louloupis 1971, pl. 28, 3-4. Found in the baths with nos. 1, 3 and 12.
3. Aphrodite, Louloupis 1971, pl. 28, 3. Found in the baths with nos. 1, 2 and 12.
4. Head of a Satyr, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, Louloupis 1971, pl. 28, 8. Found in the north and west portico by the peristyle with nos. 5 and 6.
5. Fragments of Hygeia?, Louloupis 1971, pl. 27, 3-4. Found in the west portico with nos. 4 and 6.
6. Lower part of Aphrodite Anadyomene, Louloupis 1971, pl. 27, 5. Found by the west portico with nos. 4, and 5.
7. Fragment of a statue of Aphrodite Louloupis 1971, 114 no. 7 (not illustrated).
8. Head of a panther, Louloupis pl. 27, 7.
9. Head of a woman with diadem, Louloupis 1971, pl. 28, 6.
10. Fragment of Heracles Farnese, Karageorghis 1970b, 291 (not illustrated).
11. Head of Hathor in limestone (mutilated?), Louloupis 1971, pl. 27, 6.
12. Statue basis, Kourion Museum, Louloupis 1971, 28, 7.

¹¹⁶ See Louloupis 1971, 108-10; Nicolaou 1970, 74; Karageorghis 1969b, 561; Vermeule 1976, 74 and 76; Karageorghis 2000, 226 fig. 176.

¹¹⁷ On this phenomenon, see Hannestad 2001, 67-77.

¹¹⁸ Vermeule 2003c.



Fig. 54. Statue of Mercury found in the House of Gladiators in Kourion. Marble. H 113 cm.

date around the time of the construction of the house during the late 3rd century. Whether they were originally intended for displays in the baths or were moved there for a new Christian use of the baths remains uncertain. A low statue base which must have carried a marble statue and decorated with a cockerel also from the baths suggests that the display in the baths was not a hap-hazard one. Most of the other sculptural finds from the house were recovered in the porticos or rooms just behind the central peristyle including a head of a Satyr which may be but is not necessarily earlier than the late third century AD statues, a head of a

panther, and the lower part of an Aphrodite Anadyomene type, fragments of a statue of Hercules Farnese, Hygeia, and Venus. Although the statues can be interpreted within the broad repertoire of statuary often found in houses and villas with the Satyr and Bacchus? with panther as appropriate for the triclinium, Mercury as sign of prosperity and Asclepius and Hygeia as gods of healing, the possibility cannot be excluded that the statues made specific reference to the gladiatorial mosaics. Mercury, in that case would have escorted the dead gladiator out of the arena while Asclepius may have healed the wounds of the survivor.¹¹⁹ The fate of the gladiators, however, was in the hands of the benefactor who sponsored the games, i.e. the owner of the house. Another version of the Mercury was found at the Gymnasium in Salamis demonstrating how the same type of sculpture was used in different contexts and with different meanings.¹²⁰

A marble lion fountain is recorded to have been found in the bath complex of the House of Eustolios in Kourion,¹²¹ and in Soli, the most important Roman city on the north coast of Cyprus, a bronze head of a youth was found in a dwelling interpreted as a house and named House of the Antonine Youth after the bronze head.¹²² The house may date as late as the fifth century AD and the head was therefore not in its original context but perhaps part of a collection? Situated next to the theatre there is, however, some doubt about its function as a private house.

¹¹⁹ This interpretation was suggested to me by Lea Stirling.

¹²⁰ It cannot be excluded that the peristyle is in fact a small palaestra, see Kondoleon 1982, 103.

¹²¹ See Christou 1996, 83 no. 25. Perhaps the table leg with lion head was reused as fountain figure? Again, it is not certain whether the Eustolios complex, taking the name from a mosaic inscription in the house, mentioning a certain Eustolios as builder of baths to the city, is a private residence, see Michaelides 1989, 40.

¹²² Whether the interpretation of these remains as a private residence is correct remains uncertain until excavations are resumed. I have doubt that this bronze head is in fact a portrait. For Soli, see Morris 1985 and for the bronze head, (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum inv. Soli 1971 A23), see Lahusen & Formigli 2001, 223-5 no. 136.



Fig. 55. Antonine female portrait bust with tabula ansata. Marble. Gardens of Paphos Museum.

A Late Antique portrait head of a bearded man discovered in Salamis at “site F”, in a structure tentatively identified as a Late Antique residence, has recently gained new significance. A portrait statue with its inscribed base of the late 4th century AD governor Oecumenius discovered at Aphrodisias in Caria, is by R.R.R. Smith suggested to represent the same person as the Salamis head. Oecumenius might have been governor in Cyprus before or after his service in Aphrodisias and the discovery puts light on Salamis’ regained role as the administrative capital of the island in 346 AD and on the use of residential dwellings for public sculptural programs in this late period.¹²³

The evidence discussed above for sculpture in the private sphere has all appeared in recent excavations since the late 1960s. This has changed our understanding of how powerful individuals in Roman Cyprus followed social and artistic values that were universal in the Roman Empire. Sculpture collections from the private sphere are known from a number of sites in the eastern Mediterranean,¹²⁴ and it has been suggested that at least one of the statuettes from the House of Theseus in Paphos, the Asclepius Giustini, was an Alexandrian product exported to Cyprus.¹²⁵ However, both Alexandria and Nea Paphos had to import marble or marble sculptures and for the

time being the closest parallels to the Cypriot sculptural material in general seems to be the one from Asia Minor. Nevertheless, sculpture collections are important evidence for the luxury that surrounded the members of the ruling class throughout the Empire and of romanitas.

III. Conclusion

Cyprus lacks some of the typically Roman statuary types, as for example the togate figure and the bust. The bust form is characteristic for most parts of the Empire, but in Cyprus the only evidence for its use is a headless late second century female bust (Fig. 55). No large scale “historical” reliefs have been identified either, but a series of four colossal unfinished limestone reliefs found in the quarry of Xylophagou situated right on the coast east of Larnaca may fill that lacuna (Fig. 56).¹²⁶ The reliefs seem to represent a cuirassed figure, a winged

¹²³ Nicosia, Cyprus Museum E487 in Karageorghis & Vermeule 1966, 31-33 no. 103, pl. 18; Smith 2002, 140.

¹²⁴ See the evidence in Stirling 1996, 137 with n. 127. See also Filges 1999 and the Asclepius and Hygeia from Alexandria in Grimm 1989, figs. 3-4.

¹²⁵ See Grimm 1989. Against that Daszewski 1994c, 154-5.

¹²⁶ See Karageorghis 1969b, 494; Vermeule 1976, 87.

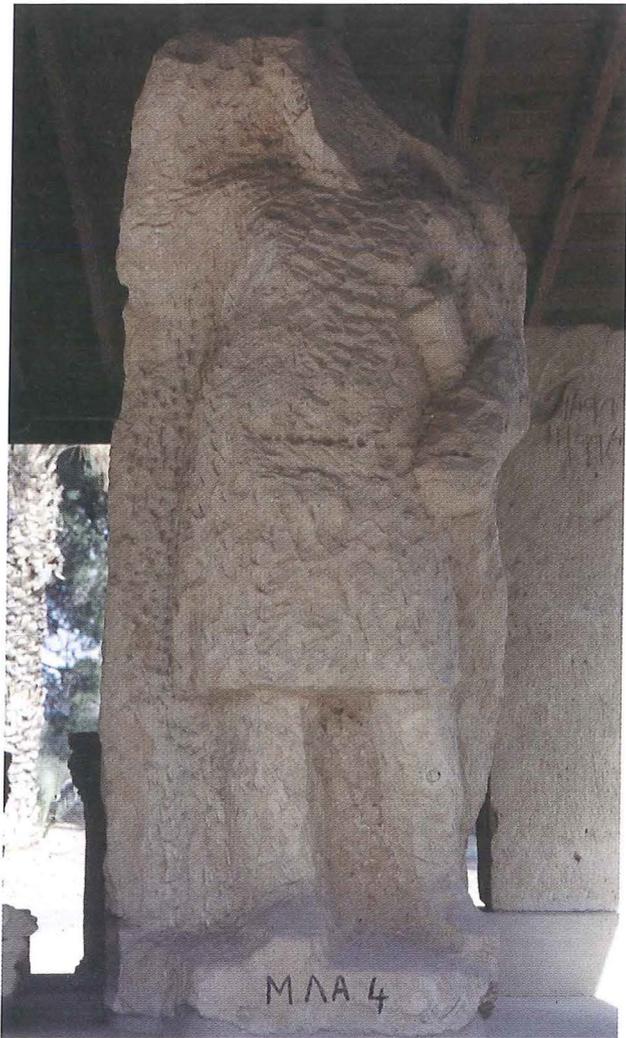


Fig. 56. Unfinished relief of probably a colossal cuirassed figure holding a sword. Found in the quarry by the sea at modern Xylophagou. Limestone. H 250 cm. Larnaca District Museum 4.

Victory, and two unidentified figures and due to their colossal scale they can only have been intended for a public building.¹²⁷ This shows how the use of limestone continued to play an important part in the sculptural decoration. The over life-size relief head of Augustus likewise carved in limestone also suggests that monumental historical reliefs may have existed, but in local limestone. Local traditions in the form of votaries in limestone also continued to exist in a number of sanctuaries and it is possible that by continuing to use limestone the Cypriots differentiated themselves from the Romans and the culture of the romanitas and defined themselves more precisely. However, the overall picture which seems to appear suggests that urban spaces of Cyprus changed dramatically during the Roman period. Sanctuaries and civic public spaces were remodelled into a setting which had specifically Roman character. Local elites and the governing class expressed a sophistication and wealth which linked them to the imperial splendour of Rome and important provincial centres, in particular in Asia Minor. Marble sculptures in types and styles that were universal in the Roman Empire played a significant role in that process. Sculpture collections were treasured and cared for during generations. They were reused, remodelled and giving new meaning in a Christian context.

¹²⁷ Vermeule 2003b suggests on rather little ground that the reliefs were intended for a monument in Salamis commemorating Trajan's eastern victory.

Cypriot chamber tombs

Anne Marie Carstens

Introduction

The present study consists of an investigation of Cypriot chamber tombs from Archaic to Roman times, the idea being to present both an overview of the Cypriot sepulchral architecture and its changes through time, based upon a discussion of the internal and external cultural relations of Cyprus. Thus the aim is to describe and interpret the nature and changes of both the position of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean and the island's internal relations – that is, the possible ethnic differentiation, political organisation and power structures on Cyprus as reflected by the sepulchral architecture.

The traditional starting point of any investigation of both the external and internal cultural and historical development of Cyprus has been an emphasis on of the structural importance of the Archaic Cypriot Kingdoms.¹ The island was divided into autonomous regions, at least during the later Archaic and Classical periods,² and this political organisation was presupposed by traditionalists to be reflected in the cultural expressions, in the “style”.³

A similar argument was applied to the population groups of the island. By the end of the Bronze Age, Greeks (Mycenaeans) emigrated to Cyprus, and later, in the 9th century BC the Phoenicians settled in Kition.⁴ A third ethnic group, the Eteo-Cypriot, was thought to have formed the original population of the island.⁵ These three groups of people were to be reflected clearly in the archaeological record of the island, and their supposed territories should be reflected in archaeological analyses.⁶

I intend to start from the bottom, on so-called neutral ground. The present study concentrates on one specific group of remains, the chamber tombs, and with these as starting point it investigates the

cultural changes in relations and contacts in Cyprus. The expectation that an architectonic analysis of chamber tombs will enable us to elucidate a history of culture may seem farfetched. But, not only is the tomb material in Cyprus in general abundant, it is well documented, and to a large

¹ For an introduction to the history of Cyprus, Hill 1940; Reyes 1994; Hunt 1982.

² Hill 1940, 111-55; Gjerstad 1948, 449-507.

³ Here the archaeological concept of style refers directly to the emblematic style, defined by Wiessner as “formal variation in material culture that has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliations and identity...”, Wiessner 1983, 257-8. Thus, stylistic variations are not solely passive reflections of enculturations, rather the “style” is an active and consciously chosen indicator of relations. However, if the archaeological interpretation is simplistic, the results will likewise be superficial. Therefore the general praxis of comparative stylistic studies may only scratch the surface of a more complex interior. Jones 1997, 112-6. On interpretive (hermeneutic) archaeology, Whitley 1998.

⁴ Hill 1940, 82-94; Gjerstad 1979, 231-3.

⁵ Reyes 1994, chapter 1.

⁶ Seibert 1976 presents here the traditional view, originally Gjerstad's views (Gjerstad 1948, 449-507) on a latent ethnic conflict between these three groups and on the geographic distribution of the three groups in Cyprus. Reyes 1994, 4: “Gjerstad, furthermore, worked at a time when archaeological thought in Europe was concerned with the identification of distinctive ethnic characters through the study of material artefacts. His writing is very much concerned with the ways in which one culture might oppose another, with the more “advanced” dominating, assimilating, and transmuting the more “primitive”. The intellectual climate of the time, it seems, encouraged a view in which Cyprus, an apparent cultural crossroad by virtue of its geographical position in the eastern Mediterranean, became a battlefield of competing ethnic mentalities.” A paper by M. Given has argued that the Eteo-Cypriots were a creation of the imperialistic British interest in Cyprus, invented in order “to combat Greek nationalism”. Given 1998. See also Jones 1997, chapter 7.

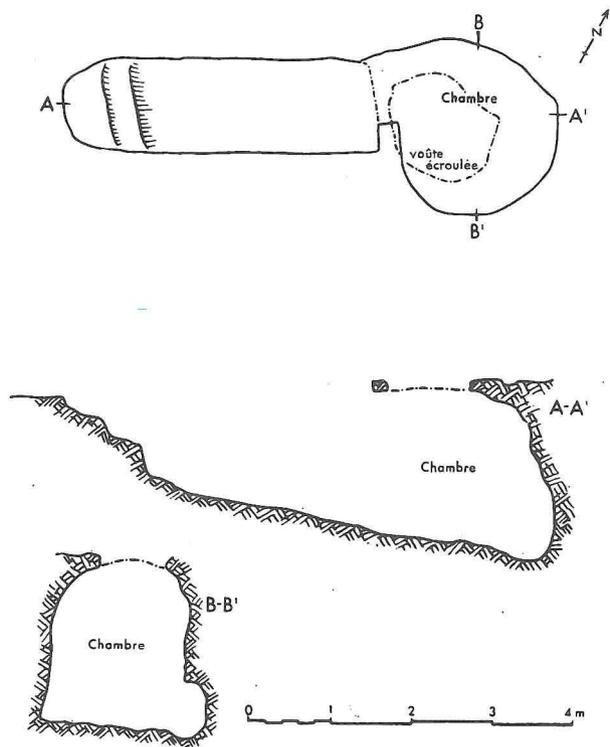


Fig. 1. Typical rock-cut cave-like chamber tomb, Ktima Tomb 6 (Deshayes 1963, pl. VII:2).

extent datable and continuous. Moreover, the chamber tombs present a body of archaeological evidence located amidst the sacred and profane, the private and public, and innovation and tradition.⁷

Earlier works dealing with the tombs of Cyprus have presented various typologies, often discussing the chronological development of the sepulchral architecture *per se*, as does Westholm's overview of "Built Tombs in Cyprus" from 1941, which was based on a hypothetical development from rock-cut to built sepulchral architecture.⁸ This evolution was constructed on a typological classification that divided the material into four stages of development from shaft tombs, typical rock-cut tombs with built slab roof, to fully and lavishly built chamber tombs; a development from primitive to mature architecture, directly corresponding with the chronological evolution.⁹ However, the relations between various regions within Cyprus, as well as external relations were not considered in any detail.¹⁰

Approach

The present study is conducted on the basis of a survey of publications, which has resulted in a corpus containing information on the architectonic features of some 500 Cypriot chamber tombs.¹¹ Cypriot chamber tombs are all subterranean. Even from the Hellenistic and the Roman period tomb buildings above ground like those known from both Anatolia and the Levant are not found.¹² Façade or temple tombs are likewise unknown in Cyprus.

The chamber tombs are divided into two major types, the rock-cut and the built tombs. The differences between the two groups are mainly in terms of construction principles rather than layout or style. Regarding strength and stress built architecture must obey structural conditions that cut architecture can overrule. Rock-cut chamber tombs form a very large group, not only in relation to the built tombs, but evidence from the large cemeteries excavated shows that the rock-cut chamber tomb was the typical tomb type throughout the period under consideration. Less numerous are the built tombs in Cyprus, yet this group includes monuments of immense importance for the history of sepulchral architecture, not least because almost every princely tomb on the island is built.¹³ Cist tombs only occur in the Late Roman period.

For the purposes of consistency I have maintained a strict terminology (Appendix A), and I use a typological framework, consisting of several structures, each covering a specific point of interest for the discussion of the architecture: a tomb typology based on chamber shape, a sub-type

⁷ A similar view is expressed by Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 116; Bell 1992, 16; Cormack 1997, 152.

⁸ Westholm 1941.

⁹ Gjerstad 1948, 29-47; Vessberg & Westholm 1956, 18-33, 50-2.

¹⁰ Only in Westholm 1941, 52-8; Gjerstad 1948, 238-9; Vessberg & Westholm 1956, 50-2.

¹¹ I have not been able to consult the archives of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus.

¹² See e.g. Fedak 1990.

¹³ For a definition of the phrase, see Appendix A.

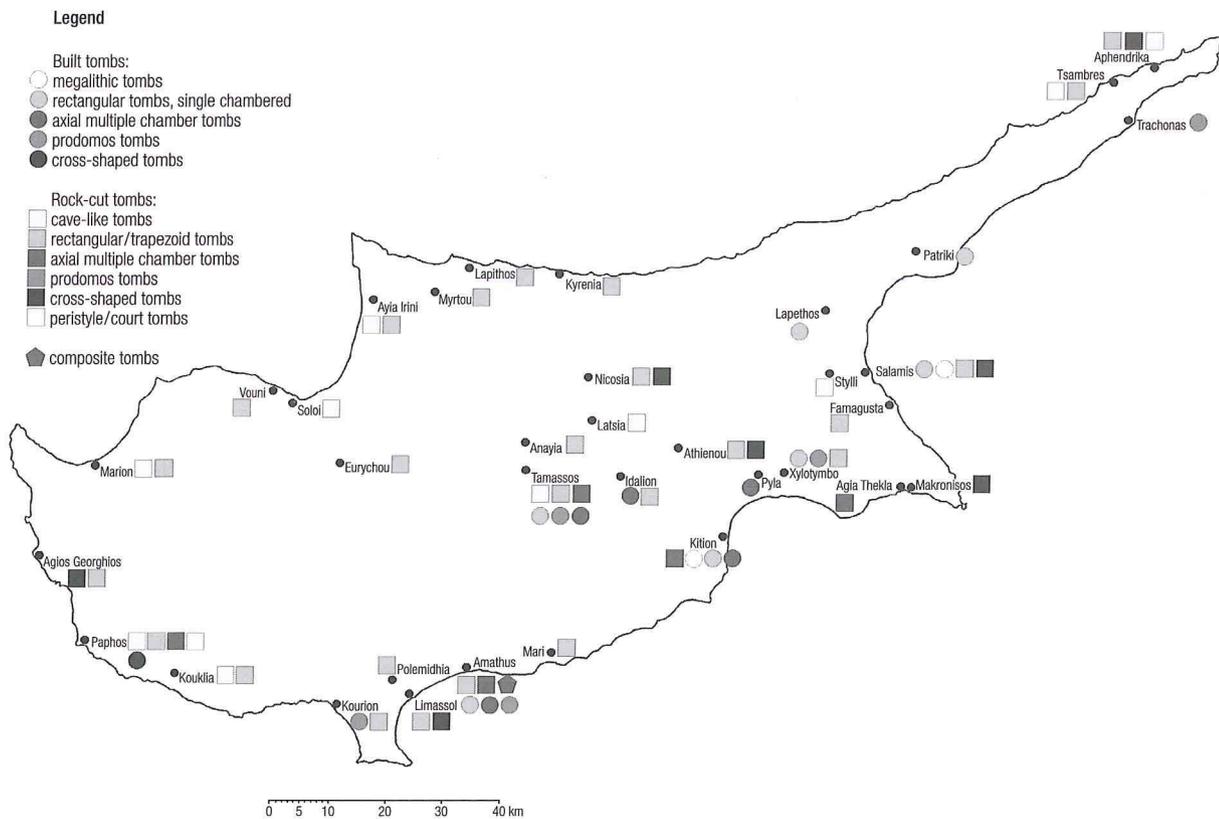


Fig. 2. Distribution of tomb types between c. 1000 BC and 400/500 AD.

typology based on the interior architectural details, a roof typology based on construction and a dromos typology based on shape. These classifications are illustrated by distribution maps Figs. 2, 27, 35, 42 and 43. Only tombs published with information on the architecture, preferably a plan sketch or drawing, are included on these maps.

The tombs are divided into two main groups; built tombs and rock-cut tombs. The built tombs comprise the Salamis tombs, axial multiple chamber tombs, prodromos tombs and cross-shaped tombs. Rock-cut tombs are divided into cave-like tombs, rectangular/trapezoid tombs, axial multiple chamber tombs, prodromos tombs, cross-shaped tombs and peristyle/court tombs. Finally there is a group of composite tombs.

In a topographic survey (Appendix B) a short history of research is provided together with an overview of the cemeteries and tomb types in each regional centre. Single tombs are included here, when sufficiently published.

The overall structure is chronological and both the typological repertoire and the distribution of

tomb types are illustrated by examples. References to the full body of material are either found in the footnotes or by cross-reference between the relevant distribution maps, Appendix B and the main text.

Iron Age tombs

Cave-like and rectangular/trapezoid tombs

The rock-cut cave-like tomb rounded both in plan and section, approached by either a shaft or a sloping dromos is extremely popular throughout the island from the Bronze Age to the Late Archaic period (Fig. 1).¹⁴ Its popularity is undoubtedly due

¹⁴ Late Bronze Age cave-like tombs have been found e.g. at Kition: Karageorghis 1974; Kouklia/Skales: Karageorghis 1983; and Aya Irini: Rochetti 1978. See also Appendix B. For a short introduction to the tombs of prehistoric Cyprus cf. Wright 1992, 333-54. Also at Mycenaean sites, both on the Greek mainland and elsewhere in the Aegean region tombs of this type were typical, see e.g. Benzi 1992; Carstens 2001; Demakopoulou 1990; Frödin & Persson 1938; Iakovidis 1970.

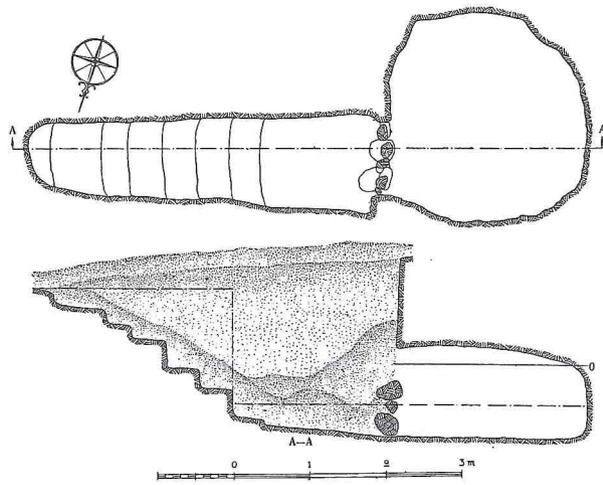


Fig. 3. Marion, Evrethades Tomb 75 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 172:5-6).

to the fairly easy cutting of the rounded shape in the soft Cypriot limestone bedrock, and this is probably the reason for its continuous widespread use (Fig. 2).¹⁵

Typical examples of Iron Age rock-cut tombs are found at Ayia Irini, Marion, Paphos, and Lapithos. At Ayia Irini, in the northwestern part of the island, this tomb type was already in use in the Late Bronze Age and from the Paleakastro necropolis a typical group of Cypro-Archaic I-II tombs has been published.¹⁶ Generally a shaft dromos leads to a cave-like chamber. In some cases the outer end of the shaft dromos is stepped in a rough manner, and some of the chambers are more regular trapezoid rooms, covered by a roughly flat roof.

The same variety is found in the cemeteries of Marion in the northwestern part of Cyprus.¹⁷ The eastern cemetery at Evrethades and Potamos tou Myrmikof contain early tombs. The Cypro-Geometric I-II and Cypro-Archaic I-II tombs at Evrethades are roughly cut and the chambers are irregular, however they are often rounded (Fig. 3). Many of the roofs have collapsed, but those still standing are either flat or slightly domed. The Cypro-Archaic tombs at Potamos tou Myrmikof have sloping dromoi, widening towards the stomaion, which is closed by a rubble wall. Some chambers are irregular, but most are rectangular with rounded corners. The stomia are often placed

at a corner of the chamber. Flat or slightly domed roofs are found here.

The chamber tombs in the necropolis at Ktima, north of Paphos date from the Cypro-Geometric II to Cypro-Archaic I periods.¹⁸ All are provided with rather long and narrow dromoi and most of the tomb chambers are cave-like. Three tombs from Cypro-Geometric II to III deviate by having trapezoid chambers covered by flat roofs. In some of the early tombs additional shallow chambers are cut in the walls of the dromos.

At the Kastros necropolis at Lapithos, a series of rectangular/trapezoid tombs with long sloping dromoi belong to the CGI-III periods.¹⁹ The tombs either have flat or rounded irregular vaulted or domed roofs. The three tombs at the Plakes necropolis, also at Lapithos, from Cypro-Geometric I-II periods likewise have roughly rectangular/trapezoid chambers but they are provided with shaft dromoi.²⁰

During the Archaic period the cave-like tomb type persists, but trapezoid or rectangular tombs become increasingly popular.²¹ However, it is difficult to argue in favour of a direct development from rounded to angular tomb chambers, particularly because of the early rectangular/trapezoid tombs found at Lapithos.

¹⁵ Wright 1992, 338-9. Rock-cut cave-like tombs are found at Latsia (Cypro-Geometric), Tamassos (Cypro-Geometric to Hellenistic), Stylli (Cypro-Geometric II-III to Cypro-Archaic I), Amathus (Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Archaic), Kouklia (Cypro-Geometric to Cypro-Archaic), Athienou (Cypro-Archaic), Nicosia (Cypro-Archaic), Tsambres and Aphendrika (Cypro-Archaic II/Cypro-Classical II). See Appendix B.

¹⁶ Rochetti 1978.

¹⁷ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 181-459.

¹⁸ Deshayes 1963.

¹⁹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 172-265.

²⁰ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265-76.

²¹ Already during the Late Bronze Age some rectangular rock-cut tombs appear, but they are exceptions: Enkomi tomb 11 and 18 (SCE numbers), both dated to the Late Cypriot II period. Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 467-575. The same picture is found in e.g. the Mycenaean necropolis I at Asine, where the majority of the rock-cut tombs are cave-like, but tomb 2 is almost square, cf. Frödin & Persson 1938, 151-89.

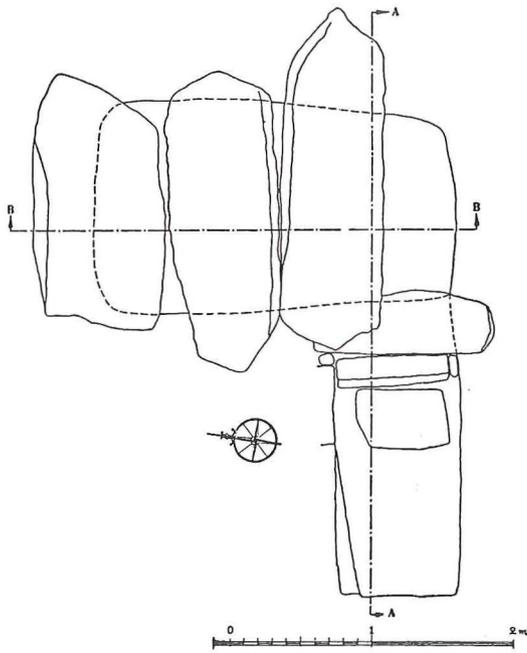


Fig. 4a. Amathus Tomb 22 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 46:1).

The composite tombs of Amathus

Quite early, in the Cypro-Geometric I period another tomb type, the composite tomb appears, typical only for the necropolis at Amathus from the Cypro-Geometric I to the Cypro-Achaic I periods.²² It has played a major role in the discussion of Cypriot sepulchral architecture since the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.²³ The composite tomb type is constructed as a rock-cut tomb cut into the bedrock from above. The chamber is thus a shaft covered with a slab-built roof. One or more of the rock-walls in the burial chamber may be lined and strengthened with an inner wall (Fig. 4).²⁴ The stomion is constructed as a built doorway, with two blocks set on edge to form the door jambs with a third block as lintel. A door slab, resting against the doorway, closes the passage. The dromoi are sloping, but in some cases provided with a single low step.²⁵ Often the dromos and the chamber are arranged in the shape of an L, where the dromos leads to the end of the one long side of the roughly rectangular chamber.²⁶ However, the dromos can be placed along the axis of the chamber, which then joins the stomion at one of the short sides.²⁷

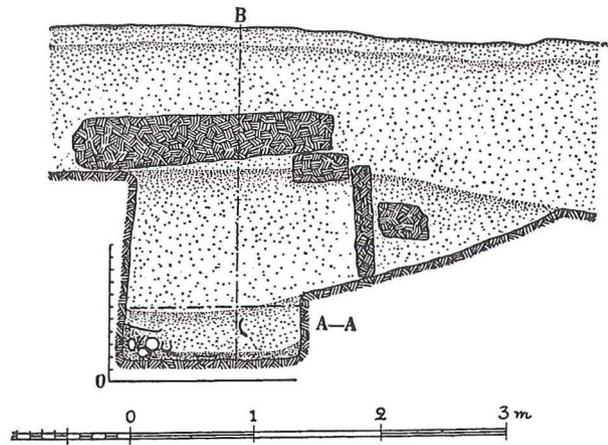


Fig. 4b. Amathus Tomb 22 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 37:15).

In several cases a bench or platform of pebbles in the inner part of the chamber served as a bed for the dead.²⁸ This bench is often lined or bordered with a small rubble walling. In some of the tombs one or both of the long walls of the chamber are lined with a rubble wall, while the rock wall of the other sides stands unlined. The chambers are covered with a flat roof constructed of large slabs.²⁹

The composite tombs of Amathus have been considered evidence of an Eteo-Cypriot population.³⁰ I find this highly unlikely for a variety of reasons. Most importantly it only appears by the end of the Cypro-Geometric I, it has no forerunners in the Bronze Age sepulchral architecture, and

²² Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 1-141.

²³ Angular shaft tombs are also known at Lapithos, but without built walls, Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 192-4; Gjerstad 1948, 29-30.

²⁴ Tomb 9, 11, 16, 20, 21.

²⁵ Tomb 4, 8, 11, 19.

²⁶ Tomb 5-12, 14, 16-19, 22, 23, 25.

²⁷ Tomb 13, 15, 20, 24.

²⁸ Tomb 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23.

²⁹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 19, 22 suggested that the roofs of tomb 4 and 5 were wooden.

³⁰ Gjerstad 1948, 454; Aupert 2000, 19. The identification of Amathus as an Eteo-Cypriot settlement is suggested by Pseudo-Skylax (Ps.-Skylax 103) designating the inhabitants of Amathus as autochthonous. Such a statement hardly implies a specific ethnic relationship, it rather refers to a political situation.

thus there is no local tradition for such tombs at all.³¹ It may of course be argued that not until the Early Iron Age did the Eteo-Cypriots feel the need to emphasise their differences from other population groups living on the island.³² Such a view would admittedly fulfil the expectation that ethnic identity is especially emphasised when exposed to outer rivalry.³³ However, it is difficult to point to any specific series of events, which were considered by the people at Amathus to be a threat. I believe that the peculiar and unparalleled tombs at Amathus are closely linked to the geological conditions at the site. If the bedrock was of a poor quality the rock-cut roofing of chambers may not have been trusted to last and there may have been a high risk that the roof would collapse and destroy the chamber. Likewise, where the rock-wall was found insufficient to serve as a wall proper, it was lined with masonry. The fortuitous employment of masonry in the otherwise rock-cut tombs supports such a geological explanation, and I suggest that the shaft chamber was “invented” in order to overcome such difficulties. It appears that the composite tombs are more frequent in the western than in the eastern necropolis, but at least the British reports let us suggest that the cave tombs had a rock-cut roof.³⁴ This could also argue in favour of a technical rather than an ethnic explanation.³⁵ The angular plan of the composite tomb is related to the way in which the tombs were constructed. When cutting the entire tomb from above, it was easy to follow the rectangular shape right from the beginning.³⁶

The possibility cannot be excluded that there was a relation between the possible development from rock-cut cave-like to rectangular / trapezoid tombs and the more angular composite tombs of Amathus. However, the composite tombs are a singular phenomenon constituting only a proportion of the Amathus tombs. It may be that the increase in number of rectangular or trapezoid chambers was related to an increase in the number of tombs constructed during the later Cypriot-Geometric and especially the Cypro-Archaic periods, but an analysis of the material is not immediately supportive of this.

The composite tombs have also been seen as

indicators of a general chronological and typological development from rock-cut to built tombs.³⁷ The two types share technical details. The built tombs were also constructed inside rock-cut pits, which were then lined with masonry, but they differ in respect of the architectonic style, the firmness of the plan, the axiality and the well-fitted masonry.

The Salamis tomb type

In the Late Bronze Age, built tombs in Cyprus are only seen at Enkomi.³⁸ Interestingly it is at nearby Salamis that the first built tombs of the Early Iron Age appear. These tombs, the so-called Royal Tombs of Salamis are both in a Cypriot and in an Eastern Mediterranean context quite extraordinary and the only close parallels have been found at Patriki also on the Ammochostos Bay.³⁹

The eight excavated tombs of the Royal

³¹ For the dating of the Amathus tombs, cf. Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 138-9.

³² Ethnic differentiation is probably emphasised in other aspects of the burial traditions, for instance in the cremation burials found in the western necropolis of Amathus in the early 1990s, which have strong affinities with the “tophet” at Carthage, see Christou 1998.

³³ See, for instance, Carlsson 1991; Jones 1997, chapter 4, especially 59-61.

³⁴ According to Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 91 the typical Amathus tomb was described as follows: “The type of tomb that occurs most frequently is that of an approximately square cave, measuring about 9 feet each way, and entered from a vertical shaft of a depth varying from 8 feet to 21 feet. A doorway, usually left rough, but sometimes lined with worked posts and a lintel, connects the cave with the shaft. In a small number of cases, where the tomb was in the side of a sloping hill, the shaft was replaced by a staircase.”

³⁵ The geological survey of the Amathus region as published in The Memoir of Geological Survey Department, Cyprus is unfortunately not in such detail as to permit the drawing of conclusions on the possible difference of the bedrock consistency in the east and west necropolis respectively.

³⁶ A similar theory has been suggested by Wright (1992, 338-9) concerning the cutting of dromoi.

³⁷ Westholm 1941, 53; Gjerstad 1948, 39.

³⁸ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 570-3; Westholm 1941, 42-3; Johnstone 1971, 51-122.

³⁹ The built tombs at Agios Hermogenos, Kourion also resemblances the Salamis tomb type. See below.

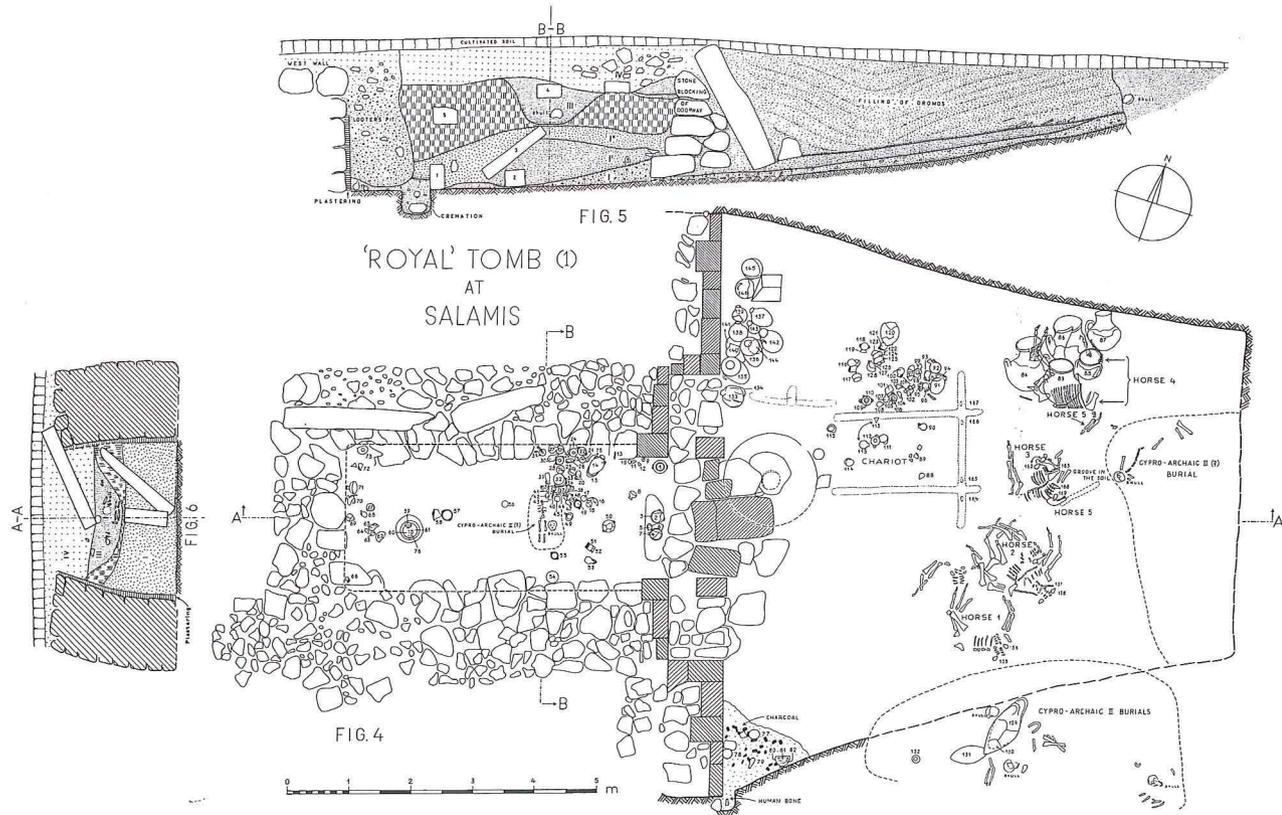


Fig. 5. Salamis Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1963, fig. 4-6).

Necropolis were constructed over a time-span covering at least the late Cypro-Geometric III to Cypro-Archaic II periods.⁴⁰ Only one of the tombs, Tomb 3 was used for a single burial, while Tombs 1, 2, 19, 31, 47, 50 and 79 contained two burials each. Their status as princely tombs is indicated not only by their monumentality, but also by the rich gifts found in the dromoi.⁴¹

The tombs were built inside a large ditch, excavated or cut in the clayey rock. The construction followed the principles of terrace walls, with a fill of rubble and soil behind the walls of the chamber and at least the inner part of the dromos. A complex tumulus above concentric and radiating retaining walls crowned Tomb 3.⁴² Less sophisticated tumulus constructions may have perished through weathering, erosion, and ploughing during the centuries. When a tomb was reused for a second burial the lower part of the dromos and the prodromos were cleared and the funerary rituals, including presentation of gifts, hearses or chariots and sacrifice of horses were repeated.⁴³

The tombs can be divided into a small modest group, and remarkably elaborate and monumental tombs. In the first group, comprising Tombs 1, 2, 19 and 31, the tombs are built in rubble or ashlar masonry, the dromoi are between *ca.* 4 and 10 m. long, and only Tomb 1 has a prodromos in front of the stomion (Figs. 5-8). Tombs 1, 2, and 31 have flat roofs made of slabs laid across the chamber and

⁴⁰ Dikaios 1963; Karageorghis 1967a; 1973. Karageorghis (1978, 11-3) published an earlier tomb behind the chamber of Tomb 50, Tomb 50A. It was badly preserved and probably part of Tomb 50 as it was constructed of reused building material from this earlier tomb dated to the end of Cypro-Geometric II or early Cypro-Geometric III. Rupp 1988, 116-7 suggests a higher absolute chronology.

⁴¹ An excellent summary of the finds and the burials is found in Rupp 1988, 117-22.

⁴² A tumulus was only found above Tomb 3, but it is fair to assume that the other Salamis tombs were also covered and marked by tumuli, perhaps of smaller dimensions and a less sophisticated construction, cf. Karageorghis 1967a, 6.

⁴³ Rupp 1988, 122.

Fig. 6. Salamis Tomb 2 (Karageorghis 1967a, plan VI).

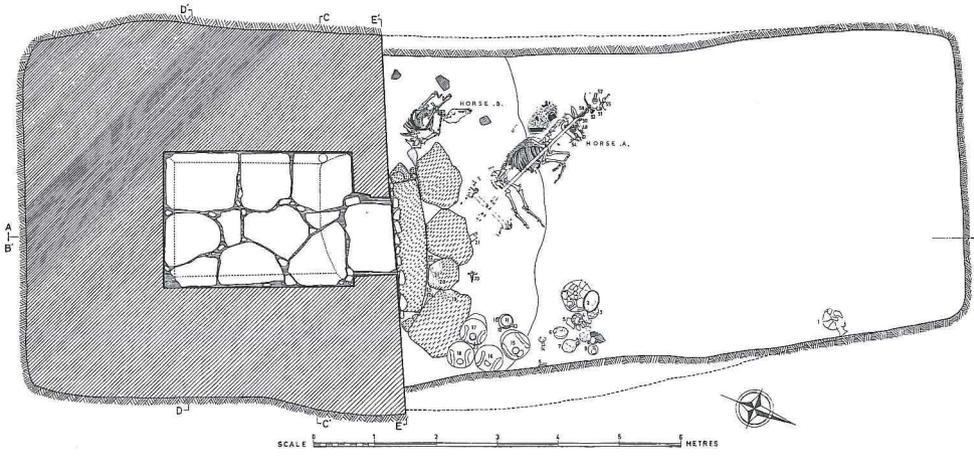


Fig. 7. Salamis Tomb 19 (Karageorghis 1967a, plan XXIII).

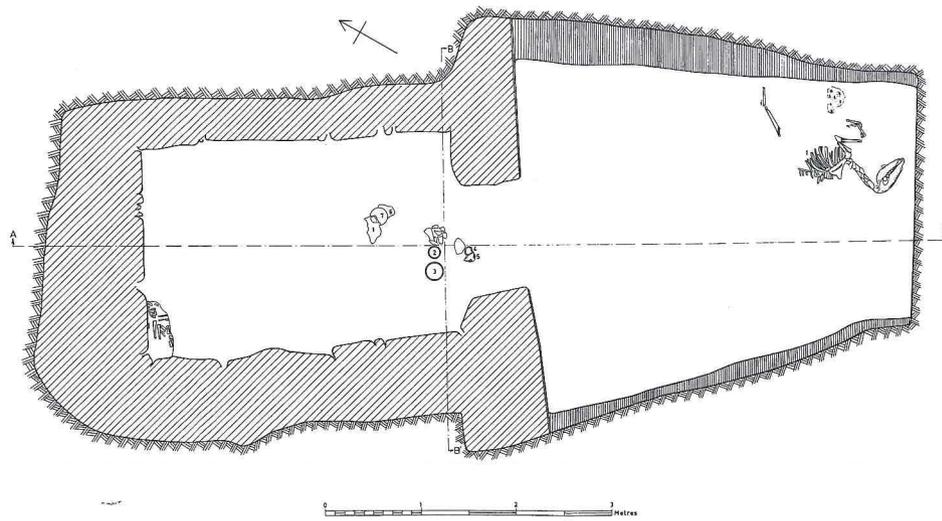


Fig. 8. Salamis Tomb 31 (Karageorghis 1967a, plan XX).

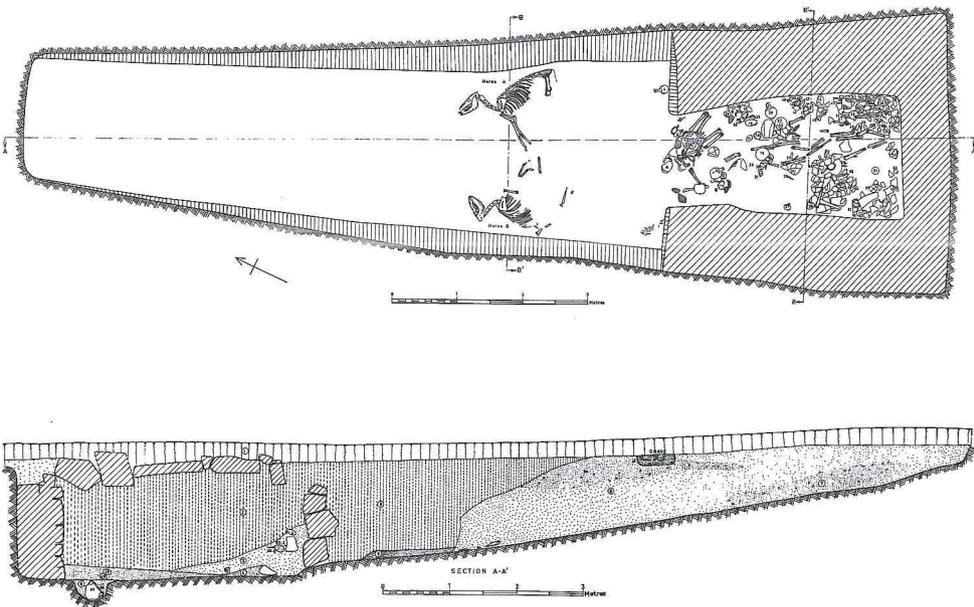
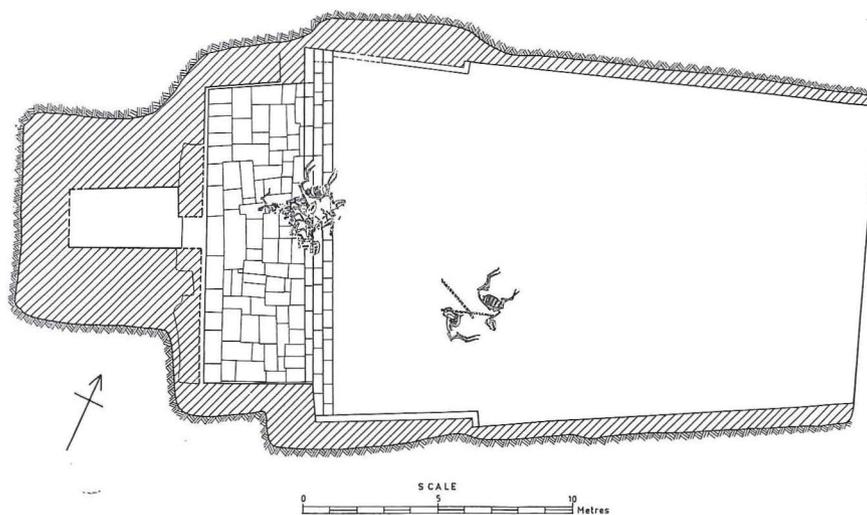


Fig. 9. Salamis
Tomb 3
(Karageorghis
1967a, plan XVI-
XVII).



Fig. 10. Salamis Tomb
47 (Karageorghis
1967a, plan XXVI).



resting on the side walls. However, Tomb 19 was provided with a saddle roof, likewise built of slabs, resting on the side walls and kept in place by the earth fill above the tomb.

The second group of tombs, Tombs 3, 47, 50, and 79, are all more monumental. Tombs 3 and 47 are built of very large ashlar, while Tombs 50 and

79 are megalithic, constructed of two superimposed colossal limestone blocks in which details of the chamber were cut (Figs. 9-12). All four tombs are provided with well-dressed ashlar facades crowned with a moulding and all are provided with a prodomos. The dromoi are from appr. 17 to 26 m long and their width measures from appr. 12 to

Tomb	Modest	Monumental	Date
1	x		Late CGIII
2	x		Late CGIII
19	x		Mid CAI
31	x		Early CAI
3		x	Late CAI
47		x	Early CAI
50		Megalithic	Late CGIII (?)/Early CAI
79		Megalithic	Late CGIII/Early CAI

Table 1. The typological - chronological distribution of the Salamis tombs.

14 m. As the table shows there is no correspondence between chronology and typology (Table 1).

Two tombs at Patriki in the northern part of the Ammochostos Bay are similar to the group of smaller tombs in the Salamis Royal Necropolis.

They are dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period and both have a prodomos in front of the tomb chamber and were built of well-fitted ashlar masonry.⁴⁴ Tomb 1 has a corbelled roof, but the corbelling only continued to a level where the opening could easily be covered by a single row of slabs (Fig. 13). Tomb 2 has a gabled roof, constructed of slabs resting on the side walls of the chamber and meeting in an acute angle forming the ridge of the roof (Fig. 14). No remains were found of rich sacrifices in direct connection with these tombs, but skeletal remains of a horse were excavated in a disturbed level near the roof of Tomb 2.⁴⁵

Another princely tomb with a monumental dro-

⁴⁴ Karageorghis 1972, 161-82.

⁴⁵ Karageorghis 1972, 179.

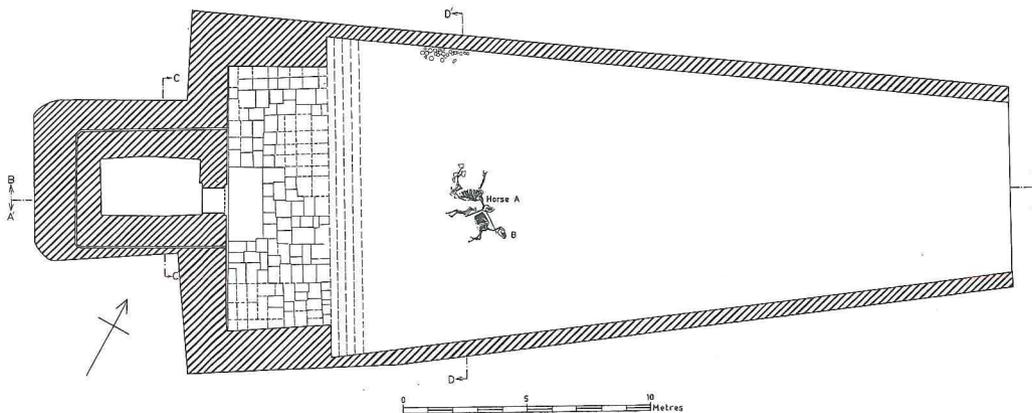


Fig. 11. Salamis Tomb 50 (Karageorghis 1967a, plan XXXIII).

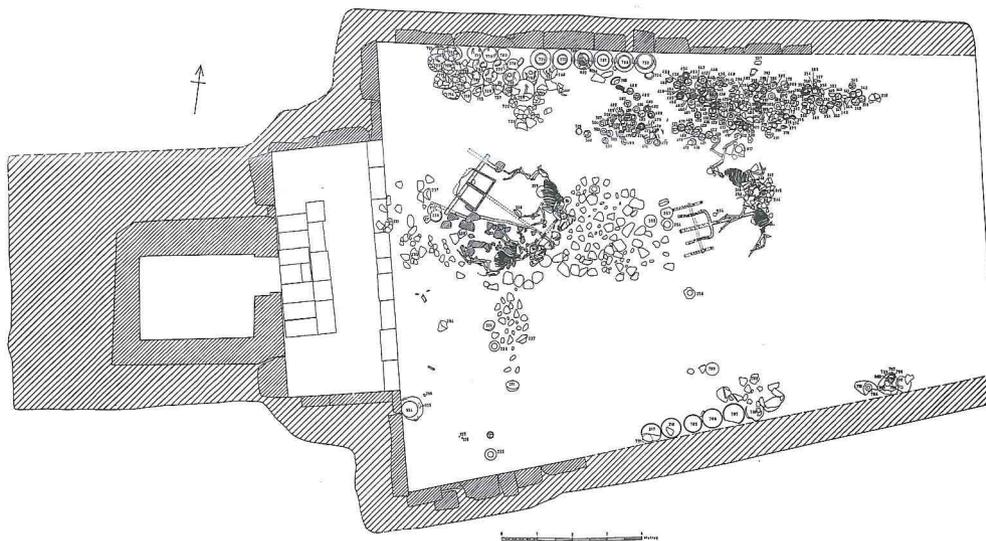


Fig. 12. Salamis Tomb 79 (Karageorghis 1973, plan VI).

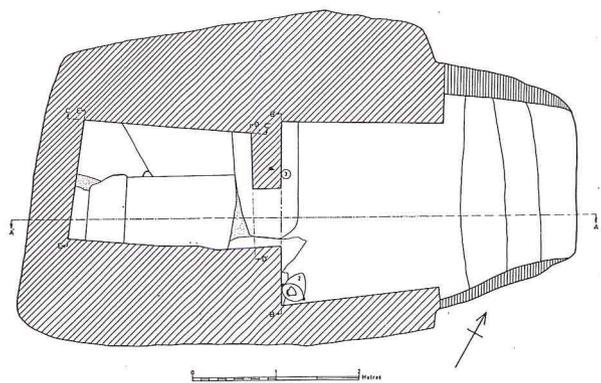


Fig. 13. Patriki 1 (Karageorghis 1972, fig. 5).

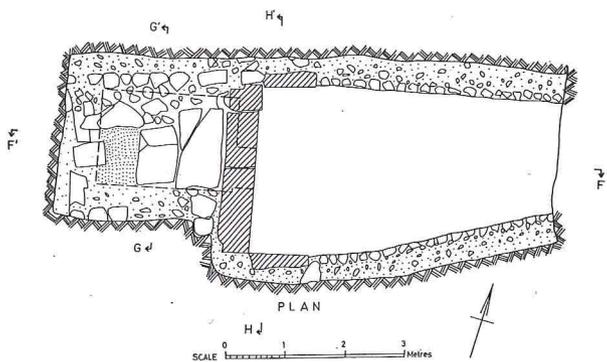


Fig. 14. Patriki 2 (Karageorghis 1972, fig. 13).

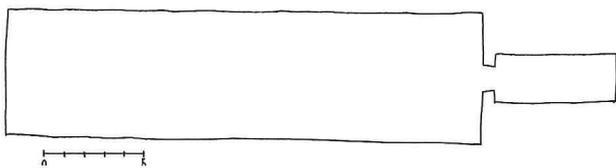


Fig. 15. Agios Hermogenos, Kourion.

mos was found at Agios Hermogenos, Kourion (Fig. 15).⁴⁶ The tomb is approached by an impressive sloping dromos, which leads to a high façade. This and the rest of the tomb are built of irregular ashlar masonry of large limestone blocks. A huge limestone block was used for the stomion and a similar block was used as a lintel. The burial chamber is covered by a saddle roof formed of corbelling. Again the importance of the dromos is underlined by the proportional difference between

the chamber and the dromos. Remains of sacrifices, chariots or hearses are not reported in the brief publication note, but the architectural emphasis on the monumental dromos indicates that, as in Salamis, princely ceremonies were performed at the funeral.⁴⁷ The tomb was constructed by the end of the Cypro-Archaic II period, between 500 and 475 BC. It was used for three burials, the last one dated to ca. 350 BC.

Architectonic parallels

The earliest built tombs in Iron Age Cyprus are found at Salamis.⁴⁸ These are first and foremost distinct from other and later Cypriot built tombs by their architectonic focus on the dromos and the megalithic building technique.⁴⁹ Megalithic tombs, or the use of megalithic masonry in the building of princely tombs, constitute a widespread phenomenon in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age sepulchral architecture, represented by Mycenaean tholos tombs, the few known Urartian built tombs, and the Palestinian tombs of the dolmen type.⁵⁰ B. S. Frizell has recently argued that the use of mega-

⁴⁶ The sketch plan Fig. 15 is based on the measurements given in *BCH* 115, 1991, 819-20.

⁴⁷ Jewellery found during the recent excavation are exact counterparts of the jewellery included in Cesnola's so-called Treasure of Kourion, cf. *BCH* 115, 1991, 819-20; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 29.

⁴⁸ But as early as the Cypriot Bronze Age built tombs are known from Enkomi, immediately west of Salamis. Here both circular tholos tombs and rectangular built tombs were found in connection with the settlement areas, and a connection with the earlier built tombs of Ras Shamra just opposite Ammochostos Bay were proposed quite early. At Ras Shamra the tombs are also intra-mural, located in the basement of living quarters, cf. Wright 1992, 342-4; Pitard 1994.

⁴⁹ Only Salamis Tombs 50 and 79 are megalithic, but Tombs 3 and 47 are built of extremely large ash-lars, which must have caused considerable difficulties during the construction.

⁵⁰ The megalithic stomion in Mycenaean tholos tombs served a technical/structural purpose of keeping the pressure of the masonry within the circular wall, it also added the conspicuous megalithic, impressive style. Santillo Frizell & Santillo 1984, 48; Santillo Frizell 1998, 173-4. For Urartian tombs cf. Özgüç 1961, fig. 14, which shows the use of extremely large ash-lars in one of the Altintepe tombs. However, in the text this is only referred to as the "usual Urartian style" masonry (269). Dolmen tombs: Galling 1977, 63.

liths in the construction of these tombs represented a vital element of the power display of the building owner.⁵¹ This power display had a diverse audience, from the local subjects of the ruling aristocracy to peers of the surrounding world, or even a hegemonic power, such as, in the present case, the Assyrians.

It has been suggested that the Royal Tombs belonged to the early kings of Salamis, constructed as manifestations of a new aristocracy.⁵² It would of course be interesting if the Salamis Royal tombs reflected Assyrian Royal burials, that is, repeated Assyrian elements in order to express the power structures, which, on the supreme level, were provided by the hegemony. But this is not the case. The Assyrian chamber tombs are constructed in mud-brick or tiles and were located in the basement of living quarters.⁵³ They were accessible between burials and neither architectonic principles nor funerary customs connect them with the Salamis tombs.

Mycenaean tholos tombs have often been emphasised as inspiration for the Salamis tombs. Admittedly, a special architectonic emphasis on the dromos and the front of the stamion is found present in both tomb types, but I find the parallel weak. The later group of tholos tombs at Mycenae in particular have well-built dromoi, but they are rectangular in shape and narrow in comparison with the long widening dromoi at Salamis.⁵⁴

However, many features of the Salamis Royal Tombs, both details and the general conception of princely tomb buildings, are closely paralleled in the Phrygian tombs of the early Iron Age.⁵⁵ The tumuli at Gordion may serve as examples of the tomb type. Here, the burial chamber was constructed in wood and built inside a cavity, later surrounded and covered by rubble walling and a tumulus. A somewhat similar complicated tumulus construction was built above Salamis Tomb 3, where both rubble and brick walls formed inner retaining walls. In the Phrygian tombs no dromos leads to the burial chamber, rather the deceased and his equipment were lowered down into the chamber from above. The princely Phrygian tumulus tomb served one burial only.

Other built tomb types

Apart from the megalithic and the ashlar built tombs at Salamis, other early built tombs in Cyprus can be separated into two main types, although they share common features. The earliest type, the axial multiple chamber tomb, appears at the end of the Cypro-Geometric III period. This type comprises tombs with more than one chamber either placed along the axis of the dromos, behind one another, or on an angular axis, next to one another. They appear first at Amathus, and later they become very popular in Kition and the inland region of Larnaca Bay.

The second type, the prodomos tomb, with close relations to the Salamis tomb type and its strong architectonic emphasis on the dromos and the prodomos, appears a little later. A Cypro-Achaic I chamber tomb of this type was found at Trachonas, and a tomb from Xylotymbo may belong to this group as well. The rock-cut tombs at Salamis-Cellarka, are also prodomos tombs, but the most elaborate examples are the two Royal Tombs 5 and 11 at Tamassos.

Axial multiple chamber tombs

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition investigated two late Geometric or early Archaic built tombs at Amathus, Tomb 1 and 2.⁵⁶ Tomb 1 is provided with a dromos, left unexcavated, leading to a

⁵¹ Santillo Frizell 1998, 173-4, 183.

⁵² Karageorghis 1980; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1980, 44 on Salamis as the leading city of Iron Age Cyprus. Rupp 1988, Snodgrass 1988, 10-2, argues against Rupp.

⁵³ Haller 1954, 95-6, 170, 182-3. The Assyrian chamber tombs are known from as far back as the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, but stayed in use till the 7th century BC. Tombs of this kind were widespread in the Assyrian region, well-known examples are found at Megiddo (Galling 1977, 94-5) and at Tell-El-Mutesellim (Schumacher 1908, 14). See also Weidner & von Soden 1971, "Grab", 601-2.

⁵⁴ Karageorghis 1967a, 117-9; Pelon 1976, 277-96, tableau IV, 482-3.

⁵⁵ Dendrochronology has provided in the following dates: The MM tumulus: 757 BC; Tumulus B: 627 BC. See also: www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/90adp.html

⁵⁶ The built Amathus tombs described here were placed west

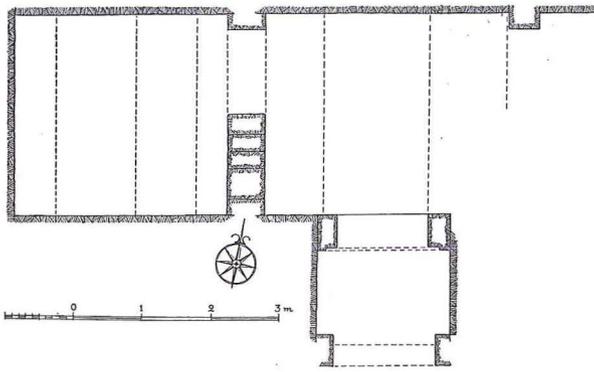


Fig. 16. Amathus, SCE Tomb 1 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 6:1).

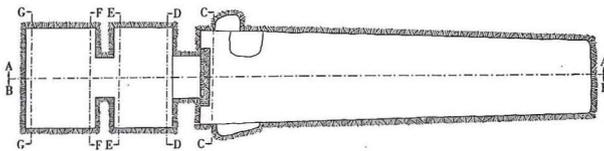


Fig. 17. Amathus Tomb 2 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 6:3).

stomion (Fig 16). Behind the stomion is a smaller chamber, an antechamber, and from here there is access to a central burial chamber with an adjacent chamber on each side. Each chamber has a slab floor and walls built in ashlar masonry roofed by barrel vaults, starting about 1 m above the floor. Strict axuality is repeated in Tomb 2 (Fig. 17). Approached by a sloping dromos, slightly widening towards the stomion, two chambers are placed one behind the other. The tomb is constructed in ashlar masonry; some of the blocks are trapezoid, the majority however rectangular. A corbelled vault with fairly straight diagonal sides, as in a gabled roof, forms the ceiling of the chambers. Judging primarily by its on architectonic style Tomb 2 has been dated to the late Cypro-Geometric III or Cypro-Archaic I period and Tomb 1 to the Cypro-Archaic period.⁵⁷

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition reinvestigated another axial tomb at Amathus, originally excavated by Cesnola in 1876 (Fig. 18).⁵⁸ It consists of two chambers in axis, each divided by stomia with decorated doorframes consisting of three fasciae. The first chamber has a flat slab roof, while the rear

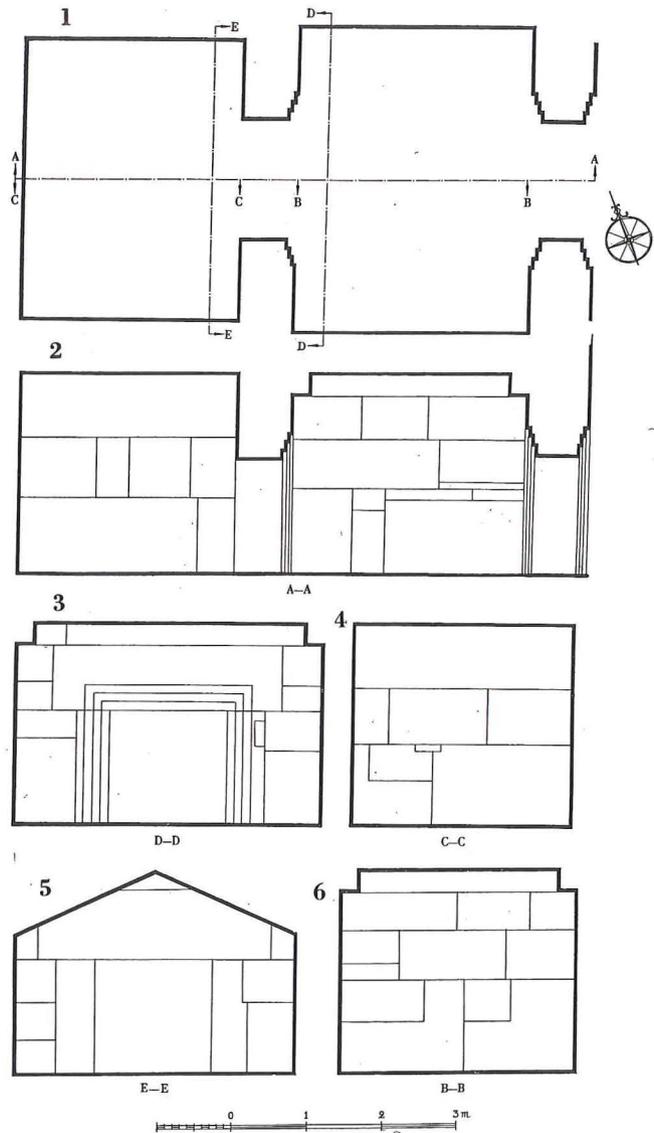


Fig. 18. Cesnola Amathus Tomb (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 47).

chamber is covered by a saddle roof constructed of slabs resting on the side walls. A date in the Cypro-Archaic I period was suggested.

The British Expedition at Amathus excavated two other multiple chamber tombs.⁵⁹ The description of these tombs is unfortunately summarily,

(SCE tomb 1 and 2), north (BM tomb 312?) and east (BM tomb 77) of the acropolis respectively. Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 2-16.

⁵⁷ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 15-6.

⁵⁸ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 2, fig. 47.

⁵⁹ Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 91-2.

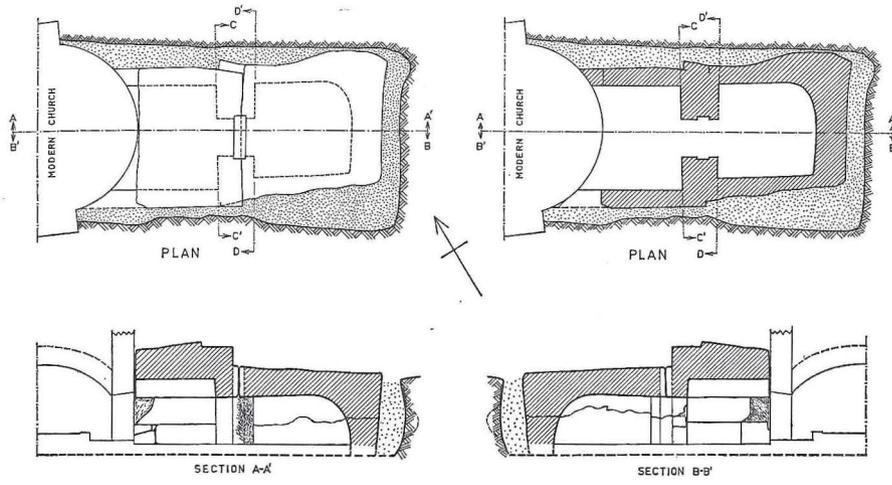


Fig. 19. Phaneromeni Tomb (Karageorghis 1976, fig. 20).

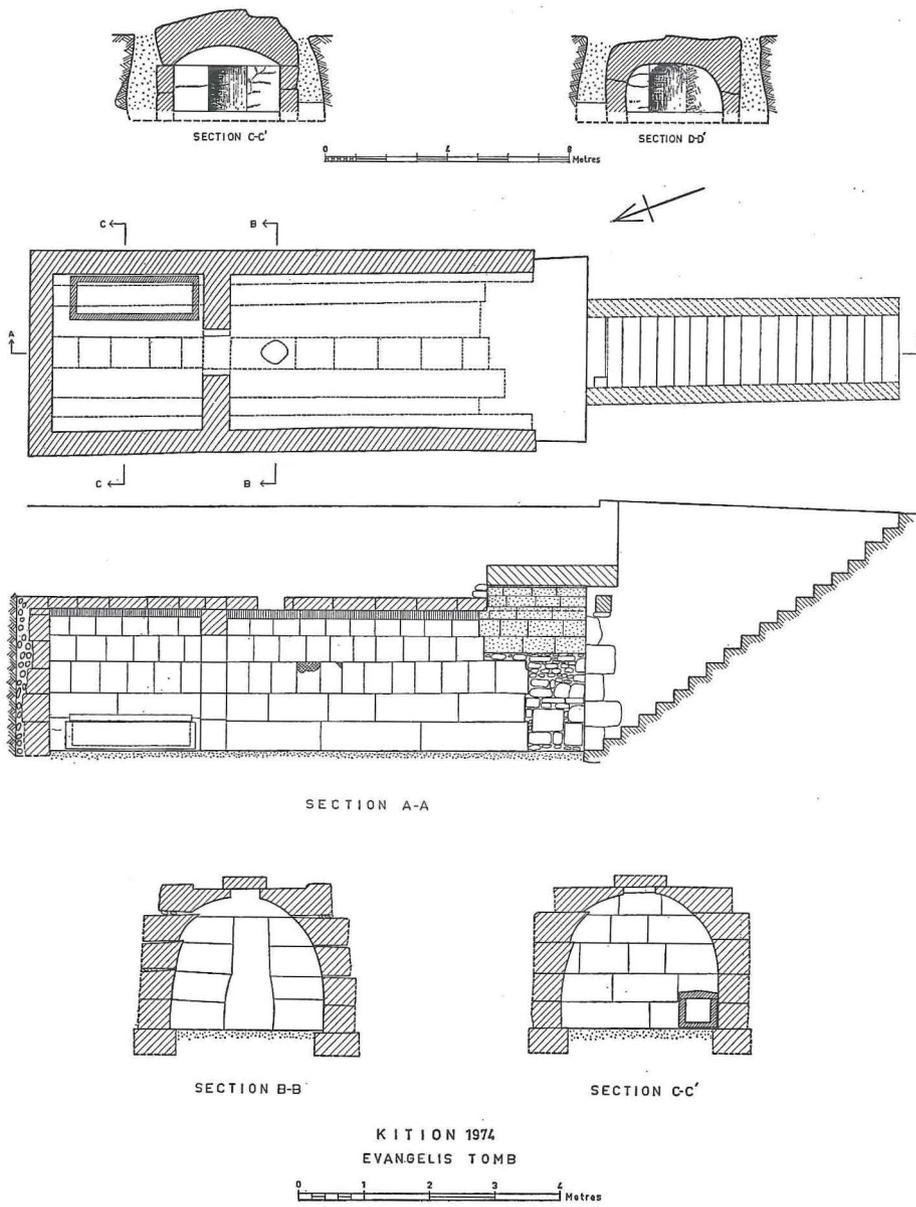


Fig. 20. Evangelis Tomb (Karageorghis 1976, fig. 26).

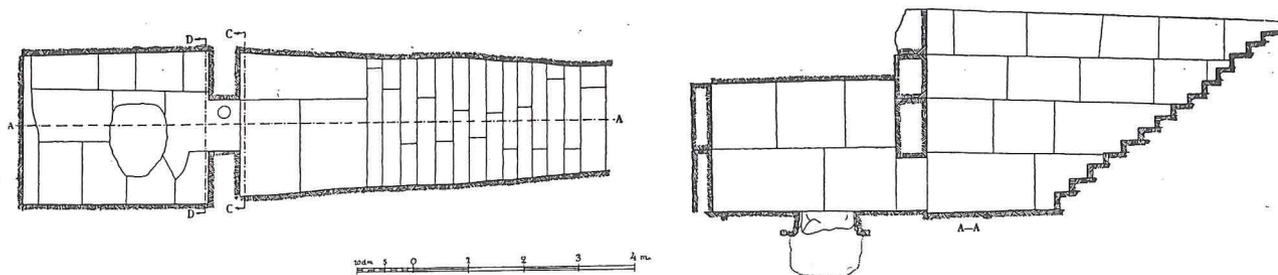


Fig. 21. Trachonas built chamber tomb (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, fig. 182:5-6).

but both were appreciated for their careful workmanship. Tomb 77 is best documented.⁶⁰ It has two chambers in axis, and a flat roof constructed by slabs. Tomb 312 has five chambers, but unfortunately the plan of the tomb was neither described in any detail nor documented by a drawing.⁶¹ No date was suggested.

At Kition the probably Archaic, so-called Phaneromeni tomb is an axial multiple chamber tomb, but it also shares traits with the Salamis built tombs (Fig. 19). It is megalithic, situated in the southern part of the necropolis area, and today it serves as shrine for Panayia Phaneromeni.⁶² The tomb is constructed in a large pit cut in the bedrock, where two megalithic rock blocks were placed. The tomb was thereafter cut out of these blocks like Salamis Tombs 50 and 79. Originally the tomb must have been approached by a dromos from the west.⁶³ It consists of two chambers behind one another, with a portcullis door in between. The outer chamber is rectangular, while the back chamber has a rounded north-east corner and a rounded roof. Details of the interior have undoubtedly been altered since Antiquity, and it is impossible to date the tomb.⁶⁴

The Evangelis tomb, also at Kition, is axial in construction and consists of two chambers behind one another, approached by a long and narrow stepped dromos (Fig. 20).⁶⁵ However, the outer end of the first chamber and the lower part of the dromos have been damaged, and the plan of the stomion is thus unknown. The tomb is built in isodomic masonry with orthostates forming the two lower courses, and corbelled barrel vaults cover both chambers.

The newly found built tomb in Kition also

belongs to this type.⁶⁶ A rather wide stepped dromos leads to the tomb, which consists of two chambers behind one another. This chamber is closed with a huge door slab. A gabled roof with beams imitating wooden roof construction cut into the roof slabs covers both chambers. These two tombs also belong to the Archaic period, but a number of rock-cut tombs at Agios Georghios in the far western part of the Kition necropolis shows the continuous popularity of the axial multiple chamber tomb type in the Classical period.⁶⁷ A series of seven rock-cut chamber tombs is especially well documented. They appear to follow the same strict plan, probably all consisting of two rectangular chambers behind one another.

The prodomos tomb type

Documented at Trachonas on the Karpas peninsula, at Xylotymbo, Tamassos and Kourion the prodomos tomb type has a wider distribution. At Trachonas a single built tomb, dated to the Cypro-Archaic I period, is set in a sloping hillside and was

⁶⁰ Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 91, fig. 143.

⁶¹ Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 92.

⁶² Nicolaou 1976, chapter 10; Karageorghis 1976, 142-4.

⁶³ On the drawings in Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, Taf. CXXV, 3-4, the dromos is not included. Today the church of Panayia Phaneromeni covers the site of a presumed dromos. See also Jeffery 1915, 170.

⁶⁴ Karageorghis 1976, 143 suggested that the tomb belonged to the 7th or 6th century BC.

⁶⁵ Karageorghis 1976, 149.

⁶⁶ I owe Andreas Savva of the Larnaka Museum this information.

⁶⁷ Yon & Callot 1987.

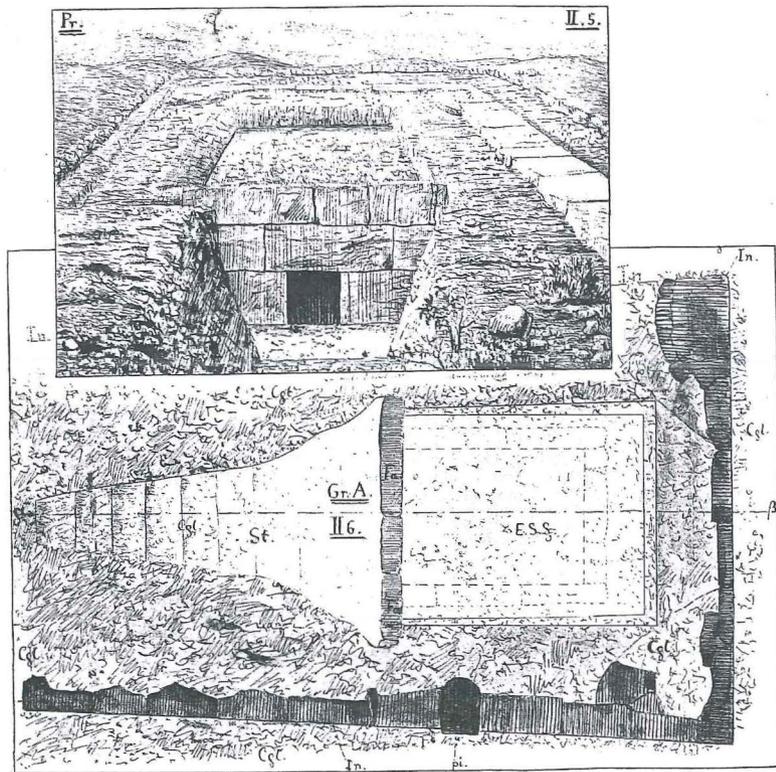


Fig. 22. Xylotymbo Tomb 2 (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CLXXXIX, II:5-6).

originally covered by a tumulus (Fig. 21).⁶⁸ A stepped dromos leads to a prodromos, and a gabled roof constructed of slabs, which rest on the side walls, covers the rectangular chamber, but the gable is not pointed, it is rather rounded.

Tomb 2 at Xylotymbo on the Bay of Larnaka, probably belonging to the Cypro-Archaic I period, may also be considered a prodromos tomb (Fig. 22).⁶⁹ However, Tomb 1 nearby also displays peculiarities and the plans published by Ohnefalsch-Richter are inconclusive as far as details of the dromoi and possible prodromoi are concerned (Fig. 23).

The best-known examples of the prodromos tomb type are the Royal Tombs 5 and 11 at Tamassos.⁷⁰ Tomb 5 is the most complicated and elaborate (Fig. 24). Constructed in ashlar masonry, it is approached by a stepped dromos, which widens slightly towards the entrance. In front of the stomion a prodromos is marked, and pilasters crowned by Proto-Aeolian pillar capitals flank the inner half of this chamber. The floor level in this

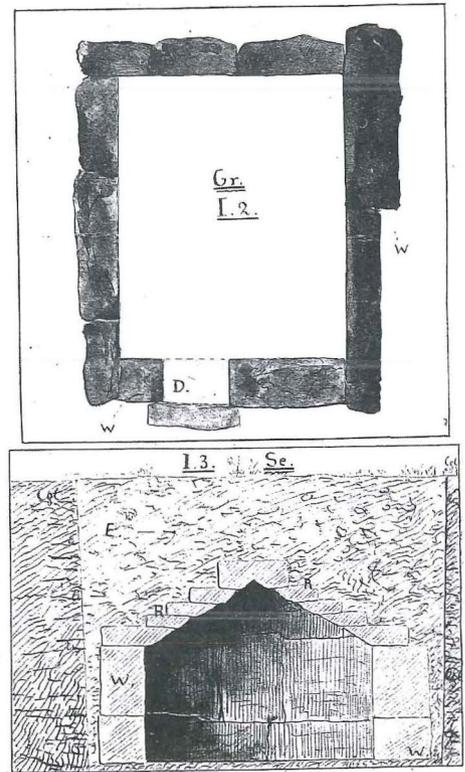


Fig. 23. Xylotymbo Tomb 1 (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CLXXXIX, I:1-2).

part is slightly higher and the same level is maintained in the stomion. The outer face of the lintel block of the stomion is decorated with a dentil moulding. Along the axis of the dromos are two rectangular tomb chambers, one behind the other. In the first chamber so-called Scheintüre are placed opposite each other in the long walls. These are decorated with low reliefs also with Proto-Aeolian motifs. Above the doorway leading to the second chamber is a niche framed by a fascia frieze and on the lower part decorated with a low relief in the Proto-Aeolian style. A sarcophagus was found placed at the back wall of the second chamber with a two-stepped podium leading up to it. A gabled roof constructed of large slabs

⁶⁸ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 461-6.

⁶⁹ Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 477. This may also have been the case of Tomb 1 nearby, but details are sparse in the publication and on the drawing neither the dromos nor the prodromos outline is marked.

⁷⁰ Buchholz 1974, 578-98; 1973, 328.

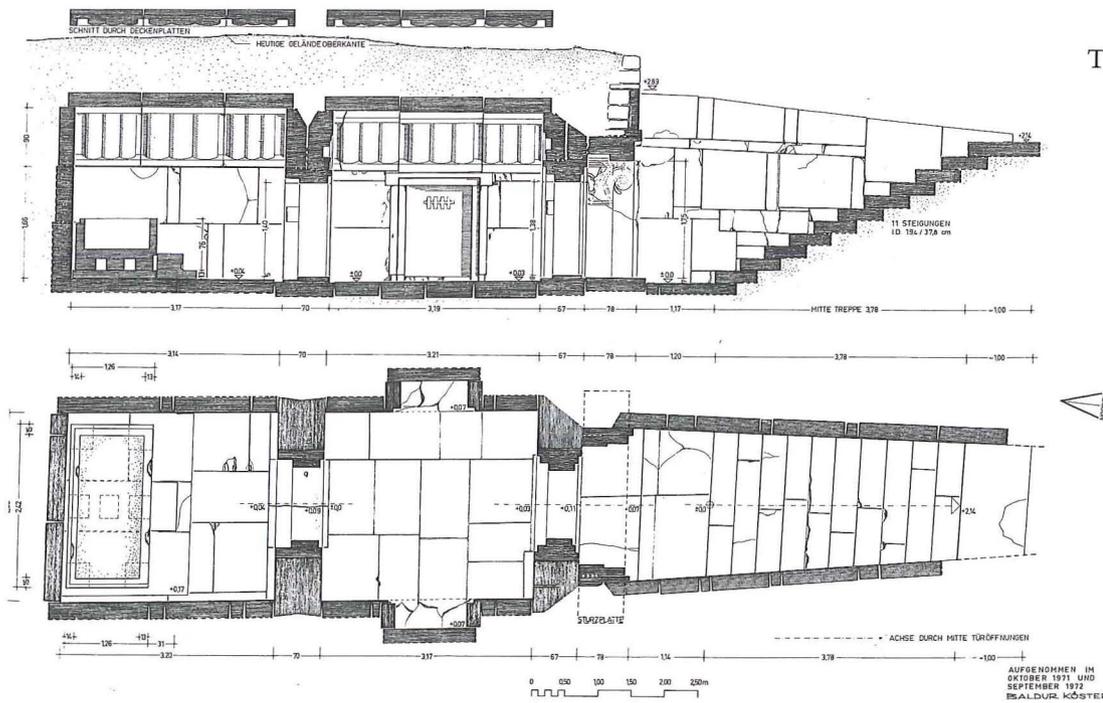


Fig. 24. Tamassos Tomb 5 (Buchholz 1974, Abb. 49).

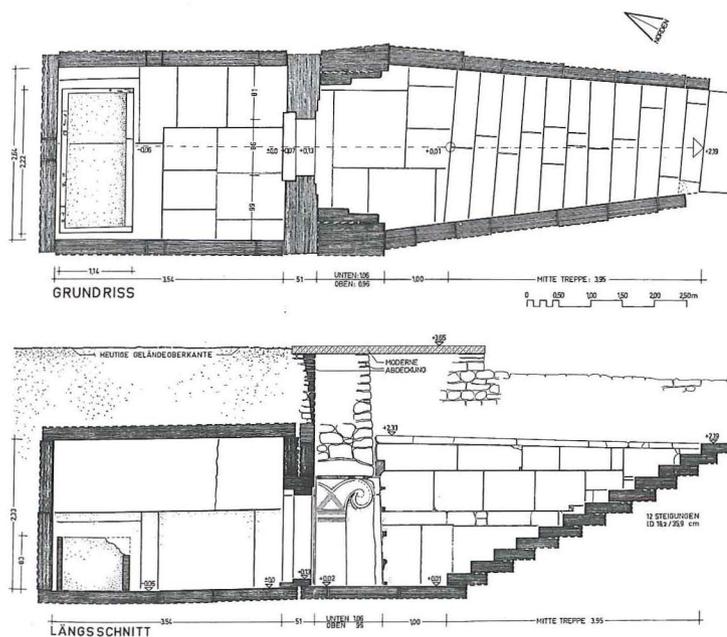


Fig. 25. Tamassos Tomb 11 (Buchholz 1973, Abb. 25a).

resting on the sidewalls covers the two chambers. The inner side of the ceiling is decorated with convex beams imitating a wooden roof construction.

Tomb 11 is similar to Tomb 5 although single chambered and not quite as lavishly decorated (Fig. 25). However, pilasters crowned by Proto-Aeolian capitals also flank the prodomos. An undecorated gabled roof covers the chamber.

The combination of the axial multiple cham-

ber type and the prodomos type at Tamassos is repeated in two Classical tombs both found in the eastern necropolis at Amathus in 1972 and 1974 respectively.⁷¹ They are constructed next to

⁷¹ I have not been able to find any description of the tomb excavated in 1972. The report on the 1974 tomb in some respects includes remarks on both tombs, but it is not possible to conclude that they were similar. *BCH* 99, 1975, 836-7; *BCH* 100, 1976, 890-1.

TOMB	TYPE	FLAT	SLAB-GB.	BARREL	ASSARLIK	CORB.-GB.	DATE
Amathus, comp.	Composite	X					CGI-CAI
Salamis 1	Salamis	X					CGIII
Salamis 2	Salamis	X					CGII/III
Salamis 31	Salamis	X					CAI
Salamis 3	Salamis		X				CAI/II
Salamis 19	Salamis		X				CAI
Salamis 47	Salamis		X				CAI
Patriki 1	Salamis				X		CAII
Patriki 2	Salamis		X				CAII
Kourion, Agios Hermogenos	Salamis					X	CAII
Amathus 1	Axial			X			CA
Amathus 2	Axial				X		CGIII/CAI
Amathus, Cesnola	Axial		X				CAI
Kition, Evangelis	Axial				X		CA
Kition, new tomb	Axial / prod.		X				CA
Tamassos 5	Axial / prod.		X				CAII
Tamassos 11	Prod.		X				CAII
Trachonas	Prod.		X				CAI
Xylotymbo	Prod.?					X	CA
Idalion	Single-chb.					X	CA

Table 2. Roofing types.

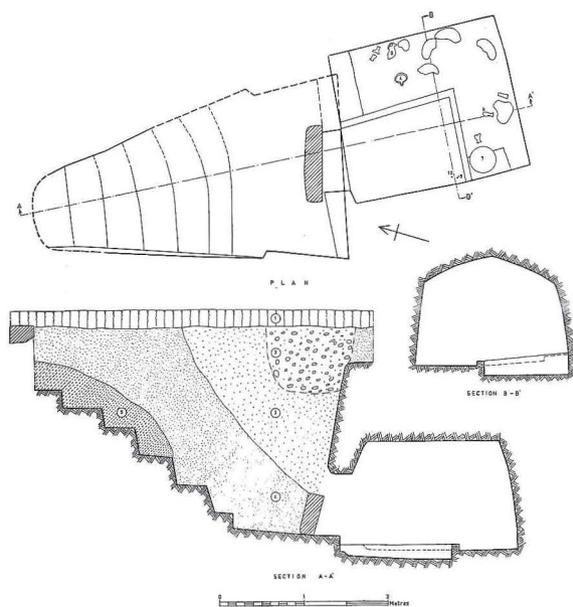


Fig. 26. Cellarka Tomb 18 (Karageorghis 1970a, pl. XXXI).

each other in a sloping hillside. Built in well-dressed ashlar masonry they are approached by monumental stepped dromoi. The tomb excavated in 1974 has a rectangular dromos with 22 steps. In front of the stomion is a prodromos consisting of a paved rectangular platform. The stomion is closed by a turning door leading to the two tomb chambers both placed in axis of the dromos as in Tomb 2. The upper part of the chamber walls is decorated with an architrave with two fasciae.

Rock-cut prodromos tombs

The rock-cut tombs of the Cellarka necropolis at Salamis illustrate the relation between the prodromos type and the Salamis built tomb type (Fig. 26). The majority of the tombs date from the Cypro-Archaic II and the Cypro-Classical I peri-

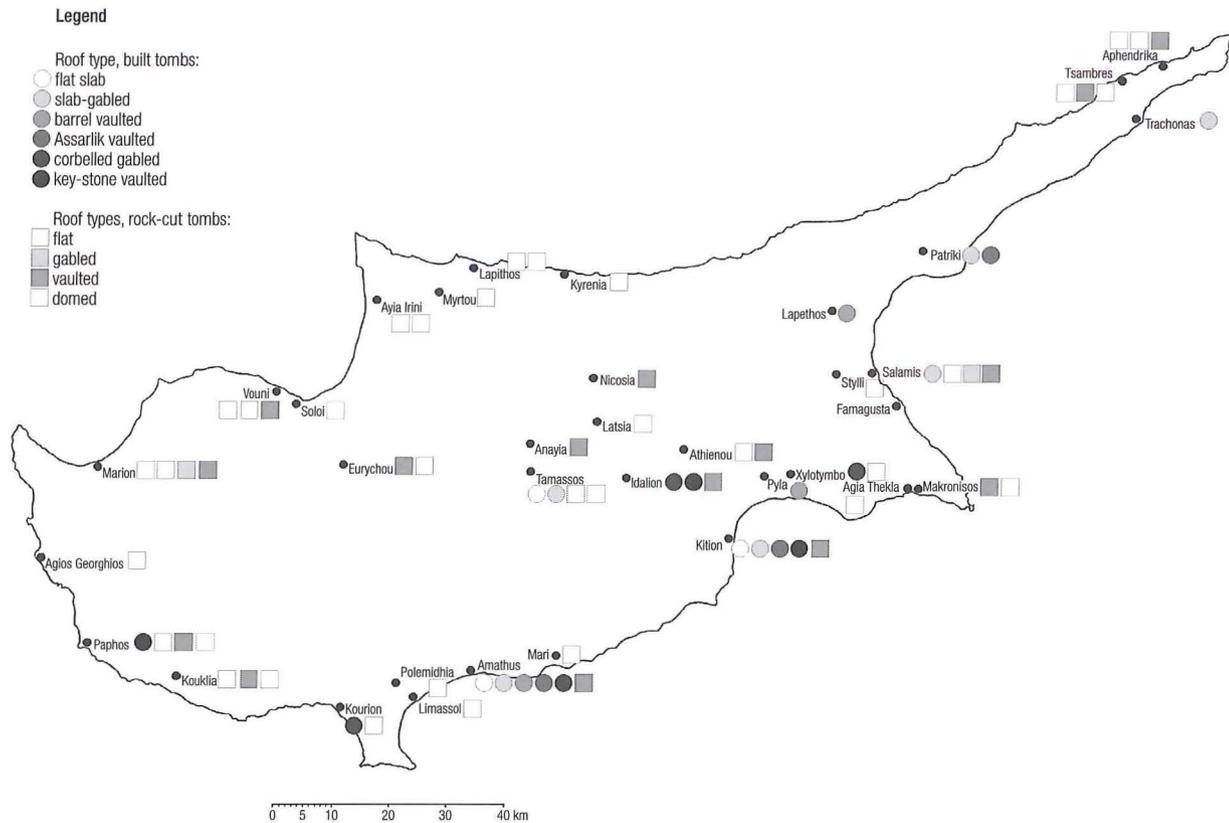


Fig. 27. Distribution of roof types between c. 1000 BC and 400/500 AD.

od.⁷² They represent a homogeneous group. The dromoi are stepped and widen considerably towards the stomion, which is often constructed as a prodomos marked by a paved “platform” and framed at the side walls by small shelves or benches. Closed by a door slab the narrow stomion leads to an irregular trapezoid chamber. As in the Salamis built tombs the prodomos is generally more elaborate than the chamber itself.⁷³

Roofs

The roofing techniques employed in the Cypriot Iron Age tombs can roughly be divided into three different groups (Fig. 27, Table 2): flat, slab-gabled, and corbelled roofs.

The flat slab roof is only seen in the early tombs of the Salamis type and the Amathus composite tombs. Stone slabs resting on the side walls of the chamber and meeting at an acute angle forming the ridge make up the roof. Apparently the type was only employed during the Archaic period, but has a wider distribution and was used in the

Salamis tomb types as well as in the Cesnola tomb at Amathus, the axial prodomos tombs at Kition and Tamassos and the prodomos tombs at Tamassos and Trachonas. Several types of corbelled roofs were used. The axial Tomb 1 at Amathus has a barrel vault, while a corbelled gabled roof covers prodomos tombs at Idalion and at Xylotymbo. A vaulted roof, consisting of a lower barrel-vaulted or gabled section closed by a course of blocks interrupting the rounding or gabling, which is here termed the Assarlik type, is not found beyond the Archaic period.⁷⁴

There may be both a chronological and topographical significance in the distribution of the

⁷² Karageorghis 1970a, 2-169.

⁷³ Karageorghis 1970a, plate L:1; LXXVI:2; LXXXI:5; CXXXVIII:1; CLII:2.

⁷⁴ The type is labelled after the ancient site at Assarlik in the Halikarnassos peninsula, where the vaulting type is found employed as early as in the Protogeometric period. Paton 1887; Carstens 1999a, 31-42; 1999b, 110.

roof types. All types of roofing represented in the Cypriot chamber tombs have parallels in Anatolian sepulchral architecture. However, it is difficult to separate the good workmanship, which may be universal, from the possible cultural connotations, which may be particular, by an analysis of basic structural members of the architecture.

The distribution of built tombs in Iron Age Cyprus and external relations

Built tombs are only found in the south and eastern part of Cyprus during the Iron Age. The earliest examples, the Salamis tomb type, are concentrated by Ammochostos Bay. The Agios Hermogenos tomb at Kourion is related to this type, mainly by its monumental dromos, but it stands apart both topographically and chronologically.

Built tombs are also seen at Amathus from the Cypro-Geometric III period onwards, and somewhat later built tombs appear at Kition. Tombs from these two areas are typologically close, the axial multiple chamber tomb in particular is common in Kition during the Archaic period, but it also continues into the Classical period. The emphasis on the prodomos is seen at Trachonas in Karpasia, at Salamis-Cellarka, and at Tamassos. This tomb type appears later than the axial tomb, i.e. during the Cypro-Archaic I period, except for the earliest Royal Tombs at Salamis where the prodomos was also in focus. However, as traits of the two tomb types quickly and frequently fused together I suggest that the prodomos tomb type may be regarded as a further development of the axial multiple chamber type. Examples of prodomos tombs with multiple chambers include Tamassos Tomb 5 and the newly found tomb at Kition, both dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period.

Wooden architecture in built tombs

Wooden architecture is seldom preserved in the Mediterranean area. Rare exceptions are the Phrygian tomb chambers, but otherwise the evidence is merely secondary, represented by terracotta models or as woodwork details transformed

into stone architecture. Examples of both are seen in Cyprus.

Terracotta shrine models are known from both Cyprus and the Near East.⁷⁵ An especially detailed Archaic model was found in a tomb at Amathus, probably by Cesnola.⁷⁶ Its outer shape is only summarily modelled, while the doorway in front is provided with circular knobs, six on each side and a circle and crescent above the lintel. Philip Betancourt has suggested that the knobs flanking the doorway illustrated the log-ends of the side walls. Flanking the doorway, antae with volute-like capitals are reproduced. These capitals are best understood as Proto-Aeolic capitals and their architectonic position corresponds with the antae of Tamassos Tombs 5 and 11.

Even without shrine models it is clear that the elaborate details of Tamassos Tomb 5 and 11 refer to woodwork. Both the structural elements like the antae, the dentil above the lintel, the roof beams and the decorative elements such as the cutting of the capitals and other Proto-Aeolic ornaments, all have the characteristic flat and sharp cuts we normally associate with woodcarving.⁷⁷ It is obvious that in these matters the tombs reflect real contemporary wooden architecture. The various elements are well understood, the roof seems realistic and the dentil is not merely a decorative element as seen in Ionic architecture. Rather it closely imitates the beam-ends of the flat roof of the stomion.⁷⁸

It is precisely these elements, the structural reminiscence of the wooden building technique which are also found in Late Archaic Lycian rock-cut facade- and house-tombs.⁷⁹ However, here the interior of the tomb chamber is mostly modest,

⁷⁵ Betancourt 1971; Shiloh 1979, 32-3.

⁷⁶ The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, MS 156.

⁷⁷ The same is to a large extent the case with the new-found tomb at Kition. However, since it is unpublished neither drawings nor photos are available and it seems hazardous to conduct a similar analysis on the basis of memory.

⁷⁸ See also Buchholz 1985, 243.

⁷⁹ Keen 1998, 184 with references. Interestingly, it is precisely the Ionic entablature which is found in "fully develop-

without the roofing details of Tamassos Tomb 5 and the new tomb at Kition. Likewise, the wooden Phrygian tomb chambers are architecturally simple and consist of a rectangular box covered by a flat or gabled roof. As there was no dromos leading to the chamber and the tomb was entered through the roof in the case of the single burial, woodwork details such as logs-ends were never visible and did not function as a decorative or as a structural element.⁸⁰ Only one of the Lydian chamber tombs at the Bin Tepe (BT 76) has a gabled roof with beams. Otherwise the type is unknown at Sardis.⁸¹

Two Archaic rock-cut tumulus tombs in particular at Soma, near Pergamon, offer closer parallels.⁸² Both are multiple axial chamber tombs with a Π -shaped bench in the rear chamber and smaller benches along each side wall in the first chamber. The roofs are gabled with beams imitating regularly cut woodwork. The excavator, S. Kaspar, pointed out the clear references to Etruscan tombs, and emphasised the ultimate two ways of interpreting the parallel, either as an independent, but parallel phenomenon, or as the result of an Anatolian-Etruscan connection.⁸³ It should be noted that at Soma, in the whole of Western Anatolia, and in Cyprus, tombs of this type are rarely found, and they are apparently later than the earliest tombs in Etruria.⁸⁴

Some elements, both structural and decorative, used in the chamber tombs may imitate or reflect real buildings. As these elements are found only in a limited number of chamber tombs in Cyprus they are probably expressions of high status or social position. A cultural incursion from both Lycian architecture consisting of log-end-dentils and antae, and capitals and ornaments from Syro-Palestinian architecture is evident. But apparently these relations were only fully manifested in three chamber tombs in Cyprus, Tamassos Tombs 5 and 11 and the new Kition tomb, all in the eastern part of the island.

The capitals of the Tamassos tombs belong to a group of Proto-Aeolic capitals originating in Palestine as a variation of the palm-tree motive. These capitals are characterised by the central triangular element from which the volute or leaves

spring. It was designed as a capital for pillars or pilasters,⁸⁵ but direct evidence of the position of the capitals is not available. Only very few two-faced capitals have been found, while one-faced types appear more frequently, indicating a general position in portals or doorjambs, as in the Tamassos tombs and the shrine model.⁸⁶

A pair of Proto-Aeolic capitals, also of the Palestinian type were found at Alezeitin east of Halikarnassos in the late 1960s.⁸⁷ They belong to a building interpreted as a heroon and their findspot indicated that their original position was as part of a doorway, like the Tamassos capitals. The two capitals belong to the same type, but they are not identical. One has a central palmette filling out the frame of the central triangle, which is left plain in the Tamassos capitals. The other is decorated with a heart or lyre motif in the triangle. Both building and capitals may belong to the second half of the 6th century BC, a date corresponding with the Cypriot examples. The Alezeitin evidence is sparse, yet it connects the region with Cyprus and the Levant and other archaeological material seems to support such relations.⁸⁸

In the late Archaic and Classical pre-Maussollan

ed" form in the Persian rock-cut tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam, where the series begins with the tomb of Darius I, probably constructed in the 510s BC. In these tombs the entablature seems quite free of the wood-work imitation, for instance all dentils, the reminiscence of logs-ends, are rectangular, while many Lykian facade tombs present rounded log-ends as well as rectangular dentils, cf. Schmidt 1970, 80.

⁸⁰ Young 1981, 4-7, 85-100, 194-6; Kohler 1995, 169-74.

⁸¹ Hanfmann *et al.* 1983, 54.

⁸² Kaspar 1970, Abb. 5, tomb A1 and A2.

⁸³ Kaspar 1970, 82. For Etruscan tombs with imitation of wooden architecture: Damgaard Andersen 1998, 43-7. Discussion on the hypothetical connections between Ionia and Etruria, cf. Naso 1996; Eckert 1998-1999.

⁸⁴ A discussion of the chronology is found in Damgaard Andersen 1998, 55-7. Thus, Etruscan chamber tombs imitating wooden architecture are both more common and earlier than in the Eastern Mediterranean.

⁸⁵ Shiloh 1979, 21-5, figs. 12-4; Wright 1992, 432-3.

⁸⁶ Wright 1992, 434.

⁸⁷ Radt 1970, 39-55, 237-55.

⁸⁸ A group of Cypriot terracottas has also been found east of Halikarnassos. Radt 1970, 265-72. Later investigations have indicated that a local production of terracotta and pottery

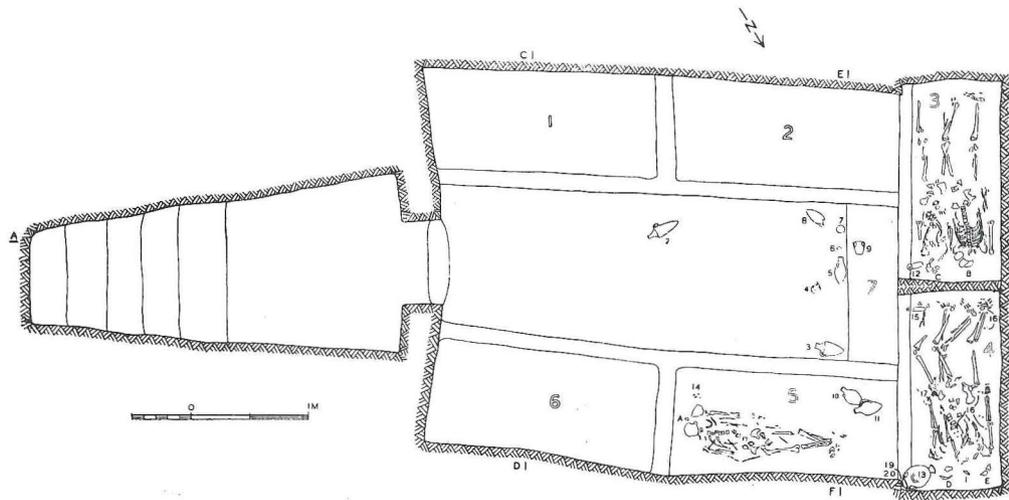


Fig. 28. Tsambres Tomb 15 (Dray & Plat Taylor 1951, fig. 10).

complex in Halikarnassos, situated within the quadrangle where the Maussoleion tomb chamber was later constructed, an element foreign to Carian sepulchral architecture plays a leading part.⁸⁹ The central dromos has the form of a regularly built staircase leading to the prodomos, the inner part of which was framed by two antae, with apparently one pillar in antis. Such a tomb type is completely unparalleled in Caria at any period, where stepped monumental dromoi leading to subterranean chambers are otherwise undocumented.⁹⁰ The monumental stepped dromos was repeated in the Maussoleion tomb where the remains of a large meat sacrifice were found on its landing or prodomos.⁹¹

The hypothetical connection between the Tamassos tombs, undoubtedly belonging to the local elite, the heroon at Alezeitin, the pre-Mausollan complex, and the Maussoleion, probably subject to hero or ruler cult is interesting, but only suggestive.⁹² Apparently there was not only a close relation between the two regions architecturally, but this contact, which presumably took place on an elite level, was prior to the establishment of Persian supremacy in Caria and in Cyprus.

Classical and Hellenistic tombs

Rock-cut and built tombs of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period

The angular rock-cut tomb, which became

increasingly frequent throughout the island during the Cypro-Archaic period, remains the standard tomb type of the Classical and Early Hellenistic period. During this period the symmetry of the plans becomes stricter, and the use of details increases. This is clearly demonstrated by the two cemeteries at Tsambres and Aphendrika on the Karpas peninsula with tombs dating from the 5th to the 2nd century BC.⁹³ Here, the apparently island-wide architectural changes of the rock-cut tombs during the Classical and Hellenistic period are best documented.⁹⁴

The 5th century tombs at Tsambres have shaft dromoi provided with steps only in the outer steep

took place at Theangela, just east of Alezeitin, cf. Isik 1980; 1990. For the ongoing discussion of the presence of Cypriot sculptors' workshops in Rhodes versus import via Naukratis or Cyprus itself is – regardless its outcome – a link of relations between Caria and the Dodekanese with the Levant and or Cyprus cf. Jenkins 2000.

⁸⁹ Jeppesen & Zahle 1975; Carstens 1999a, 107–13.

⁹⁰ It is in connection with this stepped dromos that a water reservoir was found, see below. The final publication of the pre-Mausollan structures is under preparation by Jan Zahle. Recently (spring 2002) he kindly informed me that the complex as such may rather be part of a meeting hall for a koinon of some sort than the remains of an older cemetery.

⁹¹ Jeppesen 2000, however, rejects any connection between the Pre-Mausollan tombs and the later construction of the Maussoleion tomb.

⁹² Carstens 2002; Jeppesen 1994.

⁹³ Dray & Plat Taylor 1951.

⁹⁴ For instance at Marion, Vouni and the latest tombs at Ktima.

section.⁹⁵ One has a cave-like burial chamber, while the other chambers are trapezoid and roughly flat roofed.⁹⁶ In the 4th century tombs a stepped and widening dromos leads to a simple rectangular chamber with flat or barrel vaulted roof.⁹⁷ The two latest tombs in this group are more elaborate (Fig. 28). Tomb 15 has platforms around the three walls of the chamber, each of these divided into arcosolia of a simple type, while Tomb 11 has fully developed arcosolia counting two in each side wall of the chamber and a central one in the back wall (Fig. 29). Furthermore, in front of these arcosolia is another platform on a slightly lower level, with two cists cut into it on each side of the chamber. Tombs 2, 5, and 6 of the Hellenistic period share this plan with Tomb 11. However, both Tombs 2 and 5 have an extra chamber axially in front of the main arcosolia chamber and in Tomb 5 there are arcosolia along the two side walls.⁹⁸

The tombs of the Aphenrika necropolis follow the same development. The earliest tomb is dated to the very late 6th century BC and as at Tsambres the necropolis remained in use until the 2nd century BC. The earliest tombs consist of shaft dromoi, trapezoid to cave-like chambers and roughly flat roofs. Later the dromoi become stepped and the chambers more regular. Some of the 4th century tombs have benches along the three sides and a flat or slightly vaulted roof. Three tombs are furnished with arcosolia, two of these in a double arrangement as in Tsambres Tomb 11.⁹⁹

In 1928 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition investigated a third necropolis at Trachonas on the Karpas peninsula. All together 15 rock-cut cave-like to rectangular tombs were excavated, all dated to the Cypro-Classical II period.¹⁰⁰ Two tombs had Π-shaped platforms, while one had a platform along each sidewall of the chamber.¹⁰¹

Cross-shaped tombs, alcoves and arcosolia

While arcosolia are employed in a large variety of tomb types the alcove, an angular variant of the arcosolia, which is used at least from the 3rd century BC, is found exclusively in cross-shaped chamber tombs. From the Early Hellenistic period onwards this tomb-type is typical especially of

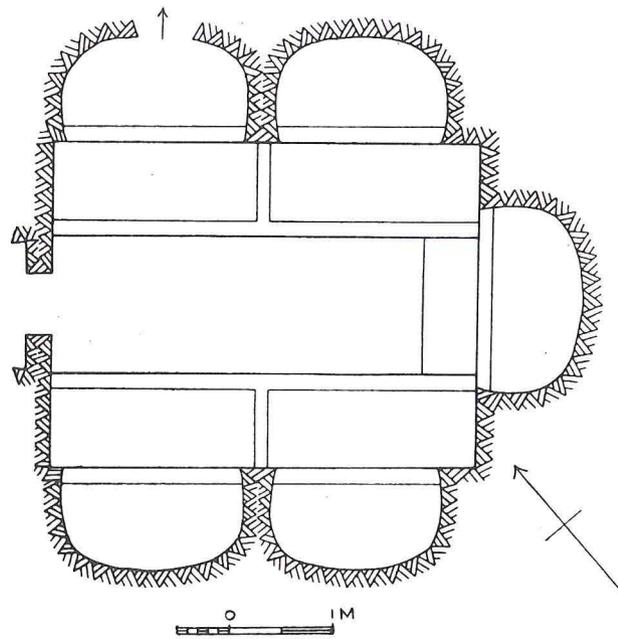


Fig. 29. Tsambres Tomb 11 (Dray & Plat Taylor 1951, fig. 8).

Athienou and the Makronisos necropolis at Aya Napa.¹⁰²

At Athienou three of the Hellenistic tombs are almost identical, with stepped dromoi, and a single cross-shaped burial chamber with three benches cut in the arms of the cross, as alcoves.¹⁰³ These three tombs belong to the early Hellenistic period. In the Makronisos necropolis 17 cross-shaped tombs have been excavated. Again the tombs are homogeneous. A rectangular stepped dromos leads to a rectangular stomion, originally closed by a door slab (Fig. 30). The typical cross-shaped chamber is provided with alcoves on three sides. In some cases the benches in these alcoves have fit-

⁹⁵ Tombs 17, 22, 23, 25, 26.

⁹⁶ Tomb 17 is cave-like.

⁹⁷ Tombs 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19.

⁹⁸ Dray & Plat Taylor 1951, 34-5.

⁹⁹ A similar double arcosolia is for instance also found in "Cave 2" at Karniel, Israel, cf. Porat 1997, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 439-60.

¹⁰¹ Tomb 7, 8, and 6, respectively.

¹⁰² Toumazou, Yerkes & Kardulias 1998, 173-4; Hadjisavvas 1997.

¹⁰³ Tomb 25-26, 28.

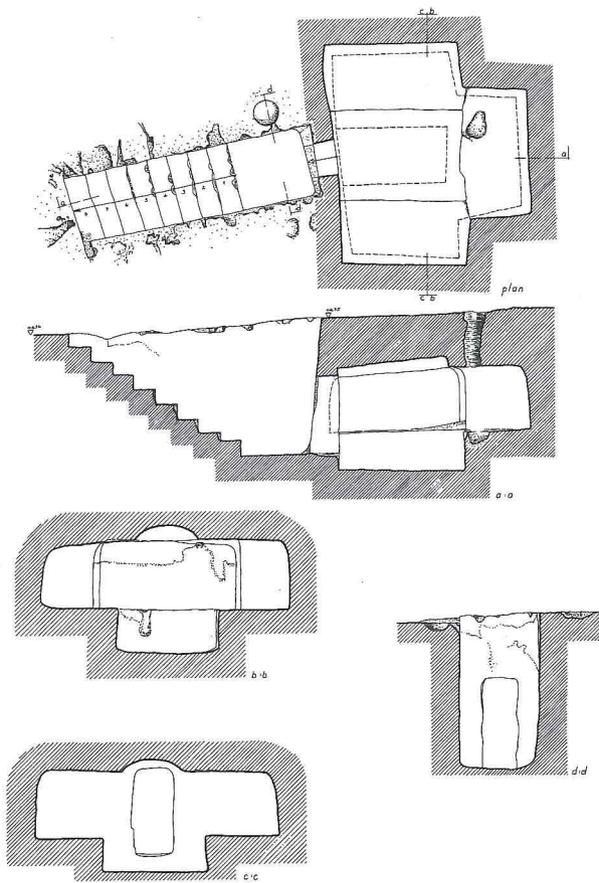


Fig. 30. Makronisos Tomb 5 (Hadjisavvas 1997, fig. 54).

tings in the shape of grooves, for wooden, terracotta, or stone sarcophagi. The earliest tombs at Makronisos were made in the 2nd century BC.

The cross-shaped chamber tomb is not only concentrated in the eastern part of the island, but it is here we find it employed consistently either in entire cemeteries or as a part of a necropolis. However, five Hellenistic/Roman cross-shaped tombs with arcosolia were excavated in the necropolis at Agios Georgios at Cape Drepanon north of Paphos.¹⁰⁴ Isolated examples are found in Nicosia, Paphos, and Limassol, while a total of six cross-shaped chambers of the 4th century to Early Hellenistic are known from the necropoleis at Tsambres and Aphenrika.¹⁰⁵

A multiple chamber tomb at Kouklia, Spilaion tis Regainas, is somewhat peculiar.¹⁰⁶ It is a rock-

¹⁰⁴ Anastasiadou 2000. The majority of the in all 28 investigated tombs here are loculi tombs.

¹⁰⁵ Nicosia, Late Hellenistic/Roman tomb at Kaimakli, *BCH* 1969, 471; Paphos e.g. Hadjisavvas 1982 (Roman built tomb); Limassol tomb 193 (Roman), *BCH* 110, 1986, 831; Tsambres tomb 2, 5, 6 (Hellenistic) and 11 (4th century BC); Aphenrika tomb 33, 36 (3rd century BC).

¹⁰⁶ Maier & von Wartburg 1998, 105-10.

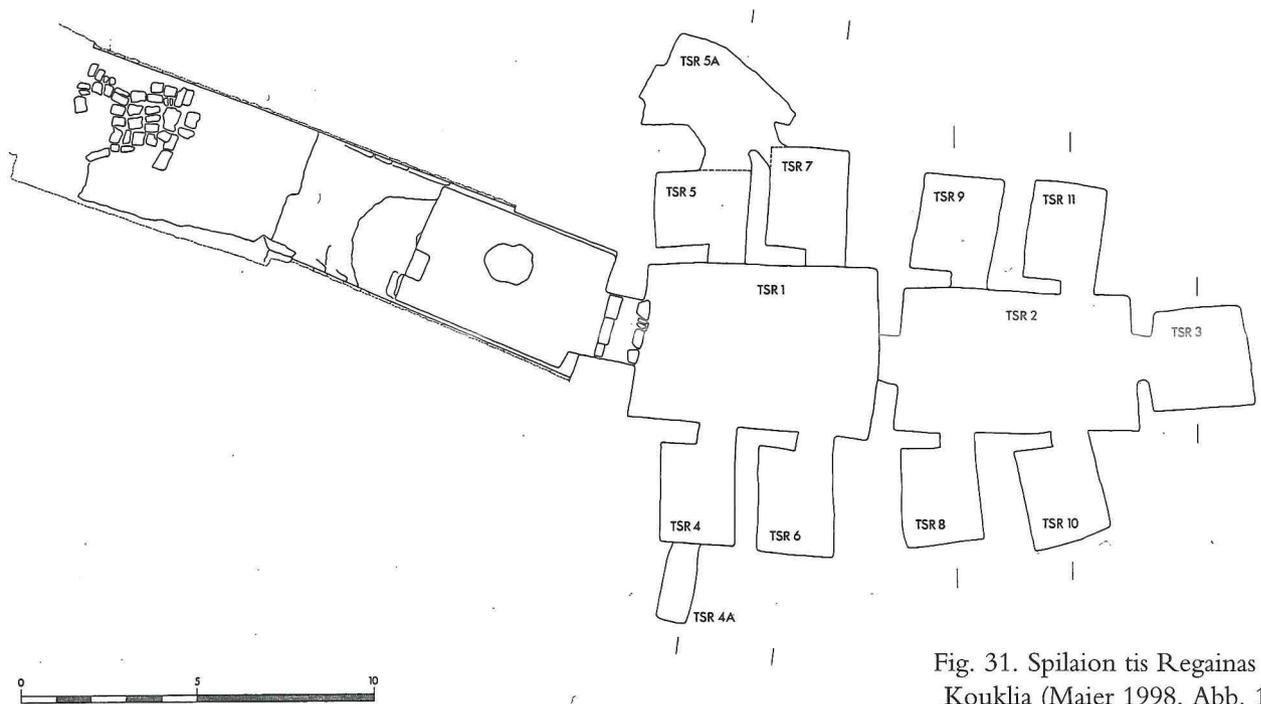


Fig. 31. Spilaion tis Regainas at Kouklia (Maier 1998, Abb. 1).

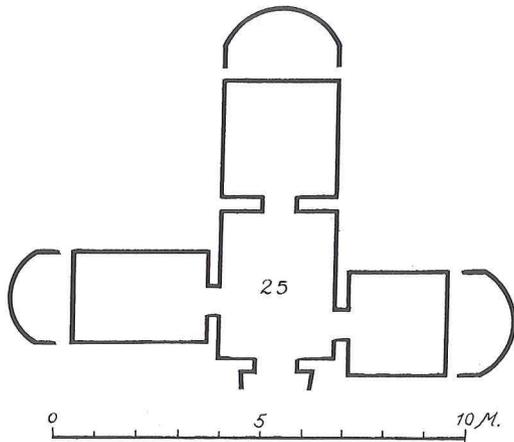


Fig. 32. Chamber tomb at Pyla (Westholm 1941, fig. 20:25).

cut tomb, but the sidewalls of the dromos are built in regular ashlar work and lead to a forecourt or prodromos (Fig. 31). The tomb consists of three chambers, two rectangular and one almost square. Cut in the sidewalls of the rectangular main chambers are adjacent minor chambers, two in each sidewall.

Two-axial tombs

The two-axial tomb type represents a variant of the cross-shaped tomb type, where a central chamber is surrounded by three adjacent chambers. It is represented in both built and rock-cut architecture, and it is particularly widespread in the later Hellenistic period. However, at Pyla near Larnaka, a built two-axial tomb found in the 1930s was dated to the Cypro-Classical I period (Fig. 32).¹⁰⁷

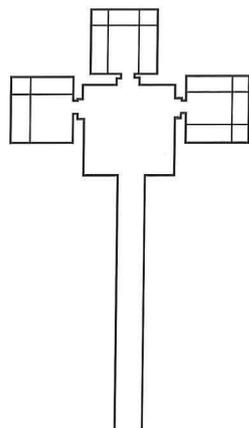


Fig. 34. Ali Bey's Tomb at Amathus (After Aupert 2000, fig. 40).

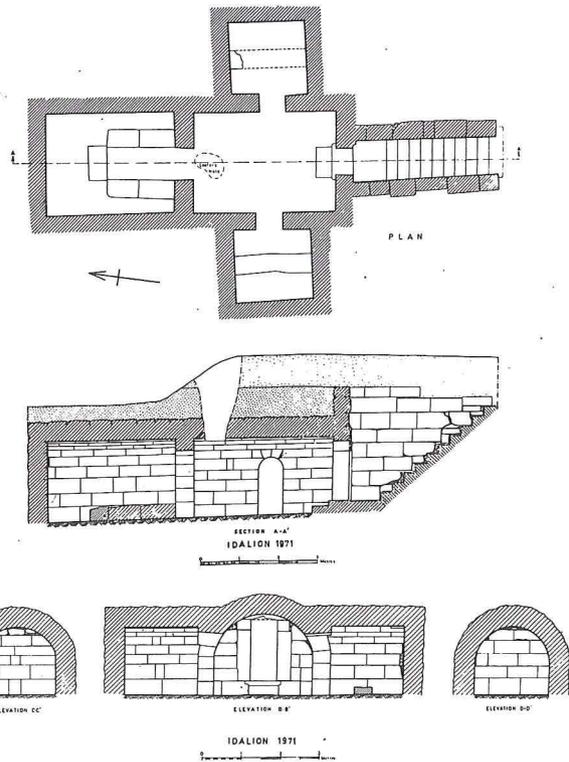


Fig. 33. Chamber tomb at Idalion (BCH 1972, 1024-8, fig. 37).

A similar tomb at Idalion, excavated in 1971, is dated to the 1st century BC.¹⁰⁸ This is constructed throughout of well-dressed ashlars, and it is approached by a very regularly stepped dromos (Fig. 33). Apparently no remains of closing devices were found. The stomion, roofed by an arch, leads to a rectangular chamber, which may have functioned as an antechamber for the remaining three burial chambers surrounding it. In both side-chambers a bench was built against the back wall, separated or framed by a parapet, while the rear chamber contains benches arranged in a Π-shape. Keystone barrel vaults covered all chambers of the tomb.

Just west of the acropolis at Amathus, a certain Ali Bey El Abbasi documented a two-axial rock-cut chamber in 1814 (Fig. 34).¹⁰⁹ The tomb has a long dromos, which leads to a central burial cham-

¹⁰⁷ Dikaios 1935b (not seen); Westholm 1941, 41-2.

¹⁰⁸ BCH 96, 1972, 1024-8.

¹⁰⁹ Aupert 2000, 96-7; Ali Bey El Abbasi; Voyage d'Ali Bey. Paris 1814 (not seen).

ber with three other chambers adjacent to it. These side chambers are furnished with benches or sarcophagi. The roofs of all chambers are slightly barrel-vaulted. This tomb may belong to the late Hellenistic or Roman period.

The number of two-axial chamber tombs is small, but they appear only inland of the Larnaka Bay, at Idalion and Pyla, and at Amathus, regions where the axial multiple chamber tomb type was employed frequently in the Cypro-Archaic period.

From benches to alcoves and arcosolia?

Benches or platforms are known from the composite tombs at Amathus as early as the Cypro-Geometric II period, where they are constructed of pebbles and rubble. Several examples of rock-cut benches are attested in the Late Archaic and Classical tombs at Salamis-Cellarka, where they often follow the two sides of the chamber in a Γ -shaped arrangement.¹¹⁰ A Cypro-Archaic I tomb at Mari and Tomb 42 at Aphendrika from the late 6th century BC are provided with Π -shaped benches.¹¹¹ During the Cypro-Classical period the arrangement of benches in a Π -shape becomes increasingly popular. They are found in the Cypro-Classical II tombs at Vouni and as noted above, benches or platforms are employed in the Karpasian necropoleis at Trachonas, Tsambres and Aphendrika.

The many niches in the Cypriot tombs dating back as far as the late Cypro-Geometric II period, seem to have been cut when additional burial space was needed inside the chamber. They thus constitute some kind of forerunner of the arcosolia.¹¹² It is, however, difficult to prove a line of development from irregularly cut extra compartments to regular alcoves and arcosolia, but it is clear that niches, whatever their shape were a common enlargement device.

In Cyprus the earliest arcosolia tombs are found in the Tsambres necropolis in the Cypro-Classical II period, and examples are known from the Hellenistic I period at Paphos and at Eurychou-Phoenikas in the Troodos.¹¹³ During the later Hellenistic and the Roman period the building of arcosolia tombs spread to the rest of the island.

They appear in Kyrenia, at Limassol, Kourion, Agia Thekla near Agia Napa, and at Paphos.¹¹⁴

The alcove tombs are certainly not earlier than the arcosolia tombs. The two types of burial niches rather seem to have developed simultaneously. Although it is quite difficult to obtain an overview of the distribution patterns of the Hellenistic and Roman tombs it appears that the alcoves were quite as widespread as the arcosolia.¹¹⁵

Cypriot Classical and Hellenistic chamber tombs and the external relations

A general island-wide tendency towards angular chambers in the rock-cut sepulchral architecture continues from the Late Archaic period. Typical of the Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic chambers is the employment of benches, arcosolia and alcoves. The earliest arcosolia dated to the Cypro-Classical II appear in the Tsambres necropolis, but already in the Early Hellenistic time they were also used in the western part of the island, for instance at Paphos. Cross-shaped tombs appear most frequently at Athienou and Makronisos, but they are also found in Paphos, Nicosia and Limassol, though in these locations as single tombs (Fig. 2).

The two-axial tomb type is most frequent in the southeastern part of Cyprus, at Pyla, Idalion and

¹¹⁰ Tomb 4, 14, 16, 18, 20, 27, 33, 41, 72, 86, 102, 108.

¹¹¹ Hadjisavvas 1997.

¹¹² Examples are found at Stylli SCE Tombs 2, 8, 10, 13, (CGIII-CAI), at Ktima Tombs 3, 5, 8, 9 (CGII-III and CCI), at Ayia Irini Tombs 23, 30 (CAI-II), at Marion SCE Tombs 8, 14, 15, 21, 32, 34 (CAII-CCII).

¹¹³ *BCH* 88, 1964, 316; *BCH* 108, 1984, 903.

¹¹⁴ As seen in Fig. 35, arcosolia are found at Agia Thekla (Hadjisavvas 1997, 29), Aphendrika Tombs 32, 36, Kition Tourabi Tomb 9, Kourion Amathus Gate necropolis, Kyrenia (*BCH* 97, 1973, 626, fig. 55), Paphos both in the north and east necropolis and incorporated in the Tombs of the Kings, cf. Appendix B, Tsambres Tombs 1, 2 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 28.

¹¹⁵ As seen in Fig. 35, the alcoves are found in Athienou Tombs 25-6, 28, Famagusta (*BCH* 90, 1966, 335), Idalion (SCE Tombs 2, 3, Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 632-41), Makronisos (Hadjisavvas 1997), Myrtou (*BCH* 91, 1967, 293), Paphos (see n. 135), Tamassos (Buchholz 1996, 42), Vouni Tombs 4, 8, 9, 14 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 298-339).

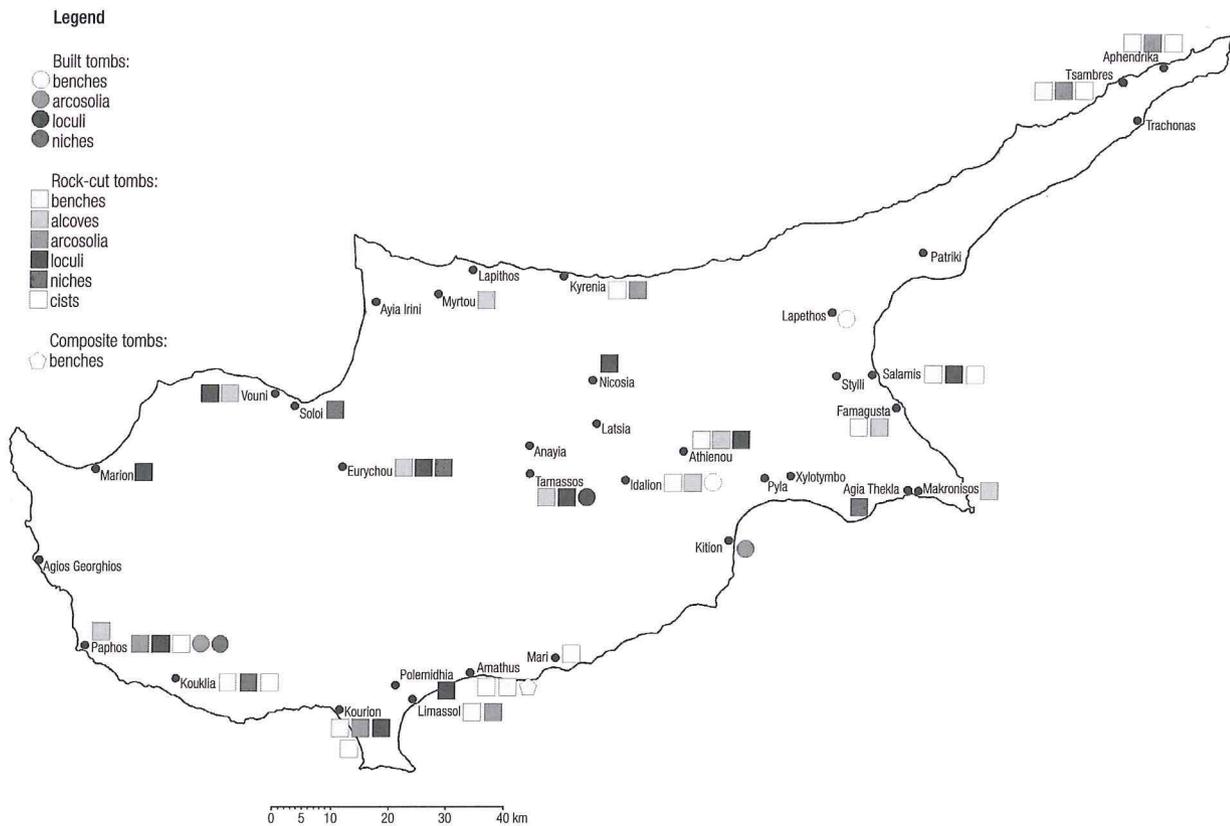


Fig. 35. Distribution of subtypes (based on details in interior architectonic decoration) between c. 1000 BC and 400/500 AD.

Amathus, where the multiple axial chamber tomb type of the Archaic period were also most frequent, and in Kition and Amathus this tomb type continued to be built during the Classical period.

By the end of the Archaic period the number of built tombs decreases, and alterations and innovations appear in the rock-cut tombs.¹¹⁶ The general characteristic of the Classical and early Hellenistic period seems to be that an architectonic formalisation of hitherto more randomised or informal architectonic practises take place. The irregular niches are turned into framed arcosolia, alcoves and loculi, and a sense of symmetry increases.

Although Π- or Γ-shaped benches are known from Cypro-Geometric tombs the formalisation of the element only appears during the Classical period. The arcosolia appear earliest, as far back as the 5th century BC, in the eastern part of Cyprus and it seems obvious that this is partly a reflection of a Levantine influence. However, as early as the Early

Iron Age rock-cut chamber tombs with Π-benches occur in Palestine, first in one-chambered tombs, and from the 7th and 6th century BC they are also incorporated in multiple chamber tombs. Here, they continue to be a common tomb type during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman period.¹¹⁷ Arcosolia already appear during the Early Iron Age in Palestine. Rock-cut multiple chamber tombs with arcosolia have been excavated at Tel Eton, south-west of Hebron, dated to the 9th and 8th centuries BC, and the tomb type probably continued in use at least until the 3rd to 4th centuries AD.¹¹⁸

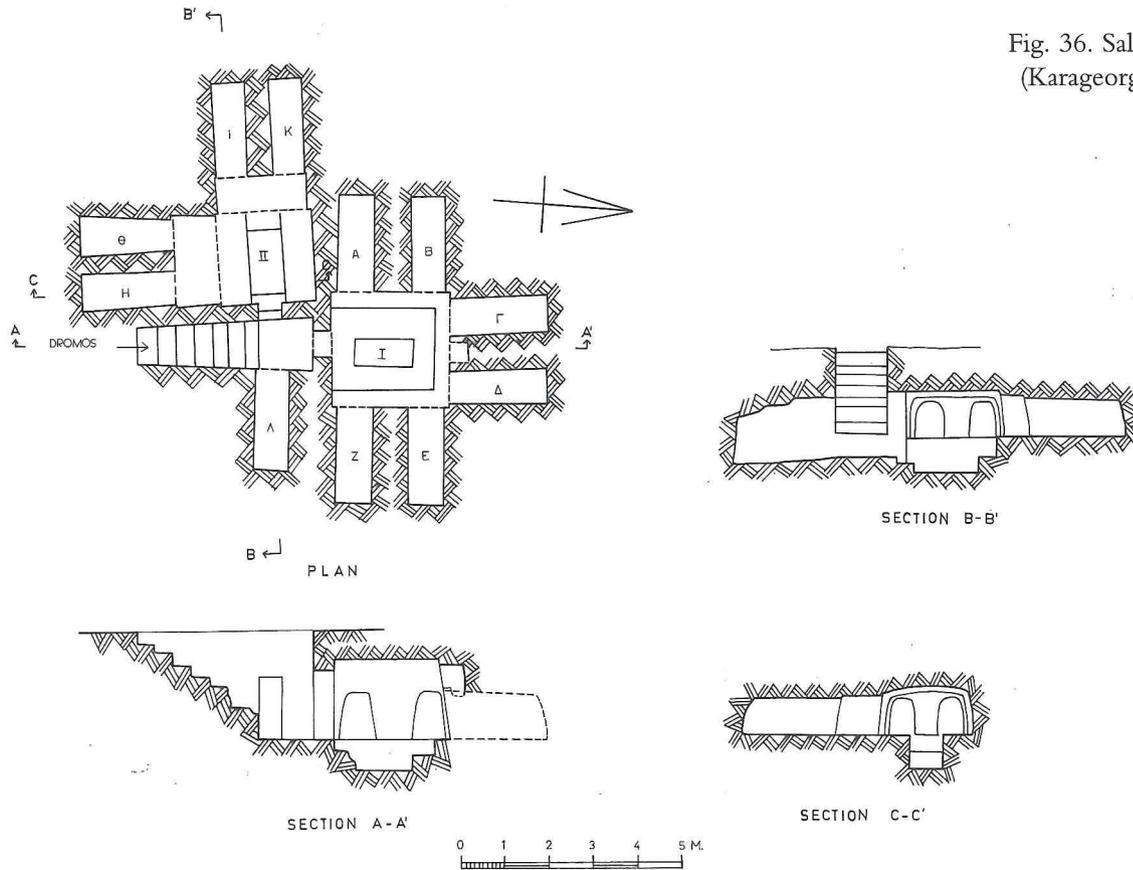
Why were these elements not employed at an

¹¹⁶ The later built tombs, i.e. at Pyla, repeat elements introduced in the rock-cut tombs centuries earlier in regard to both plan and interior design.

¹¹⁷ Galling 1997, 123-6, Abb. 33:3, 33:11, 33:12.

¹¹⁸ Galling 1997, 126-8; Edelstein *et al.* 1971; Ussishkin 1974, 118-27.

Fig. 36. Salamis Tomb 78
(Karageorghis 1973, plan
XXXIII).



earlier date in Cyprus? The late date of their introduction suggests that in this particular respect contact between Cyprus and the Levant was selective until the general Hellenisation of the Eastern Mediterranean in the late 4th century BC. Comparative tombs from south-western Anatolia are difficult to date with any precision and although both chamber tombs with benches and arcosolia occur, the chronological span remains wide.¹¹⁹ Thus, it is difficult to use this material in a discussion of routes of cultural contact, relations and inspiration.

The cross-shaped tomb type, occurring during the early Hellenistic period never becomes as popular as the arcosolia and later the loculi tombs although examples appear all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Cross-shaped tombs like the Makronisos tombs are known from the large Hellenistic/Roman necropolis at Stratonikeia in Caria, and similar tombs exist on Crete and in Lycia,¹²⁰ but again it is not possible to establish the place of origin and the subsequent spread of the type.

Later Hellenistic and Roman tomb types

The loculi tombs

Loculi tombs are often considered typically Roman, but earlier examples are known from Cyprus. A loculi tomb at Polemidhia near Limassol has been dated to the late 4th century BC and loculi appear frequently in the late Classical and Hellenistic tombs at Marion.¹²¹ Hellenistic loculi tombs are also found at Paphos, and late Hellenistic to early Roman loculi tombs have been investigated at Salamis, Tamassos, and Kourion.¹²² During

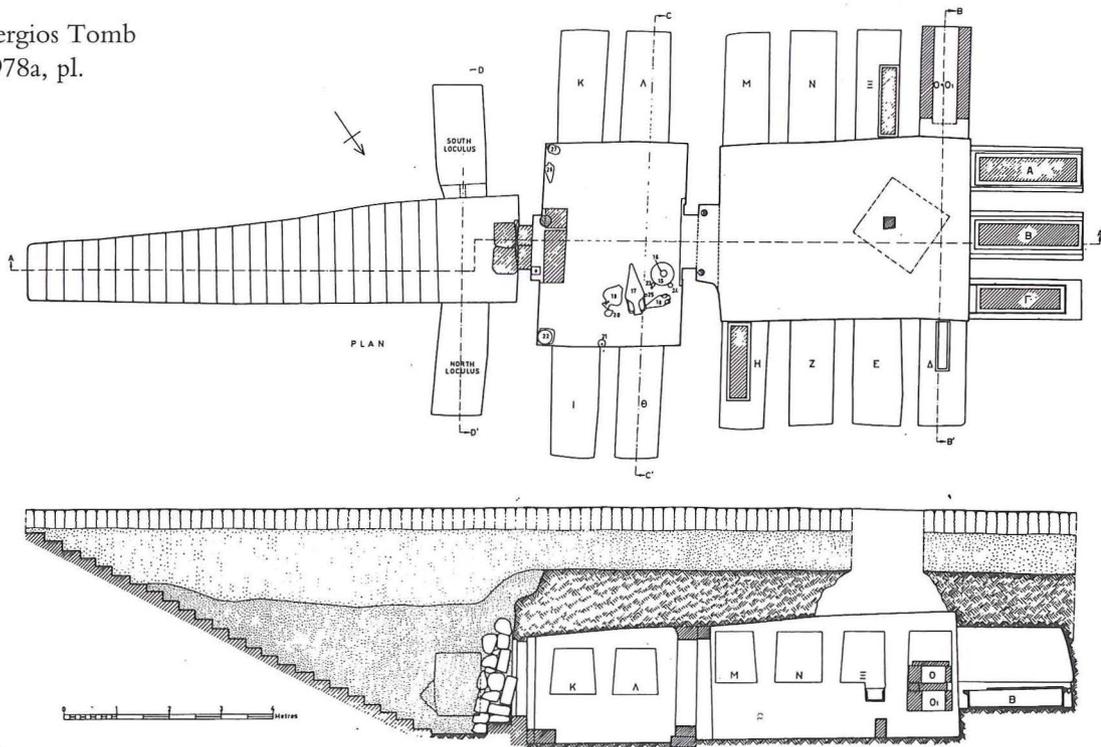
¹¹⁹ Arcosolia tombs are known from e.g. Sagalassos, and Pisidia, while in Caria, the typical Hellenistic rock-cut chamber tomb has cists cut into the floor or in the benches. Also Π-shaped benches without cists or cross-shaped chamber occur, cf. Carstens 1999a; Åkerstedt 2000-2001.

¹²⁰ Stratonikeia: Boysal & Kadioğlu 1999. Lycia: Isik 2000, 49-53. Crete: Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997.

¹²¹ *BCH* 85, 1961, 281-2.

¹²² See Fig. 35. Loculi tombs are found at Athienou Tomb

Fig. 37. Ayios Sergios Tomb
(Karageorghis 1978a, pl.
XLII:1).



the Hellenistic period the tomb type develops from more irregular structures, where the loculi often seem to have been applied to a tomb chamber as an extra room, into more complex systems with a main chamber that may be surrounded by a narrow bench. In the side walls at the same level as the top of the bench, loculi are cut regularly and in uniform sizes, and the number of loculi in each sidewall is often identical.

Two such strictly planned loculi tombs were found at Salamis. One is situated in the northeastern edge of Tumulus 77.¹²³ It was constructed during the early Roman period. A stepped, widening dromos leads to an axial stomion (Fig. 36). Behind this is a central burial chamber furnished with a small, narrow bench on the three sides. Two loculi are cut in each sidewall. A second chamber is reached through a stomion cut in the side wall of the dromos. In this chamber, two loculi are cut in each side wall. In the central part of the chamber a cist is cut into the floor, and a single loculus is cut in the dromos wall opposite the second stomion. It is most likely that the axial arrangement represents the original rock-cut tomb, which was later enlarged with the second chamber, and finally the extra loculi were added opposite it.

The other loculi tomb was found just southeast of the village of Ayios Sergios, north of the Royal Necropolis (Fig. 37).¹²⁴ The tomb consists of a long and narrow stepped dromos, leading to a prodromos with a loculus cut in each sidewall. A stomion leads to the two axial chambers separated originally by double turning doors set in a built doorframe. The first chamber had two loculi in each sidewall, while the main chamber at the back had four loculi in each sidewall and three in the rear wall, all placed strictly symmetrically. In both chambers the ceiling is slightly curved. Remains of limestone or terracotta sarcophagi were found in some of the loculi, and potsherds and other remains were scattered on the floor.

The finds, including some coins, indicate that

27, Eurychou (*BCH* 108, 1984, 903), Kourion e.g. Tomb of the Pater Familias, Marion Tombs 1, 2, 3, 9, 16, 22, 25, 34, 36, 39, 53, 54, Paphos both in Ktima Tombs 1-2, in the north and east necropolis and as elements in Tombs of the Kings, Polemidhia (*BCH* 85, 1961, 281-2, fig. 33), Salamis (Karageorghis 1973, 203; 1978, 27-58), Tamassos (Buchholz 1978, 202-7), Vouni Tombs 4, 7, 8, 14.

¹²³ Karageorghis 1973, 203.

¹²⁴ Karageorghis 1978, 27-58.

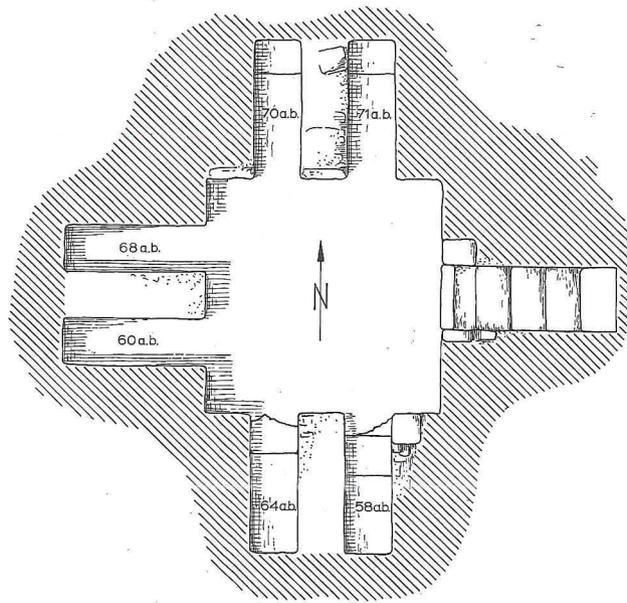
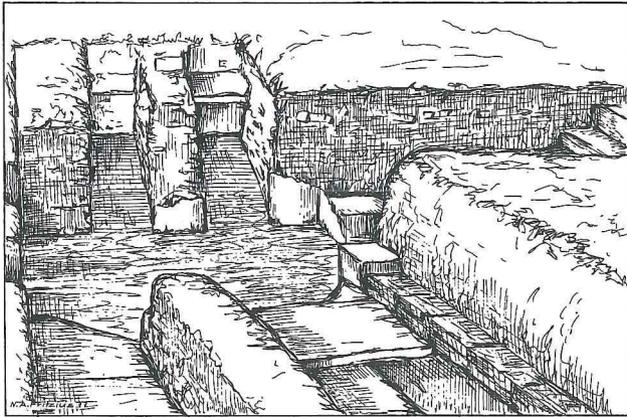
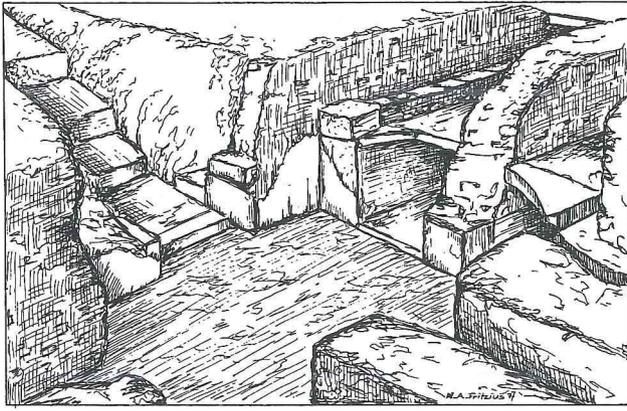


Fig. 38. The so-called Zwölfkammergrab at Tamassos (Buchholz 1978, Abb. 49 a-c).

the tomb was constructed in the later Hellenistic period and remained in use until the 3rd century AD. Karageorghis has suggested that the two loculi

in the prodomos were not intended for burials, but were used to deposit objects from earlier burials.¹²⁵ They contained only unguentaria, lamps, lagynoi, shallow bowls and many potsherds, but there were no remains of bones.

At Tamassos, in the Alakati necropolis, northwest of Politiko, Ohnefalsch-Richter excavated a so-called “Zwölfkammergrab”, dated to the Hellenistic period.¹²⁶ The tomb is built in rubblework, strengthened with ashlar at the corners and the stairs (Fig. 38). It consists of a narrow stepped dromos, which leads to a central quadrangular chamber. The walls of the chamber were covered with plaster. On three sides of the chamber two loculi are cut in each wall. However, these loculi are each divided into two compartments by a second floor built of slabs. Such a two storey loculi tomb seems to be a special Cypriot invention, parallel to the double arcosolia tombs at Tsambres and Aphendrika.¹²⁷ Indeed, this case of a built loculi tomb is unique to my knowledge.

The wide distribution of loculi tombs in the late Hellenistic and Roman period corresponds with the situation elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean¹²⁸ and may reflect a change in the sepulchral architecture, and thereby to some extent a change in the burial practice of the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean.

The peristyle tombs of Paphos

Since 1977 the Department of Antiquities has conducted scientific investigations and excavations in the necropolis at Palaekastro in the northern part of Paphos, known as the Tombs of the Kings. Only preliminary reports have appeared,¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Karageorghis 1978, 57-8.

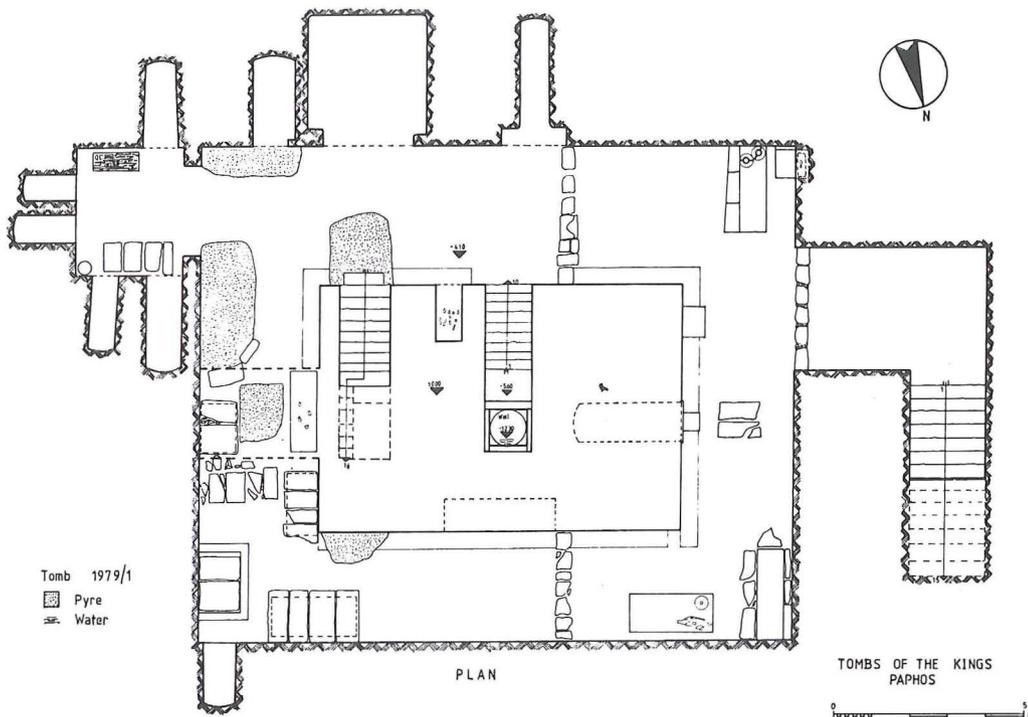
¹²⁶ Buchholz 1978, 202-7.

¹²⁷ Tsambres tomb 11, Aphendrika tomb 33, 36.

¹²⁸ The loculi form a basic element in the Hellenistic and Roman hypogea of Dura Europos, Palmyra, Alexandria. Loculi tombs are also frequently found in Israel and Palestine. See below, hypogea.

¹²⁹ Hadjisavvas 1985; 1985-1987. Of the complicated complexes only a few plan drawings have been published so far: Tombs 1979/1, 1978/2, and the minor complexes Tombs 1983/2, 1982/4, 1982/5, 1982/2 (Hadjisavvas 1985); Jeffery

Fig. 39. Peristyle tomb
Paphos (Hadjisavvas
1985-7, fig. 1).



but it is evident that the tombs belong to the class of courtyard or peristyle tombs of the Hellenistic to Roman period (Fig. 39). From the late 4th century BC Paphos had been the political centre of the island and in 294 BC Cyprus was included in the Ptolemaic empire. It is generally agreed that the Tombs of the Kings belonged to the Alexandrian officials in Paphos during the Ptolemaic period.

Their closest parallels are the Hellenistic hypogea at Alexandria, and the tomb complexes excavated at Marina el-Alamein east of Alexandria.¹³⁰ The Alexandrian complexes consist of three elements. A structure above ground, for example a banqueting room, which is only preserved in the Marina complexes, a deep sunk, open air court with an altar and a funerary area with offering tables, benches, and loculi. In the Egyptian context these hypogea have been interpreted as a fusion of Macedonian sepulchral architecture and Egyptian burial practices and eschatology.¹³¹

In the courtyard tomb complexes at Paphos both arcosolia and loculi are frequently employed as burial compartments, and it has been suggested that the monumental tombs of Paphos played a

significant role in the increasing popularity of these elements in Cypriot sepulchral architecture in the later Hellenistic period.¹³² The loculi and arcosolia were already established elements in Cypriot chamber tombs in the 4th century BC, that is, generations before the introduction of peristyle tombs at Paphos. The hypogea of Paphos remain unique, but also parenthetic in the general development of Cypriot sepulchral architecture.

Syrian hypogea are in particular well-known

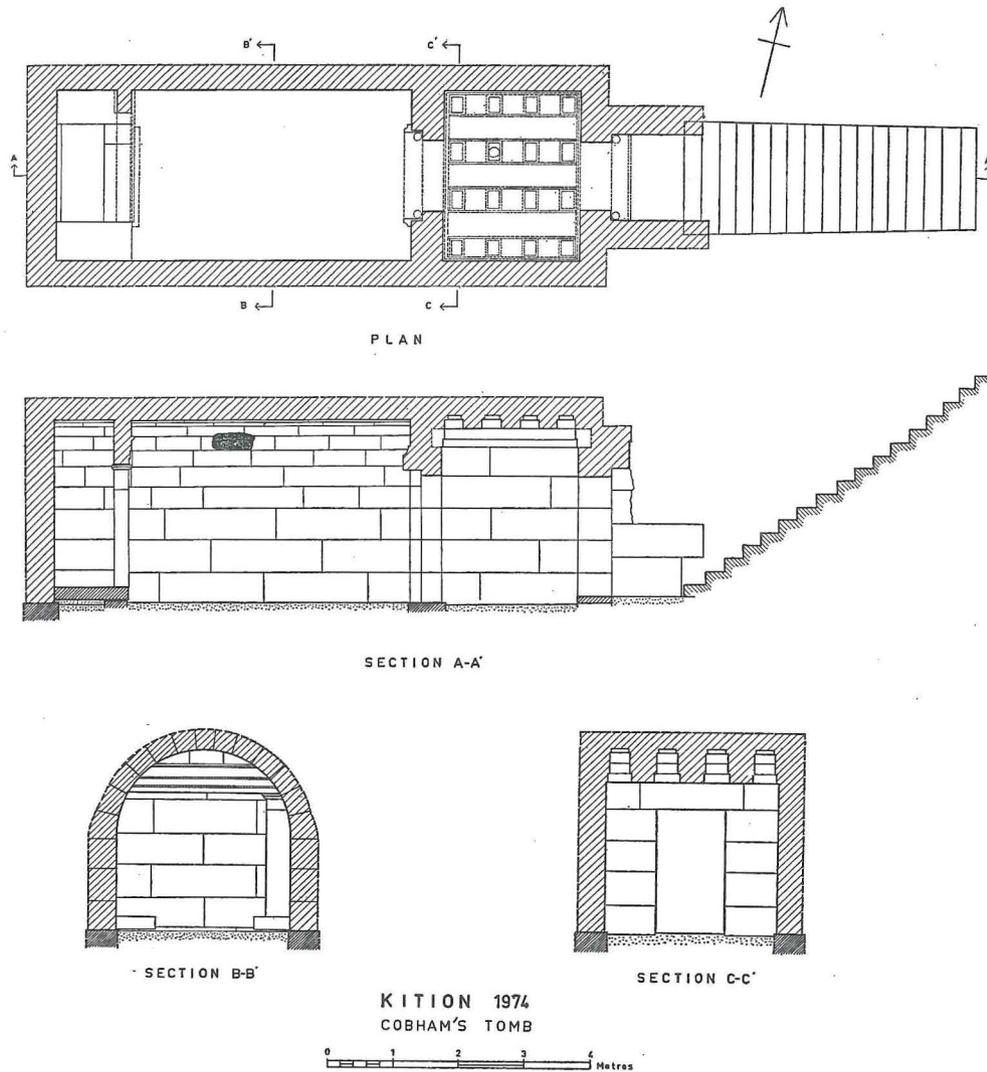
1915, 167-8, figs. 7-8, also included plans of two atrium tombs.

¹³⁰ Breccia 1912; Pagenstecher 1919; Adriani 1936; Daszewski 1994b.

¹³¹ Pagenstecher 1919, 97-101, and as referred by Daszewski 1994b, 51. It has recently been suggested that these peristyle tomb complexes are ramifications of the Late Period (664-332 BC), partly subterranean tombs in for instance the Assasif area in Thebes. There was access to these complexes and they were well-known in the Ptolemaic period. A thorough analysis of the architecture shows close and striking relations between the Hellenistic hypogea and the Late Period tombs. Indeed, in the Hellenistic Alexandrian hypogea the only real change consists of an addition of Greek decorative elements, such as Doric friezes and columns. Daszewski 1994b; Zeidler 1994.

¹³² For instance by Hadjisavvas 1985, 268.

Fig. 40. Cobham's Tomb (Karageorghis 1976, fig. 27).



from Dura Europos, where a cemetery of subterranean chamber tombs opposite the Main Gate was in use from the late 4th century BC until an earthquake in 160 AD blocked the access to the tombs.¹³³ The tombs of Group III at Dura Europos, constructed in the 2nd to 1st century BC are especially close to the Cypriot loculi tombs.¹³⁴ The typical tomb is approached by a stepped dromos, leading to a roughly square chamber, often with a central rock-cut pillar supporting the roof. Along the walls of the chamber a rock-cut bench is cut and at the top level of this, loculi are cut into the walls at fairly regular intervals.

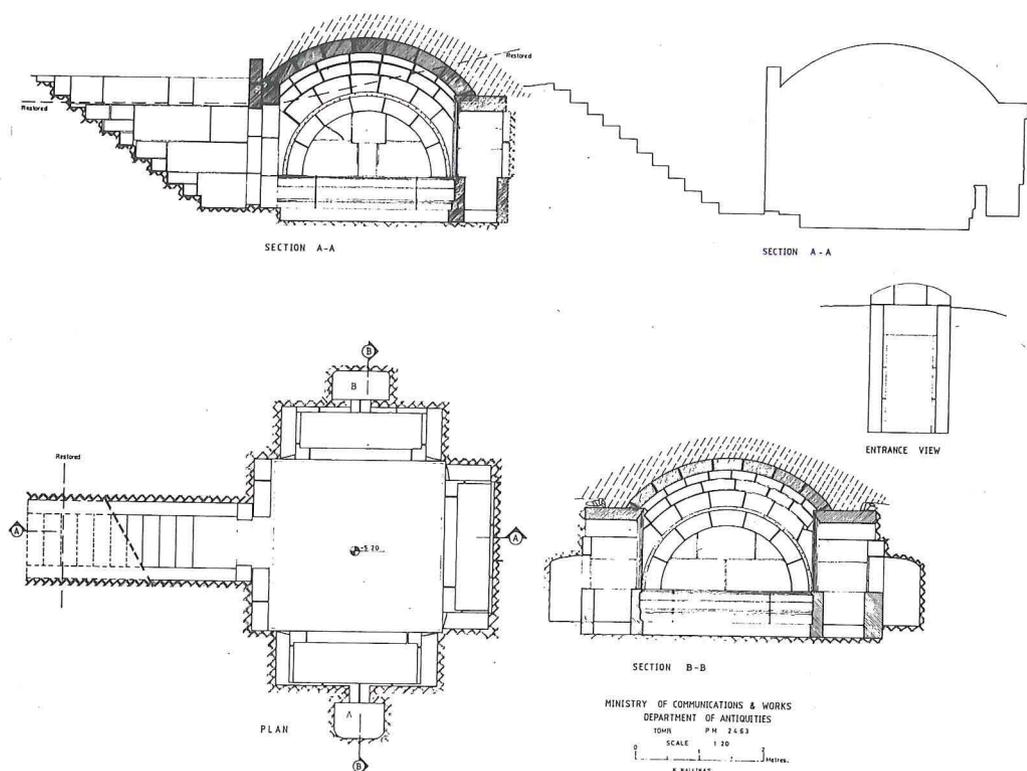
Indeed, hypogea or loculi tombs represent the most popular tomb type in Palestine in Hellenistic and Roman times,¹³⁵ in some cases combined with a superstructure, a mausoleum as at Palmyra.¹³⁶

¹³³ Toll 1946.

¹³⁴ Toll 1946, 10, chronology, table p. 139.

¹³⁵ Galling 1997, 128-9. A brief survey through the latest issues of *Atiqot* produced the following tombs and tomb complexes: *Atiqot* 32, 1997, 91 Roman loculi tomb at el-Kirmil, 99-102 Roman tomb complex with Π-shaped benches and irregular loculus at Tel Zif, 119-23 Roman loculi tomb at Talluza, 125-30 Roman arcosolia tomb in Rafidiya, 197-9 tomb with Π-shaped benches and pit-grave from the 8th to 6th century BC, reused in 1st century AD, *Atiqot* 33, 1997, 1-22 small Roman loculi tombs at Kabri, 25-37 Roman loculi tombs at Hurfeish, 39-46 Roman loculi tombs at Giv'at Yasaf, 47-60 Roman loculi tombs at Asherat, 69 loculi tomb at Sajur, 71-7 loculi tomb at Kafr Yasif, 79-80 loculi tomb at Sha'ab, 81-8 loculi and arcosolia tombs at Karmiel, 89-102 loculi tombs at H. Sugar, 103-35 "double" loculi tombs at Kisra, 137-49 Late Roman arcosolia/"double" loculi tombs at Tefen; *Atiqot* 35, 1998, 7-21 combined Late Classical/Hellenistic/Roman arcosolia and

Fig. 41. Domed tomb in Paphos (Hadjisavvas 1982, fig. 2).



Such hypogea are not widespread, but the subterranean type found at Dura Europos is frequently seen in the Eastern Mediterranean. Loculi or so-called kokhim tombs were extremely popular in Palestine during the Hellenistic period, where there seems to be a fusion between the hypogea with a central main chamber or court and a less spacious type of loculi tombs.

Roman chamber tombs

Two other chamber tombs of the Late Hellenistic or Roman period deserve to be mentioned. In Kition the so-called Cobham's Tomb may confirm that the preferred tomb type in Archaic and Classical Kition, the axial multiple chamber tomb, also remained popular in the Roman period (Fig. 40).¹³⁷ This tomb has a narrow stepped dromos, which leads to an axial tomb consisting of three chambers behind each other. A flat, coffered ceiling covers the first chamber, and barrel keystone vaults cover the next two chambers. Pilaster capitals are cut into the doorjambs between the chambers, and the tomb is built in isodomic masonry.¹³⁸ Probably on the basis on the roofing technique

Karageorghis has suggested that the tomb belongs to the Roman period. The combination of key-

loculi tombs at Tel Goded, Judea, 23-54 Hellenistic loculi tomb complexes at Jerusalem, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 1-78 a large loculi tomb near Samaria, 165-8 two smaller Hellenistic loculi tombs at Tell er-Ras, 181-209 an impressively decorated Roman loculi tomb at Ashqelon, *Atiqot* 38, 1999, 33-47 a Hellenistic loculi tomb at Hagosherim, 49-53 a Roman loculi tomb with forecourt at I'Billin, 55-71 a cave-like Roman loculi tomb at Mount Gilboa, *Atiqot* 39, 2000, 49-60 Byzantine cross-shaped tomb at Bet She'an, *Atiqot* 40, 2000, 65-121 Late Hellenistic loculi/hypogea in Jerusalem, 1-26 loculi tombs on Mount Scopus. See also Kloner 2000. Sadly the reports published in *Atiqot* are in Hebrew, a language which I do not master, and only very brief summaries are included in English.

¹³⁶ The Hellenistic/Roman hypogea at Palmyra are often covered with a superstructure, a mausoleum, decorated in detail in low relief, cf. Wiegand 1932, 45-76; Schmidt-Colinet 1987.

¹³⁷ Karageorghis 1976, 149-52.

¹³⁸ Karageorghis 1976, 152: "On both sides of the doorways between the chambers there are mouldings against the walls in the form of pilaster capitals." Plan drawing, Jeffery 1915, 170-1, fig. 10. The pilaster capitals are only marked summarily in Jeffery's plan, and they are not included in his description of the tomb.

stone vaults and a coffered ceiling indeed suggests at least a Late Hellenistic date.¹³⁹

Another interesting tomb was found during rescue excavations in Paphos in 1981.¹⁴⁰ The tomb chamber is cross-shaped and a dome covers the wide square chamber, to my knowledge the only domed built chamber tomb in Cyprus (Fig. 41). It has been suggested that the tomb was constructed in the 2nd century AD.

Both tombs bear evidence that experiments in interior decoration and design were still carried out in the built sepulchral architecture, even in the Roman period. While the Kition tomb is an axial multiple chamber tomb typical of Kition, the Paphos domed tomb is an experiment, probably a unique building constructed for a unique family or occasion.

Late Roman tombs

It is not until the Late Roman period that we find a shift in the sepulchral architecture, and so far this is only documented in the Amathus Gate necropolis at Kourion.¹⁴¹ Hellenistic and Roman tombs, decorated with arcosolia and loculi, honeycombed the area, but in the 4th century AD an earthquake destroyed the complexes and turned the area into a stone quarry. Somewhat later the area was reused as a cemetery, but by then the tombs consisted of plain rectangular rock-cut cists, oriented north-south or east-west.

As long as the Kourion Amathus Gate necropolis remains the only investigated Late Roman cemetery it is of course premature to suggest that the shift was island-wide.

Late Hellenistic and Roman tomb architecture

The hypogea of Paphos, the Tombs of the Kings, are the most striking and foreign elements in Cypriot sepulchral architecture during the Hellenistic period. Their clear Alexandrian links have already been discussed. They represent an imported and fully developed tomb type, independent of local Cypriot tendencies and preferences.¹⁴² However, it is particularly striking that

they remained isolated and seem to have had no influence on Cypriot Hellenistic tombs as such. The type of burial compartments in the shape of hypogea, arcosolia and loculi were already in use in Cypriot sepulchral architecture when the first hypogea were constructed in the 3rd century BC. Furthermore, the Cypriot loculi tombs followed a development known from Syria during the Hellenistic period rather than the Alexandrian type.¹⁴³

Only a few Roman chamber tombs have been published. They exhibit, however, a rather typical Late Hellenistic / Roman tendency to experiment with roof types and decorative details, such as the coffered ceiling, the dome, and the lavishly decorated frame of the arcosolia.¹⁴⁴

Conclusions

Elements belonging to the sepulchral sphere, both physical and metaphysical, are often retained in a conservative or even archaistic manner or style. Or at least, so it seems. The burial is ritualised, formed or structured around ritual acts or traditions at least partly consistent over time to give people a sense of continuity with what are believed to be precedents. But even rituals and traditions undergo changes in what has been called the paradox between unchanging structure and changing history.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ See for instance Fedak 1990, 79-82; Praschniker & Theuer 1979, 55, 61, Abb. 42b-c.

¹⁴⁰ Hadjisavvas 1982.

¹⁴¹ Parks 1996; Parks 1997. Parks, Given & Chapman 1998. Parks & Chapman 1999. Parks, Mavromatis & Harper 2000.

¹⁴² Hadjisavvas 1985-7, 347, suggests that the "prototype" of the peristyle tombs can be found in domestic Paphian architecture.

¹⁴³ Hadjisavvas 1985, 268, however, emphasises that the "loculus in the real sense of the word appears for the first time and is identical with loculi found both in Ptolemaic Alexandria and in Macedonia" in the Tombs of the Kings necropolis.

¹⁴⁴ In Anatolia the sepulchral architecture of the Late Roman Period is characterised by vaulted chamber tombs, built in mortar-bound rubble masonry, often decorated with stucco, a tomb type not represented in Cyprus. E.g. at Iasos cf. Tomasello 1991, for Halikarnassos cf. Carstens 1999a, 100-1, Kilikia cf. Bean & Mitford 1965; 1970.

¹⁴⁵ Bell 1992, 118-9.

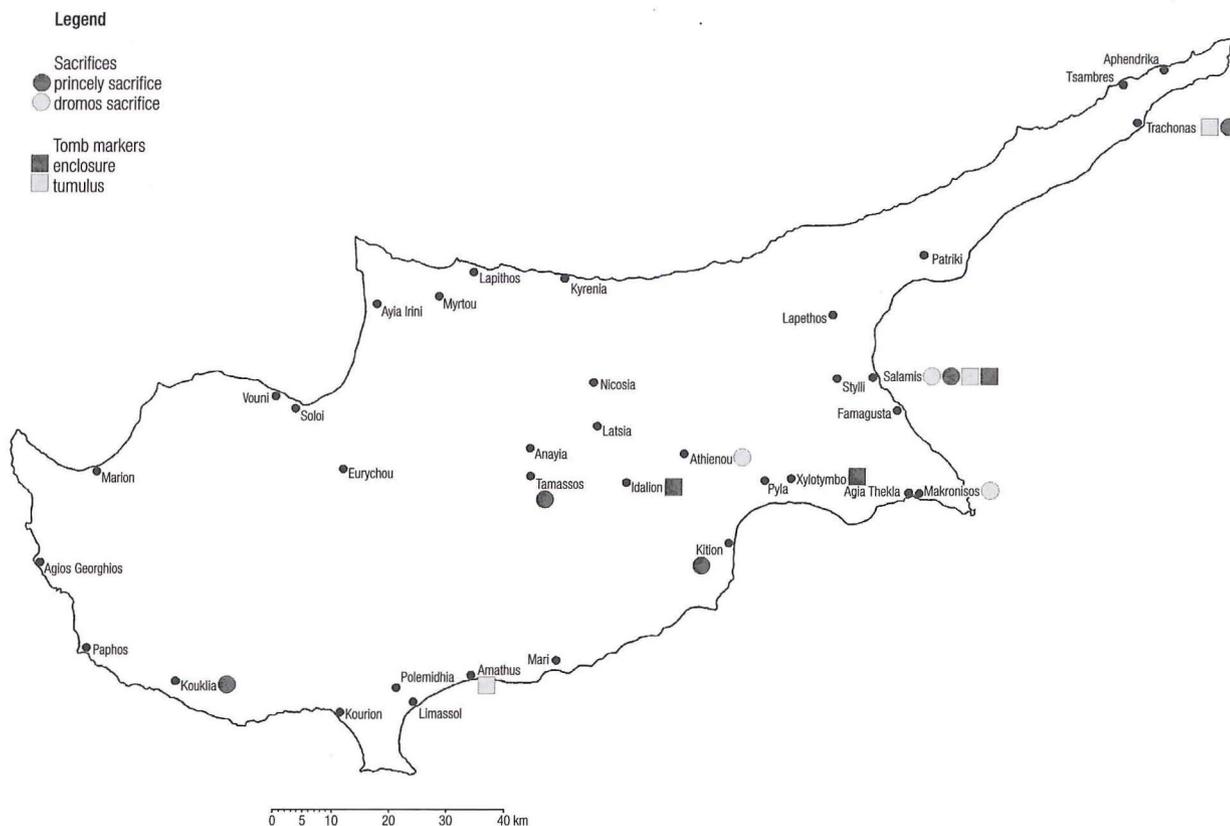


Fig. 42. Distribution of types of sacrifices and tomb markers (tumuli and enclosures) between c. 1000 BC and 400/500 AD.

This survey of Cypriot chamber tombs from Archaic to Roman times has been conducted with the aim of analysing the nature and changes of both the internal relations of Cyprus and the position of the island in the Eastern Mediterranean. While the sepulchral architecture may be conservative by nature and therefore “late” in its adoption of new foreign features the present review offers a number of hypothetical answers to questions concerning the organisation of Cyprus.

Tumuli and enclosures

Tumuli are rarely found in Cyprus (Fig. 42). Complex tumuli built above both concentric and radiating retaining walls covered Salamis Tomb 3 and the so-called cenotaph, Tomb 77. A tumulus marked the Archaic chamber tomb at Trachonas, and the peculiar Tomb 26 at Amathus, a Hellenistic pit tomb, was also buried below a tumulus.¹⁴⁶ Less elaborate tumuli or mounds are seen at Lapithos above the Cypro-Geometric I-II

tombs at Plakes and above the Cypro-Classical II tombs at Kountoura Trachonia.

Another way of marking the boundaries of a chamber tomb was to construct a walled enclosure in dry stone masonry of large rubble or slabs. Such enclosure walls are common in the Cypro-Archaic I to Cypro-Classical I Cellarka necropolis. Here a trapezoid walling marked the dromos on the surface. But remains of enclosure walls were also found above built tombs from the Archaic period at Idalion and Xylotyambo, and at Pyla from the Classical period.¹⁴⁷

Apart from the early mounds at Lapithos tumuli and enclosures are only documented in the eastern and southern part of the island. At first glance it seems that tumuli are connected with Archaic built tombs, whereas the enclosures are used both above rock-cut and built tombs during the Archaic and

¹⁴⁶ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 461-6; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 136-8.

¹⁴⁷ Idalion tomb 1 excavated by Karageorghis (1963).



Fig. 43. Distribution of dromos types between c. 1000 BC and 400/500 AD.

Classical periods. However, the Hellenistic rock-cut Tomb 15 at Kountoura Trachonia was buried below a well-built tumulus consisting of layers of clayey earth, debris, and gravel.¹⁴⁸ An irregular rubble walling was found in the tumulus, quite similar to the descriptions of some of the other enclosures.¹⁴⁹ Such inner walls in the tumulus have also been found in the context of Archaic tombs at Kerameikos.¹⁵⁰ The possibility cannot be excluded that enclosure walls once supported tumuli or mounds. Although this may be the case at Idalion and Pyla, the evidence from Xylotyambo and Cellarka argues against such an interpretation.¹⁵¹ The section drawings of the Cellarka tombs do not indicate traces of mounds, and the well-dressed walls with a neat outer face suggest that they were intended to be seen. Furthermore, the tombs and enclosures are placed so close together that the mounds would have overlapped each other.¹⁵²

Cult/sacrifices

As far back as his first published work on the

Salamis tombs Karageorghis suggested Aegean Bronze Age parallels to the Salamis sacrifice of horses and vehicles.¹⁵³ The Homeric account of Patroklos's funeral, which included the sacrifice of

¹⁴⁸ The only dateable material was a few Hellenistic coins from the late 3rd to early 2nd centuries BC, which were found in four of the tombs at Kountoura Trachonia, cf. Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 459–60. Tumuli were also used as tomb markers for the rock-cut Hellenistic/Roman hypogea at Dura Europos, cf. Toll 1946, 1–2.

¹⁴⁹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 459 “The top of the mound is marked by a rectangular casing of large, upright slabs of local limestone. The upper edges of the slabs lay on a level with the surface of the tumulus, projecting slightly above the ground.”

¹⁵⁰ Either constructed of mud brick or rubble. Kübler 1959, 89.

¹⁵¹ Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 477 and Taf. CLXXXIX: II, 6.

¹⁵² Karageorghis 1970a, pl. CLXV:4; CLXVI:1; LXXVIII:2 and 4.

¹⁵³ Karageorghis 1967a, 117–9. However, in the Aegean Bronze Age such sacrifices are rare. Karageorghis referred to the Marathon tholos tomb, one example of a horse burial inside a tomb chamber in Nauplia, and one example from Argos. See also Pelon 1976, 106.

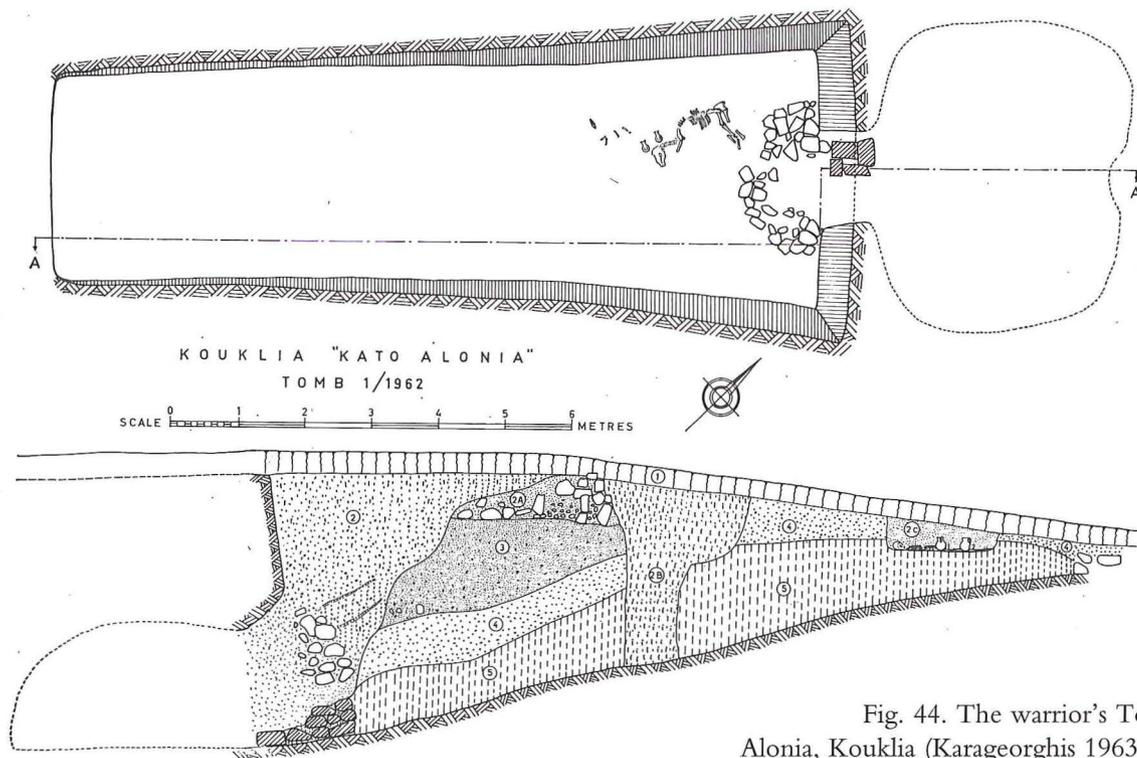


Fig. 44. The warrior's Tomb at Kato Alonia, Kouklia (Karageorghis 1963, figs. 27-8).

four horses, is well-known.¹⁵⁴ Horses were buried in the Hittite cemetery at Osmanakayasi from 17th to 14th century BC following Hittite royal funeral rituals.¹⁵⁵ In a 7th century BC tumulus at Gordion skeletons of two horses were found,¹⁵⁶ and later in the Archaic period the practice can be seen both in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, as a common element in a princely burial.¹⁵⁷ Apart from the sacrifices of horses, and the burial of the hearse or chariot, the wealth of bronze vessels, decorated furniture, precious items and luxurious fabrics were also deposited in the 7th century BC tumuli MM, P, and W at Gordion.¹⁵⁸ The Urartian chamber tombs at Altintepe, dated to the late 8th to early 7th century BC contained chairs as part of the equipment, which also included a war chariot, horse-trappings and horse-bits.¹⁵⁹

More than a single phenomenon, connected to a certain culture, the princely sacrifice seems to belong to a general aristocratic world, using the horse as a mark of status along with other precious items.¹⁶⁰ It is thus not firmly tied to a definite period or region, rather to the aristocratic world. However, the closest parallel to the Salamis sacrifices is found in the royal tombs at Gordion.

Prodomos sacrifices

The built tombs of Salamis are in many ways unique in Cypriot sepulchral architecture whereas princely sacrifices are seen elsewhere in Cypro-Archaic tombs (Fig. 42). In Kouklia the dromoi of two rock-cut cave-like tombs of the Cypro-Archaic II period, excavated in 1962 and 1965 respectively, contained remains of sacrifices of horses.¹⁶¹ A skeleton of a horse was found in one tomb, and a bridle in the other (Fig. 44-45). A larger sacrificial deposit was encountered during

¹⁵⁴ Iliad XXIII, 71-2.

¹⁵⁵ Hout 1994; Carstens 1997, 122-44; Bittel *et al.* 1958.

¹⁵⁶ Young 1956, 266.

¹⁵⁷ Winther 1997, 427-9 *et passim*. Joffrey 1958, *idem* 1979, Olivier 1997; Reinhard 1997; Piningre & Canard 1997; Özgüç 1961, 270-2, 274-6.

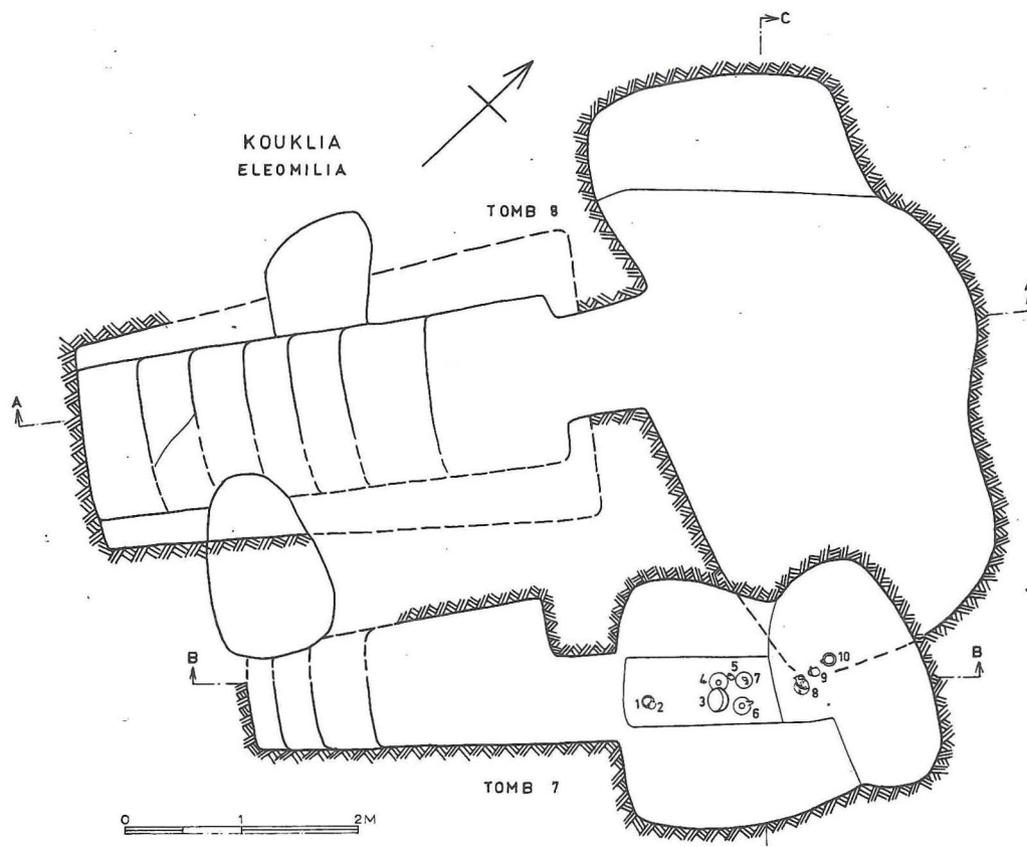
¹⁵⁸ Young 1975, 44; Eserler 1992.

¹⁵⁹ Özgüç 1961, 270-2, 274-5.

¹⁶⁰ The Royal Tombs at Ur dated to the Early Dynastic Period IIIa (third millennium BC) often included a shed or wheeled vehicle pulled by oxen or equids, cf. Zetter 1998a, 22; 1998b.

¹⁶¹ Karageorghis 1967a.

Fig. 45. The warrior's
Tombs of Eleomilia
south of Kouklia
(Karageorghis 1967b,
fig. 4).



the re-excavation of the Royal Tomb 4 at Tamassos, consisting of an 18 months old calf, a five-year-old goat, a five to six months old lamb, and remains of a horse skeleton.¹⁶² This tomb is quite simple architecturally. Karageorghis has drawn attention to the fact that horse and chariot sacrifices were also attested in another tomb found during the early excavations in the Royal Necropolis of Tamassos.¹⁶³ In the dromos of the new Archaic tomb in Kition two horse skeletons were buried, covered with a layer of clay.¹⁶⁴

The prodromos tombs with their strong architectural emphasis on the specific space in front of the burial chamber may indicate that sacrifices were conducted here just as in the Royal Tombs at Salamis. The archaeological context suggests as much. It seems a convincing hypothesis that both the lavish princely tombs of Tamassos, the Trachonas tomb, and the Agios Hermogenos tomb at Kourion should have had princely dromos sacrifices.

Even if we assume that princely burials were performed in the prodromos tombs, they seem to

be a largely eastern Cypriot phenomenon. However, the Kouklia tombs offer a warning against linking such sacrifices to a specific architectural plan. These tombs are simple cave-like rock-cut chamber tombs, the one with a quite neatly cut dromos, but there are hundreds more similar tombs scattered throughout Cyprus.

Evidence of dromos sacrifices is also found in the Cellarka tombs at Salamis, where modest sacrificial pyres were lit near the dromos of many of the tombs.¹⁶⁵ About 0.3-0.4 m below the surface a circular 0.1-0.2 m deep hollow with a diameter of 1-1.5 m contained burnt offerings probably deriving from a sacrifice performed in connection with the burial. The pyre could contain Red Slip juglets

¹⁶² Buchholz 1978, 191-5.

¹⁶³ Karageorghis 1969a, 27.

¹⁶⁴ Personal communication Andreas Savvas, Larnaka Museum.

¹⁶⁵ In Karageorghis 1970a, 170-202. In all, 59 pyres were published. Funerary pyres have also been found at several occasions in the tombs of the Kings, Paphos cf. Hadjisavvas 1985, 264-6.

and small shallow basins, probably used for libation and thrown into the pyre, but also cereals and fruit, seashells, and imitations of jewellery in clay were thrown in. A layer of small stones and mud sealed the sacrifice.¹⁶⁶

At the Makronisos cemetery a hemispherical pit is connected to the dromos of at least two tombs. They are cut into the surface level on the left side of the inner part of dromos, but unfortunately they were both empty.¹⁶⁷

Tumulus 77 at Salamis, the so-called Cenotaph of Nikokreon, contained a large sacrifice placed or thrown into a pyre lit on the built platform.¹⁶⁸ After the fire had died, the platform as such was cleaned and a stone ring was built around the pyre, subsequently covered by a layer of mud. Although unparalleled in the Eastern Mediterranean the content of this large pyre partly resembles the Cellarka pyres.

An emphasis on the dromos and the prodromos is also expressed in the architectonic setting of chamber tombs in Anatolia, but the link between the plan of the tomb and cult activities are only well-documented in a few cases. The Belevi tumulus, probably built in the 6th century BC, has a long, flat-roofed dromos, which widens out to an almost square chamber or prodromos near the centre of the tumulus, just in front of the two axial chambers.¹⁶⁹ On top of the tumulus a system of terracotta pipes led to the prodromos inside the tumulus where a shallow marble basin collected the libation and other sacrifices poured through the pipes.

The Archaic Lion Tomb at Miletos has a rectangular burial chamber reached through a long, narrow and irregular dromos.¹⁷⁰ The dromos ended in a long room, a prodromos, lined with rough rock-cut benches along the side walls. Here no evidence for cultic activities has been found, but the arrangement of the room suggests it.

Water

In the necropolis at Megara Tepesi, Athienou, two large, well-constructed cisterns are situated between the Hellenistic rock-cut tombs. Regular stairs lead down into both cisterns, and although

only a few finds were revealed they may belong to the Hellenistic period as well, and formed part of the necropolis.¹⁷¹

Other water installations have been found in sepulchral contexts in Cyprus. Both in the court of the Paphian peristyle tombs and in the forecourt of the Spilaion tis Regainas tomb at Kouklia circular wells were cut deep into the bedrock.¹⁷²

A water installation was perhaps connected with tomb cult in the Archaic and early Classical complexes at Halikarnassos, which were later levelled by the construction of the Maussolleion.¹⁷³ Here a wide stepped dromos leads to a small prodromos. On the left side of the stairs was an opening to a small water reservoir. The four lowest steps of the stairs had numerous cuttings; both flat bottomed and rounded, probably for supporting vessels connected with a cultic prac-

¹⁶⁶ In the publication Mycenaean parallels to the Cellarka pyres were emphasized, perhaps concerned both with a wish to identify the Salamis tombs as such as Helladic ramifications and with the "Stand der Forschung". Karageorghis 1970, 306-12. Other parallels are known from Kerameikos in Athens. Raptou 1999, 195-7.

¹⁶⁷ Hadjisavvas 1997, tomb 4 and 5.

¹⁶⁸ Karageorghis 1973, 128-202. Cheal 1978 (1986), 31-40. Karageorghis suggested that it was the cenotaph of King Nikokreon and his family, who according to Diodoros, were besieged in their palace by Ptolemy I in 306 BC. In order not to fall in the hands of the enemy they set the palace on fire and committed suicide. Diodor XX, 1. Diodor confused Nikokles of Paphos with Nikokreon of Salamis in this passage, but there is little doubt that the incidents concerned Nikokreon. See also Hill 1940, 160-1.

¹⁶⁹ Kaspar 1976-1977.

¹⁷⁰ Forbeck & Heres 1997.

¹⁷¹ Ohnefalsch-Richter found a spring incorporated in the back chamber of the Phaneromeni tomb. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 444, Taf. CXXV:4. The spring may be the feature marked "H" in the centre of the rear chamber. However, Jeffery 1915, 170-1, fig. 10, indicated a well (marked on the plan) in the southern side wall of the rear chamber. Karageorghis 1976, 42 rejected the presence of a spring and cited a similar (and erroneous?) interpretation suggested by Ohnefalsch-Richter concerning an apparent drain installation in Salamis RT 50. Karageorghis 1967a, 101, pl. C:3-6, fig. XXXVII.

¹⁷² Maier & von Wartburg 1998, 105-10; Hadjisavvas 1985-1987, 346.

¹⁷³ Carstens 1999a, 107-8; Jeppesen & Zahle 1975, 74. See above, n. 90.

tice that incorporated the water collected in the reservoir.

Distribution of tomb types

From the Bronze Age onwards the rock-cut cave-like tomb is widespread throughout the island. During the early Iron Age, the angular rock-cut type appears all over the island, and both types remain the basic chamber tombs of Cyprus at least well into the Hellenistic period.

By the later Geometric period built tombs have also been introduced. The distribution of tomb types clearly shows that built tombs are only known from the eastern and southern part of the island, from Karpasia in the north-east to Kourion in the south. However, rock-cut tombs, which are scattered all over the island, also outnumber the built tombs in the east and the south. Chronologically the built tombs first appear in Salamis and Amathus in the Cypro-Geometric III period, and during the succeeding Cypro-Archaic I and II periods built tombs are also found at Trachonas, Patriki, Tamassos, Kition, and Kourion. This division is also seen in connection with the remains of sacrifices and tomb markers such as tumuli and enclosures.

The lack of built tombs in the northern and western part of Cyprus could indicate that the society was structured on a non-elitist basis, but the two tombs found at Kouklia in particular and many of the tombs in the Skales necropolis argue against such a suggestion, as do the Assyrian accounts of the Cypriot kingdoms.¹⁷⁴ It rather seems that in respect of tomb structures the island was divided into two areas. In the east and south power was expressed by means of impressive tomb architecture and rich burial gifts, while only the latter were used in the north and west. The concentration of impressive tombs in the east and south may be seen in the light of the close proximity to the more powerful neighbours in the east. The Cypriots in the areas closest to the eastern powers were probably under pressure to live up to a life style expressed by these neighbours, but they chose to adopt elements from yet other areas such as Phrygia and later Lycia and create a local "style"

as far as the architecture was concerned. As to the tomb gifts the Cypriot elite including the northern and western part followed the general Mediterranean aristocratic trend.

The cluster of Royal Tombs at Salamis is outstanding. During the time from Cypro-Geometric III to Cypro-Archaic I Salamis witnessed at least fifteen princely funerals. This raises the question as to whether the deceased were all members of one or several rivalling royal families or if other nobles were also buried here. At the moment questions like these cannot be answered, but based upon the burial structures and their contents it is clear that Salamis played a leading part in Iron Age Cyprus, economically and presumably politically.¹⁷⁵

By the Classical period the building of princely tombs came to an end, and the latest such tomb seems to be the Agios Hermogenos tomb at Kourion.¹⁷⁶ However, some tomb types remain in use, in Kition the axial multiple chamber tomb is frequent, for instance at Agios Georghios, and the prodomos tomb type continues, for instance in the Cellarka necropolis.

New efforts are concentrated in particular on the architectonic formalisation of the niches, which already occurred at random in Cypro-Geometric rock-cut tombs. By the early 4th century BC these are represented in the form of arcosolia and alcoves, particularly preferred in the Hellenistic cross-shaped tombs. Both features seem to have been adopted first in the eastern part of Cyprus in the Karpasia, but they soon spread over the entire island. Cross-shaped tombs, however, seem concentrated around Kition.

The bench-tomb and the arcosolia appear in Palestine as early as the 8th century BC. The early introduction of the benches and arcosolia in the rock-cut tombs of the Karpas peninsula, just opposite the Levantine coast, indicates that the employment of these tomb types was linked to closer relations with the Levant.

The peristyle tombs at Paphos, the so-called

¹⁷⁴ Karageorghis 1983.

¹⁷⁵ See for instance Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1980.

¹⁷⁶ However, the Spilaion tis Regainas Tomb at Kouklia is, on the basis of the inscription a Royal tomb. See below.

Tombs of the Kings, present the most spectacular type of Hellenistic tomb, but they remain isolated. Loculi tombs, on the other hand, become increasingly popular first and foremost in the eastern part of Cyprus in a form otherwise known from Syria.

The distribution of various tomb types in Cyprus does not allow the drawing of any conclusions on the ethnic differentiation of the Cypriot population.¹⁷⁷ Rather, the aim of any display in the funerary architecture seems to have been connected to power politics. It seems impossible to find any specific arguments in favour of a rigid division of the island between Greeks, Phoenicians, and Eteo-Cypriots on the basis of the distribution of chamber tomb types.¹⁷⁸ Cyprus is located at a strategic crossroads in the Eastern Mediterranean. During Antiquity, it was the subject of shifting hegemonies, and it is easy to imagine the island's population as multi-ethnic. The archaeological evidence does not give us reason to suggest that specific regions were populated with only one ethnic group, rather that coexistence seems to have predominated.¹⁷⁹

Cultural relations contrasting political power structures

The aristocratic tomb is a political monument, a monument of power. H. Colvin has in a few words described these political and religious functions: "The house of the dead may have helped to demarcate the territory of the living. Not only could they have stood as visual symbols of personal or tribal possession, but even in death the ancestors whose remains they contained could still guard over the territory they had helped to clear or conquer. So a megalith, whether family tomb or dynastic burial place, may have been in part an assertion of territorial proprietorship, a kind of monumental title-deed for all to see."¹⁸⁰

The power structures – the Cypriot Kingdoms and their organisation – remain a crucial turning point in the archaeological and historical investigation of Cyprus.¹⁸¹ It should be obvious that an analysis of only one field of archaeological material, the sepulchral architecture, is hardly sufficient to draw any absolute conclusions on the political

structures. But when one regards the aristocratic tombs as a tool for the display of power and political relations, the sepulchral architecture comprises a key to understanding some of the elements involved in the representation of power and alliances.

I suggest that the cultural relations we find illustrated in the Cypriot princely tombs reveal at least an aspect of a political relation or an attitude towards official political alliances or relations. During the time span investigated here, Cyprus was in turn controlled by four hegemonic powers, first the Assyrians, then the Persians, and during the Hellenistic period the Ptolemies, who were followed by the Romans. Thus, one might expect the Royal Tombs at Salamis to address the Assyrian hegemonic power, but instead of Assyrian traits it is rather Phrygian inspiration, which is found. The cultural relations with the leading Anatolian power in this period are clear, although Cyprus was subject to the Assyrians. However, it has often been emphasised as one of the foremost principles of Assyrian expansive policy to leave their subjects alone as long as they paid their tribute.¹⁸² The same tolerance policy was followed by the Persians. Often the local power structure was

¹⁷⁷ In some cases evidence of ethnic groups is found in funerary material, see for instance Christou 1998. However, in an analysis of the sepulchral architecture as the present one, which does not include a thorough and systematic investigation of the burials, including burial gifts and rites, it seems hasty to draw conclusions about ethnic affiliations.

¹⁷⁸ As has been pointed out for instance by investigations of Cypriot pottery (Sørensen 2001) and sculpture (Sørensen 1992). The eclectic character of the Cypriot culture is stressed and Sørensen 1992, 257 questions if regional differences are traceable in the Cypriot terracotta sculpture.

¹⁷⁹ Snodgrass 1988, 19; Reyes 1997.

¹⁸⁰ While discussing the megalithic tombs of Western Europe, Colvin 1991, 3-5.

¹⁸¹ See for instance *BASOR* 308, 1997, a thematic issue concentrating on the Iron Age Kingdoms of Cyprus. Here Kition (Yon 1997), Amathus (Aupert 1997), Kourion (Buitron-Oliver 1997), and Marion (Child 1997) are the subject of specific discussions on the basis of the latest scientific research, both archaeological fieldwork and historical research.

¹⁸² See for instance Kirk Grayson 1995 with further references.

preserved and interference was kept to a minimum as long as the Great King received his taxes.¹⁸³ Cyprus was included in the Persian Empire by the end of the 6th century BC and formed, according to Herodotus, part of the fifth satrapy together with Phoenicia and Syria-Palestine.¹⁸⁴ Yet in the sepulchral architecture the relations with the Carian, Lycian, and Lydian regions are seen as early as the middle of the 6th century BC, maintaining the links established by the early kings of Salamis. The proto-Aeolic architectonic decorations found in Cyprus, notably at Tamassos and Amathus, are traits shared with the Syro-Palestinian region.

The transition from local aristocratic rulers with powers of leadership and ambitions, subject to a remote and non-interfering hegemony, to a nearby and present supremacy, the Ptolemaic Rule, is a dramatic one. Ptolemaic officials were in charge, and they even established their own necropolis at Nea Paphos. The hegemonic power was present and visible, and only left limited freedom of action for the prevailing local aristocracies.¹⁸⁵ The Hellenistic tomb Spilaion tis Regainas at Kouklia, which according to the inscription is a royal tomb, demonstrates that princely tombs still existed in the Hellenistic period. The tomb itself, however, is not as princely presented as the Iron Age aristocratic tombs, although the sidewalls of the dromos are built in ashlar work. The prodromos is formed as an open forecourt where a deep well is cut into the floor. Such wells are also found in the Tombs of the Kings and in the Alexandrian hypogea. This tomb is the only chamber tomb outside the Tombs of the Kings necropolis known in Cyprus to have adopted a clear Ptolemaic feature. Otherwise Ptolemaic rule did not directly influence the sepulchral architecture in Cyprus. Clearly Ptolemaic officials and their families were buried in the peristyle tombs at Nea Paphos, but the cultural impact on Cypriot sepulchral architecture elsewhere was indirect and modest.¹⁸⁶ Or rather, the changes in the sepulchral architecture towards a Hellenised uniformity, were already begun in the early 4th century BC, and are more general than specifically engaged in adopting traits found in the Ptolemaic hypogea.

The Roman period in Cyprus offers no change in the sepulchral architecture, which survived in the form established during the Hellenistic period. Only during the Late Roman period, do the cist tombs at Kourion's Amathus Gate present a new element, hitherto unknown in the sepulchral architecture of the island.

Cultural and political relations often follow separate routes. That could be at least one overall conclusion of the study of Cypriot chamber tombs. The island was, during most of the period investigated here, subject to shifting hegemonic powers, which set the larger agenda for its political organisation and economic self-control. Local dynasts, kings, in Cyprus recognised the importance of peer interaction, and formed what we may call cultural alliances that did not always follow the lines of the hegemonic structures. Cyprus was an island between powerful neighbours, commanding an excellent position in the Eastern Mediterranean. Probably the people of Cyprus were both multi-ethnic and multicultural, and diversities often mingled together in an eclectic Cypriot manner. This sense of independence contrasted with its political foundation in alliances, and as subject to large-scaled hegemonic structures, it may be understood as a cultural opposition to the political realities, or it may be – more simply – the result of the cosmopolitan nature of an “international” environment.

¹⁸³ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995.

¹⁸⁴ Herodotus III.89; Musti 1984, 187.

¹⁸⁵ At least, these local dynasts are by and large invisible in both the archaeological and historical source material, cf. Hill 1940, 156. Also the Cypriot mints active during the Ptolemaic period illustrate the limited independence, Horsnæs 2001, 99–100. Sources covering the previous Persian period, see Raptou 1999, 226–7.

¹⁸⁶ One may speculate whether the hypogea were reserved exclusively for these Ptolemaic officials.

Appendix A

List of terminology

Anne Marie Carstens

Concepts

Princely tombs: An impressive chamber tomb, which is set apart from other tombs in the region, either by topographical position, size, megalithic or pseudo-megalithic masonry, fine craftsmanship, or generous use of architectonic details.

Princely sacrifices: An impressive sacrifice often placed in the inner part of the dromos or the prodomos including various luxury items such as horses or mules, hearses or chariots, furniture, different vessels and a symposium service, meat and/or other provisions.

Tomb cult: cultic activities at both modest and monumental tombs expressing adoration/worship.¹ These can be divided as follows. Firstly, there are the cultic activities performed at the funeral, e.g. the pouring of a libation or sacrifice of a meal and the placing of personal belongings inside the tomb. Secondly there is tomb cult performed as visits and sacrifices at the tomb some time after the funeral, e.g. libations or other sacrifices on the tomb altar and mourning. Thirdly, there is the hero or ancestor cult – difficult to separate from tomb cult other than as something more monumentalised.

Access

Dromos: passage that leads to the tomb chamber.

Sloping dromos: dromos with sloping floor, descending towards the tomb chamber.

Stepped dromos: dromos with steps leading down to the tomb chamber.

Shaft dromos: dromos cut or excavated as a shaft.

Prodomos: space in front of the entrance to the tomb, where the floor of the dromos is even. It is distinguished as a room, for example by a paved floor, although it is formally part of the dromos.

Basin: a hollow carved in the floor in front of the stomion.

Entrance

Façade: wall of the chamber facing the dromos.

Stomion: entrance to the tomb.

Door slab: closing device consisting of a stone slab, which rests against the stomion.

Walling: a walling in rubble-work may close the opening of the tomb or the stomion.

Turning door: single or double turning doors operating by pivots.

Portcullis: door slab lowered from above in grooves.

Chamber

Chamber: room, which holds the burials. Chambers are found in a wide range of shapes and in the rock-cut tombs especially they are often irregular. The possible classifications are cave-like, an irregularly rounded chamber with a rounded dome-shaped roof, rectangular or trapezoid.

Cross-shaped chamber: chamber with a rectangular core, surrounded on three sides by alcoves.

¹ Antonaccio 1995 has presented another category in her study of the formation of Greek hero cult: 1) tomb cult, that is reuse of prehistoric tombs in the Early Iron age; 2) hero cult, which may not necessarily take place at a tomb; and 3) cult of the dead, that is funerary customs. Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 69 also operates with separate rites during and after the funeral. In general, especially tomb cult, but also mortuary practices are better investigated in Bronze Age Aegean archaeology, than in the historical periods. See for instance Hägg & Nordquist 1990; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 103–36. Studies in mortuary practices of the proto-historical and Archaic periods concentrate particularly on the Geometric burials in the Athenian Agora and the Archaic burials in the Kerameikos, see e.g. Morris 1987; 1992a; Whitley 1991; Houby-Nielsen 1995; 1998.

Interior architectural details

Benches: benches, more than 0.2 m above floor level. These are often placed along one or more sides of the chamber.

Platform: bench, up to 0.2 m above floor level.

Niches: minor niches in the walls of the chamber, for burial gifts and lamps.

Loculi: hollow, cut horizontally into the rock-wall of the chamber and big enough to contain an inhumed body.

Alcoves: niche, which begins some 0.2 m or more above the average floor level of the chamber and runs parallel with the chamber wall.

Arcosolium: An alcove "roofed" by a semi dome-like structure or an arch.

Cists: cut into the floor or in the benches, with an average size of ca. $1.8 \times 0.5 \times 0.5$ m.

Technical terms

Rock-cut: a tomb cut into the rock, mostly from the side into the bed-rock, more rarely cut from the horizontal surface of the rock.

Built: a built tomb is in Cyprus often constructed inside a cut cavity.

Composite: a tomb, which in its substance is rock-cut but, with minor features constructed in masonry.

Roof: the tomb chamber can be roofed in several ways: A roof may be flat, with or without beams, it can be in the shape of a barrel vault, a dome, it may be gabled, or even a combination of these forms. Rock-cut roofs are at times very irregular, and variations of the dome-shaped roof occur frequently.

Masonry: Most built tombs are constructed in ashlar masonry, which may even be isodomic. More rarely polygonal masonry is found. Where the closing of the tomb is achieved by walling, this wall is often in rubble-work.

Tomb markers

Tumulus: an artificial mound built above a tomb.

Enclosure: the entrance of the dromos may be surrounded by an enclosure often constructed as a simple ring of masonry.

Appendix B

Topographic survey

Anne Marie Carstens

Agia Thekla

A single¹ tomb situated about 1 km west of the Makronisos Necropolis, at Ayia Napa. The chapel of Agia Thekla occupies a rock-cut chamber tomb, situated right on the coast.² At present the tomb is reached by a short stepped dromos, which leads to the first of altogether three almost identical chambers. A corridor connects these, and the chambers are formed by large arcosolia on each side of the corridor. The floor level of these niches is now at the same level as the corridor, but each arcosolium probably originally had a bench with a cist cut into it. At the back wall of the last chamber a loculus was cut, also at floor level. The tomb probably belongs to the Roman period.

Agios Georghios

A single rock-cut tomb situated between the Basilika A and the Baths.³ The tomb is quite big, it is, however, only described summarily. It consists of a dromos, which meets the chamber near one corner so that dromos and chamber form an L. Probably the tomb was levelled in the Late Roman period and reused as drain.

A necropolis of 28 rock-cut tombs of the Hellenistic/Roman period has recently been excavated.⁴ There are no signs of monumental architecture such as dromoi, architectural façades or elements.⁵

Amathus

During the winter of 1893–4 the British archaeologists, A. H. Smith and J. L. Myres, excavated 312 tombs at Amathus.⁶ But Cesnola had already investigated the Amathus Necropolis, especially a number of large built tombs situated north of the acropolis.⁷ Of these, two were marked on the plan

published by the British team. Probably one of these tombs had contained the relief-decorated sarcophagus, which Cesnola bought to the Metropolitan Museum in 1875.⁸ In 1930 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition conducted systematic excavations of 25 tombs in the western necropolis.⁹

The French School at Athens began excavations at Amathus in 1975, directed by P. Aupert and later also A. Hermay, in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities. While the French investigations concentrate on the acropolis, the harbour and the city walls, the Department of Antiquities has excavated parts of the lower city.¹⁰ During 1980s the excavations of the necropolis at Amathus have been conducted intensively as rescue operations made necessary by the rapid development of the coastal area for the tourist indus-

¹ "Single" used for "published as a single find", often as a result of rescue excavations. The tomb may actually be part of a cemetery or cluster of tombs, but these circumstances have not been investigated, or at least not published.

² Hadjisavvas 1997, 29.

³ *BCH* 120, 1996, 1093–4.

⁴ Four loculi tombs, 24 arcosolia tombs, five of these are cross-shaped.

⁵ Anastasiadou 2000, 335.

⁶ Murray, Smith & Walter 1900, 89–126; Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899. A short, but covering history of research is found in Aupert 2000, 15–6.

⁷ Cesnola 1879, 249; Marangou 2000, 245–83, records Cesnola's activities in Amathus.

⁸ Murray, Smith & Walter 1900, 90. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter also excavated at Amathus, and published drawings of a chamber tomb. This was not identified by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, but it belongs to the typical Amathus composite tomb type, see below. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, Taf. CLXXV, 1–2. The two Cesnola tombs north of the acropolis were still accessible in 1930. Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 2.

⁹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 1–141.

¹⁰ Aupert 2000, 15–6.

try.¹¹ While publications of the various find groups discovered during these excavations have appeared, the tomb architecture itself is only briefly described, unless the tombs are of an extraordinarily beautiful appearance, for example the built tombs.¹² Smith and Myres divided the cemeteries of Amathus into five sites, A and B west of the acropolis, C north of the acropolis, and D and E, east of the city.¹³ While only a few tombs were excavated at sites A, B, and C, approximately 180 tombs were emptied at sites D and E. The SCE tombs were situated in the area between site A and B, on both sides of the Limassol road.

The necropolis of Amathus may contain more than 750 excavated tombs, and it is spread on all sides of the ancient site.¹⁴ It is not immediately possible to conclude on a chronological development of the necropolis. Furthermore, the state of publication makes it impossible to draw any conclusions from the distribution of tomb types and possible clusters.¹⁵

Anayia

Southwest of Nicosia, a single rock-cut chamber tomb is known.¹⁶ It is approached by a stepped dromos, closed by a door slab, and the rectangular chamber is covered by a barrel-vaulted roof. A terracotta sarcophagus with legs and gabled lid was found inside the chamber. The tomb is dated by coins to the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period.

Aphendrika

See Tsambres and Aphendrika.

Athienou

Since 1990 investigations and excavations at Athienou, Malloura have been conducted under the direction of M. K. Toumasou, R. W. Yerkes, and P. N. Kardulias.¹⁷ While their work has concentrated on the rural sanctuary, situated some 4.5 km south-west of the village of Athienou, an ancient cemetery surmounting the hill north-west of the Malloura sanctuary, the Magara Tepesi, has

also been investigated. On the summit of the hill, four small archaic rock-cut tombs have been excavated (tombs 50–53). These tombs are rather plain, with sloping dromoi and cave-like chambers.

On the northeast slope of the Magara Tepesi, four large rock-cut chamber tombs were excavated from 1991 to 1994 (tombs 25–28).

The tombs on the slope were in use from ca. 325 BC until 150 AD. Three of these tombs are cross-shaped, while tomb 27 is quite different in plan. A stepped dromos leads to a forecourt where a loculus is cut on each side of the central stomaion. The main chamber has benches on all sides with two steps “leading” to the top of the benches. In the right corner a rather rude loculus is cut.

Two rock-cut cisterns were found in the middle of the necropolis. These were excavated in 1995 and 1997, but revealed only a few finds.

¹¹ Reports of excavations in the Amathus necropoleis after the Swedish Cyprus Expedition: *BCH* 84, 1960, 268; *BCH* 66, 1962, 407–11; 414. *BCH* 93, 1969, 490; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1030–2; *BCH* 97, 1973, 618–21, 685; *BCH* 98, 1974, 843–4; *BCH* 99, 1975, 836; *BCH* 100, 1976, 852; *BCH* 101, 1977, 716, 765, 810; *BCH* 102, 1978, 956; *BCH* 103, 1979, 678–82; *BCH* 104, 1980, 766, 770–2; *BCH* 105, 1981, 1007–21; *BCH* 106, 1982, 690–705; *BCH* 107, 1983, 910–15; *BCH* 108, 1984, 915–21, 956; *BCH* 109, 1985, 915, 961; *BCH* 110, 1986, 834–9; *BCH* 111, 1987, 695–722; *BCH* 112, 1988, 799; *BCH* 113, 1989, 798–814; *BCH* 114, 1990, 948–51; *BCH* 115, 1991, 751–87; *BCH* 116, 1992, 800–4, 827; *BCH* 117, 1993, 686, 722–5, 752; *BCH* 118, 1994, 650–3. For the eastern cemetery cf. Nicolaou 1985. See also Christou 1978; Aupert & Hermery 1980; Karageorghis & Iacovou 1990; Tytgut 1995; Coldstream 1995a; 1995b.

¹² The Amathus necropolis publications appear in the series *Etudes Chypriotes*, edited by V. Karageorghis, O. Picard, & Ch. Tytgut.

¹³ Murray, Smith & Walter 1900, 88 (plan).

¹⁴ Smith and Myres excavated at least 312 tombs, SCE 25 tombs, and the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus at least 557 tombs, cf. Karageorghis & Iacovou 1990, 78–9.

¹⁵ *BCH* 115, 1991, 780 and fig. 39 gives the approximate extent of the necropolis and its topographical location.

¹⁶ *BCH* 96, 1972, 1022–4, figs. 26–7.

¹⁷ Toumazou, Yerkes & Kardulias 1998, history of research, 166–7. See also:

www.davidson.edu/academic/classics/aapubs.html

Ayia Irini

The Archaic necropolis at Ayia Irini is situated close to the coastline. Ca. 47 rock-cut chamber tombs were excavated in the 1960s and 1970s, and of these 37 were described in the publication, all in use in the Cypro-Archaic I to II periods.¹⁸

Summary reports document the continued use of the cemeteries at Ayia Irini from the Late Bronze Age till the Late Archaic or Early Classical period. However, only the Cypro-Archaic tombs of the Paleakastro cemetery are comprehensively published.¹⁹

Eurychou

A Cypro-Classical necropolis has been known at least since 1963, at Panatsai, Eurychou.²⁰ Here two rock-cut tombs of the 5th century BC and one from the Hellenistic period have been published. One of the Cypro-Classical tombs has a rectangular chamber with a niche, the other is divided into two chambers, the first with two alcoves, and the second with three. The chamber of the Hellenistic tomb measures 8.32 x 1.90 m. It is covered by a vaulted roof, and has two loculi in the one long wall. Found along the other was a limestone sarcophagus.

Famagusta

Hellenistic/Roman rock-cut tombs were found at the harbour, one with a stepped dromos and benches in a Π-arrangement, the second with Π-alcoves.²¹

Idalion

A large part of the Idalion necropolis was excavated by Cesnola and later M. Ohnefalsch-Richter but remains unpublished.²² The earliest part of the cemetery is situated inside the later city-wall, while the Classical and Hellenistic necropolis lies outside this enclosure and on the southern slope of the acropolis.²³

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated only three tombs here, and only sporadic investigations

of the tombs have been carried out. In 1963 Karageorghis excavated three tombs, and in 1971 another tomb complex was investigated by the Department of Antiquities.²⁴

Kition

The ancient settlement of Kition lies below the present city of Larnaka. It is difficult to get a full picture of the extent of the cemeteries belonging to the ancient settlement, but the necropolis area covers the north, west, and south sides of the settlement, extending to the Salt Lake.²⁵ It is, however, possible to follow the chronological distribution of the Kition tombs. The earlier tombs were located to the north and north-west, while the necropolis area was extended in the course of time towards west, south-west, and south. However, later tombs have also been found in the northern part.²⁶ Five tombs are especially interesting, three of these, the Phaneromeni, the Evangelis, and Cobhams's tomb, have been known since at least the 18th century.²⁷ In 1972 a remarkable monumental built tomb, the so-called Tourabi tomb 9 was found during construction

¹⁸ Rochetti 1978.

¹⁹ *BCH* 86, 1962, 365-72; *BCH* 89, 1965, 295-6; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1047-51; *BCH* 97, 1973, 667.

²⁰ *BCH* 88, 1964, 316; *BCH* 108, 1984, 903.

²¹ *BCH* 90, 1966, 335.

²² Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, Taf. II and III; Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 3-5.

²³ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 462; Stager, Walker & Wright 1974, XXIX; Hadjicosti 1997, 49: "Extensive cemeteries have also been located around the northeast, north and west peripheral areas of the town." For the Swedish Cyprus Expedition tombs cf. Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 629-41.

²⁴ Karageorghis 1964b; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1024-8.

²⁵ Nicolaou 1976, Chapter X.

²⁶ Nicolaou 1976, 160.

²⁷ Nicolaou 1976, Chapter X gives an account of the research history of the tombs in Kition, including the earliest references to the monumental tombs from the 18th century. A list of unpublished tombs is also included. I wish to express here my gratitude to Dr. Andreas Savva of the Larnaka Museum, who kindly showed me the monumental tombs of Kition in the summer of 2000. The built tombs in Kition are described in Karageorghis 1976, 142-52.

work.²⁸ Again, in December 1998, a new built tomb was found during construction work. All, except the Phaneromeni tomb, are located at Tourabi, the western necropolis area, containing Archaic and Classical tombs.

A number of rock-cut tombs were excavated at Agios Georghios in 1985 in the far western part of the Kition necropolis.²⁹

Kouklia

At Kouklia two necropoleis have been investigated to some extent. The Lakkos tou Skarnou necropolis was investigated in 1967-68 by the Swiss-German research team.³⁰ It contained tombs in use from the 11th century BC until the 4th century BC. These are only briefly described as rock-cut tombs, approached by a sloping dromos, which might be stepped in the outer end and a rectangular chamber.

A rather similar necropolis, the Skales necropolis, was excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1980-81 under the direction of V. Karageorghis.³¹ This also contains burials from the 11th century BC till the 4th BC. However, the vast majority of the burials belong to the earliest phases, the Cypro-Geometric I and II periods. The typical Skales tomb is a rock-cut, cave-like to rectangular chamber tomb, approached by a sloping dromos, in some cases with a single step in the outer end or approximately halfway along, and the stromion opening is closed by a rubble walling. Some of the earliest tombs have quite long dromoi, a feature that according to Karageorghis links them closely to their supposed Mycenaean predecessors.³²

A large number of the Kouklia chamber tombs have been emptied during rescue-investigations.³³ In general these tombs cover the period also known from Skales and Lakkos tou Skarnou, that is Cypro-Geometric I till Cypro-Classical times. Only a few Roman tombs have been found. Some single tombs found at Kouklia are quite remarkable. In 1962 a rock-cut cave-like tomb was excavated at Kato Alonia, southwest of the village.³⁴ The tomb was approached by a long and rather wide, sloping dromos. Found in the inner

part of the dromos was the skeleton of a horse, a parallel to the Royal Sacrifices at Salamis, Tamassos, and Kition. This tomb, labelled "a warrior's tomb" belongs to the Cypro-Archaic II period. Later in 1965 two other "warriors tombs" were excavated at Eleomilia, south of the village.³⁵ These tombs were also rock-cut, cave-like and approached by stepped dromoi. Found in the inner part of the dromos in Tomb 8 was found a bridle or bit, interpreted as the remains of a horse sacrifice. These two tombs are also dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period.

The Spilaion tis Regainas tomb, dated to the Hellenistic period may have been inspired partly by the peristyle tombs of Paphos.³⁶ The prodromos area is enlarged and forms a minor court with a deep well cut into the ground.

Kourion

Since 1995, D.A. Parks has undertaken excavations at Kourion's Amathus Gate cemetery.³⁷ The

²⁸ *BCH* 97, 1973, 615; Karageorghis 1976, 144-9.

²⁹ Yon & Callot 1987. Other reports on Kition tombs are published in *BCH* 83, 1959, 355; *BCH* 85, 1961, 282; *BCH* 86, 1962, 410-1; *BCH* 87, 1963, 351-2; *BCH* 89, 1965, 254-6; *BCH* 91, 1967, 290-3; *BCH* 92, 1968, 281; *BCH* 93, 1969, 494; *BCH* 100, 1976, 880; *BCH* 103, 1979, 682; *BCH* 107, 1983, 915; *BCH* 104, 1980, 788-90; *BCH* 106, 1982, 705; *BCH* 110, 1986, 841; *BCH* 113, 1989, 793-8; *BCH* 114, 1990, 946-8; *BCH* 117, 1993, 722.

³⁰ Maier 1968, 685-7; 1969, 396-7.

³¹ Karageorghis 1983.

³² Karageorghis 1983, 371.

³³ *BCH* 83, 1959, 357; *BCH* 85, 1961, 291-2; *BCH* 85, 1961, 292; *BCH* 86, 1962, 388-9; *BCH* 92, 1968, 291; *BCH* 92, 1968, 343; *BCH* 93, 1969, 533; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1032-4; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1072; *BCH* 99, 1975, 821; *BCH* 100, 1976, 867; *BCH* 104, 1980, 788; *BCH* 105, 1981, 977; *BCH* 105, 1981, 991-2; *BCH* 106, 1982, 708-9; *BCH* 107, 1983, 915; *BCH* 107, 1983, 918; *BCH* 108, 1984, 926; *BCH* 110, 1986, 840; *BCH* 111, 1987, 667; *BCH* 111, 1987, 637; *BCH* 112, 1988, 805; *BCH* 117, 743; *BCH* 118, 1994, 663; Maier 1971, 10-1.

³⁴ Karageorghis 1963.

³⁵ Karageorghis 1967b.

³⁶ Maier & von Wartburg 1998, 105-10.

³⁷ Parks 1996; 1997; Parks, Given & Chapman 1998; Parks & Chapman 1999; Parks, Mavromatis & Kayne Harper 2000.

project has also included a survey of the necropolis and quarry area below the acropolis rock of Kourion.³⁸ These investigations form the first systematic registration of Kourion's necropolis, while tombs have been excavated since Cesnola's day.³⁹ In the 19th century both the South Kensington Museum and British Museum excavated tombs around Kourion, and later, in 1940-1 the University of Pennsylvania investigated the area at the Church of Agios Hermogenos where a series of Hellenistic and Roman rock-cut chamber tombs were found. The majority of these early excavations remains unpublished, while later research conducted by the Department of Antiquities has appeared in preliminary reports.⁴⁰

The Kourion necropolis covers a wider area than currently under excavation. Beginning at the Amathus Gate it circumscribes the Acropolis to the east, and it also continues south towards the coastal plain at Agios Hermogenos. The area investigated by D. Parks is situated below the acropolis. Area A and B in particular have been the object of excavation. In this region it is possible to distinguish three phases of use. First, in the Hellenistic and earlier Roman period, the area was used as a cemetery consisting of rock-cut chamber tombs, some with loculi, others with arcosolia. The majority of these earlier tombs are badly preserved due to later quarrying activities in this area. However, the "Tomb of the Pater Familias", excavated in 1988 represents a well-preserved example.⁴¹

One should imagine all the area below the Acropolis rock honeycombed with Hellenistic and Roman chamber tombs, however, the majority of a more plain interior arrangement. Today the visitor can still see the back-wall of many arcosolia in the rock walls still standing. These can be seen especially in the eastern part of area B. The majority of these complexes were destroyed probably in the 4th century AD when the area was turned into a stone quarry. It has been suggested that after an earthquake in the 4th century AD the acute need for building material transformed the former cemetery area into a stone quarry.⁴²

In the late Roman period the area was turned into a cemetery again, and this time the overall

type of tomb was the rock-cut cist tomb.⁴³ A unique Archaic tomb was investigated in 1990, opposite the Church of Agios Hermogenos, to the south of Area B.⁴⁴

Kyrenia

During the 1960s and the early 1970s preliminary reports on Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic/Roman rock-cut tombs appeared.⁴⁵ Only a few of them received an architectonic description. At the Dome Hotel a rock-cut chamber tomb with a rectangular chamber contained two sarcophagi.⁴⁶ It was dated to the Early Hellenistic period. A quite remarkable rock-cut tomb, Tomb 34, was discovered in the middle of the town in 1972. It consisted of an antechamber and a rather large main chamber furnished with "double" arcosolia arrangements resembling those in the Tsambres Tomb 11 for instance.⁴⁷ A date in the Late

³⁸ The survey was completed in 1997, and a report of the work can be found in Parks, Given & Chapman 1998, 179-83.

³⁹ For history of research with references cf. Parks 1996, 127-8.

⁴⁰ *BCH* 87, 1963, 359-60; *BCH* 89, 1965, 257; *BCH* 90, 1966, 339; *BCH* 92, 1968, 292; *BCH* 101, 1977, 727; *BCH* 103, 1979, 720; *BCH* 108, 1984, 928. In 1972 a rock-cut loculi tomb was excavated in the western outskirts of the Episkopi village. Oliver 1983. In 1988 the so-called "Pater Familias Tomb" was excavated by D. Christou *BCH* 113, 848-9, fig. 153.

⁴¹ *BCH* 113, 1989, 848-9; Parks 1996, 128.

⁴² Parks, Given & Chapman 1998, 182.

⁴³ Preliminary osteological reports are published in Parks, Given & Chapman 1998, 183-5 and in Parks & Chapman 1999, 264-7.

⁴⁴ Buitron-Oliver 1997, 32: "Survey of the area around Episkopi village, from Kandu to Kaloriziki, Bamboula to Al Maudon, has revealed cemeteries of Archaic date, but no trace of settlement." To my knowledge these survey results remain unpublished. The only published early Iron Age cemetery is at Kaloriziki. McFadden 1954; Benson *et al.* 1973. The Agios Hermogenos Tomb: *BCH* 115, 1991, 819-20; Buitron-Oliver 1997.

⁴⁵ *BCH* 87, 1963, 360; *BCH* 89, 1965, 257; *BCH* 91, 1967, 311; *BCH* 96, 1972, 1032; *BCH* 97, 1973, 624.

⁴⁶ *BCH* 90, 1966, 340-1.

⁴⁷ *BCH* 97, 1973, 626, fig. 55.

Hellenistic or Early Roman period was suggested for this tomb.

Lapethos

Lapethos is situated inland from Ammochostos Bay. Here a single built tomb, consisting of a stepped dromos and a rectangular tomb chamber, was excavated in 1966.⁴⁸ It is covered by a corbelled barrel vault, and the chamber has benches or platforms along three sides of the chamber walls (?). The tomb is dated to the Early Hellenistic period.

Lapithos

Lapithos lies on the north coast, east of Kyrenia. In 1927-8 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated two Cypro-Geometric necropoleis, at Kastros and Plakes.⁴⁹ The Kastros tombs are rock-cut trapezoid/rectangular chamber tombs with long sloping dromoi. A rubble walling blocked the stomion. Some of the chambers had flat roofs, others are more rounded or domed. At Plakes a low mound marked three tombs of a different type. Here a shaft-dromos lead to the trapezoid/rectangular chamber and the opening was closed by a rubble walling. The Kastros necropolis was in use in the Cypro-Geometric I-III periods, and in the Plakes necropolis in the Cypro-Geometric I-II.

Latsia

Single rock-cut cave-like tomb, dated to the 7th century BC.⁵⁰

Makronisos

During the winter of 1989/1990 the Department of Antiquities excavated a cemetery situated on the Makronisos peninsula, ca. 6 km west of Ayia Napa. Altogether 19 tombs forming a necropolis of Hellenistic rock-cut tombs were found, facing east or southeast. On average the tombs were in use from the Early Hellenistic period until the 2nd centuries AD, and at least six tombs until the 4th or 5th century AD. Found in a number of the tombs were fragments of terracotta sarcophagi of a type,

which may have been produced in northern Galilee, or in Cilicia.⁵¹

Mari

A single rock-cut tomb, belonging to a cemetery near the village of Mari.⁵² The dromos of the tomb was not fully excavated, but a door slab closed the stomion, and the trapezoid chamber was equipped with benches on three sides in a Π-arrangement. All objects in the tomb belong to the second half of the 7th century BC.

Marion

The ancient settlement of Marion was probably situated at the village of Polis Chrysochous on the north coast of Cyprus, east of the Akamas peninsula.⁵³ Since 1983 Princeton University has conducted archaeological excavations near and within the village, while the Swedish Cyprus Expedition conducted the latest excavations in the necropoleis of Marion.⁵⁴ However, sporadic finds and looting of tombs have continued ever since, while no systematic investigations of the necropoleis have been undertaken.⁵⁵ M. Ohnefalsch-Richter conducted the earliest excavations in 1885, and later in 1889-90 the Cyprus Exploration Fund continued these investigations of the necropoleis.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ *BCH* 91, 1967, 295.

⁴⁹ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 172-265 and 265-76.

⁵⁰ *BCH* 89, 1965, 248.

⁵¹ It is not stated in which tombs the sarcophagi fragments were found. Only in Tomb 2 is a lid fragment listed among the other finds. For a discussion of production of the sarcophagi cf. Parks, Aviam and Stern in Hadjisavvas 1997, 189-96; Aviam & Stern 1997.

⁵² Hadjicosti 1997.

⁵³ Child 1997, 37.

⁵⁴ Child 1997 gives a resume of the Princeton University's results hitherto. Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 181-459.

⁵⁵ Child 1997, 46. Many clandestine excavations have taken place at Marion. For investigations conducted by the Department of Antiquities cf. *BCH* 83, 1959, 340-6, 355-6; *BCH* 85, 1961, 314; *BCH* 86, 1962, 338-43; *BCH* 88, 1964, 302; Nikolaou 1964; *BCH* 90, 1966, 309-11; *BCH* 92, 1968, 287-9; *BCH* 105, 1981, 974; *BCH* 108, 1984, 910; *BCH* 111, 1987, 725; *BCH* 112, 1988, 804.

⁵⁶ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 184; Child 1997, 45.

Two necropoleis consisting of rock-cut tombs were found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, respectively east and west of the village of Polis. The eastern necropolis, where 50 tombs were excavated, covers the sites of Sikarka-Kokkina, Potamos tou Myrmikof and Evrethades.⁵⁷ The earliest tombs were found at Evrethades. Here five tombs were constructed in the Cypro-Geometric I period, one in the Cypro-Geometric II, while the majority of tombs were cut in the Cypro-Archaic I and II periods. Only three tombs belong to the Cypro-Classical period. Potamos tou Myrmikof contained nine Cypro-Archaic tombs, while one was dated to the Hellenistic period. Three Hellenistic tombs were excavated at Sikarka-Kokkina.⁵⁸

In the western necropolis at Kaparka 48 tombs were excavated, one of these dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period, while the remaining tombs were dated to the Cypro-Classical period.

Myrtou

A single rock-cut rectangular chamber tomb, with a bench along the rear wall. It was approached by a stepped dromos.⁵⁹

Nicosia

A large number of tombs have been excavated in Nicosia, especially during the 1960s and the 1970s.⁶⁰ Only very few have been published with details of the architecture. However, a rock-cut tomb at Kaimakli in the eastern outskirts of Nicosia was published with a drawing.⁶¹ The tomb is two-chambered, the first chamber has two alcoves, one on each side of the central "corridor" and the back chamber is slightly cross-shaped. Found in the first chamber were two sarcophagi, one in each alcove. The tomb was dated to the Late Hellenistic/Roman period.

Paphos

The excavations in the necropoleis of Paphos can be divided into at least three groups. However, the situation is quite confused, since the majority of

the excavations have been conducted as rescue excavations before the start of construction work.

Ktima. A French team excavated the necropolis at Ktima in the 1950s.⁶² Altogether 11 rock-cut chamber tombs were found, covering a large time span, from the Cypro-Geometric period to Hellenistic times.

The north and eastern necropoleis. From the late 1970s onwards, building activities have necessitated rescue operations, which are often only published in the annual reports in *BCH*, and occasionally tombs have been described in the *RDAC*.⁶³

The Tombs of the Kings. Since 1977 the Department of Antiquities, under the direction of S. Hadjisavvas, has conducted excavation and restoration work in the so-called Tombs of the Kings at the site of Palaekastro,⁶⁴ but only preliminary reports have been published.⁶⁵ L. Ross visited the area and produced a brief description of the

⁵⁷ These are the site names used by Gjerstad *et al.* 1935. However, they are not easily detected on the map published in Child 1997, fig.1.

⁵⁸ Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 185-9; *BCH* 85, 1961, 314.

⁵⁹ *BCH* 91, 1967, 293. A similar or the same tomb was also published by Christodoulou 1974.

⁶⁰ *BCH* 87, 1963, 346; *BCH* 87, 1963, 346; *BCH* 88, 1964, 316; *BCH* 90, 1966, 322; *BCH* 90, 1966, 322; *BCH* 103, 1979, 677; *BCH* 112, 1988, 798. For the Nicosia region cf. *BCH* 88, 1964, 317; *BCH* 91, 1967, 289-90; *BCH* 87, 1963, 344; *BCH* 98; 1974, 839-40; *BCH* 100, 1976, 852; *BCH* 102, 1978, 884; *BCH* 104, 1980, 766; *BCH* 108, 1984, 903.

⁶¹ *BCH* 93, 1969, 471-3, fig. 71.

⁶² Deshayes 1963.

⁶³ *BCH* 93, 1969, 482-6; *BCH* 105, 1981, 974; *BCH* 98, 1974, 841; *BCH* 99, 1975, 851; *BCH* 100, 1976, 895-6; *BCH* 105, 1981, 977; *BCH* 106, 1982, 744; *BCH* 106, 1982, 708; *BCH* 108, 1984, 905-10; *BCH* 109, 1985, 962-4; *BCH* 110, 1986, 872-4; *BCH* 111, 1987, 725-8; *BCH* 112, 1988, 799, 803-4; *BCH* 113, 1989, 842-8; *BCH* 114, 1990, 951-5; *BCH* 115, 1991, 800; Hadjisavvas 1980 and 1982; Michaelides & Młynarczyk 1988.

⁶⁴ *BCH* 102, 1978, 932; *BCH* 103, 1979, 715; *BCH* 104, 1980, 794; *BCH* 105, 1981, 998-9; *BCH* 106, 1982, 736-7; *BCH* 107, 1983, 935-7; *BCH* 108, 1984, 948-9; *BCH* 109, 1985, 944; *BCH* 110, 1986, 856; *BCH* 111, 1987, 682-3; *BCH* 112, 1988, 833-5; *BCH* 113, 1989, 830; *BCH* 114, 1988, 972; *BCH* 115, 822.

⁶⁵ Hadjisavvas 1985; 1985-7.

tombs as well as drawings of a peristyle tomb. Jeffery included a discussion of the architecture in his article on quarries.⁶⁶

Patriki

In 1970 Karageorghis excavated two chamber tombs in a necropolis between the villages of Patriki and Avgalidha in the northern part of the Ammochostos bay.⁶⁷ Both tombs are very like the tombs of the Salamis Royal Necropolis and were built according to similar structural principles. Both had vestibules in front of the tomb chamber and were built in well-fitted ashlar masonry. Tomb 1 had a corbelled roof, however, the corbelling only continued to a level where the opening could easily be covered by a single row of slabs. Tomb 2 had a gabled roof, constructed of slabs resting on the sidewalls of the chamber and meeting at an acute angle at the ridge of the roof. No remains of sacrifices were found in the dromos, but on top of the roof of Tomb 2 the excavators found skeletal remains of a horse. The tombs are dated to the Cypriot-Archaic II period.

Polemidhia

A single rock-cut tomb with a rather unusual plan. A sloping dromos leads to a stomion closed by a door slab.⁶⁸ Behind the stomion a door slab closes off a rectangular antechamber, leading to a rectangular rear or main chamber. Five loculi are placed near the corners of the sidewall and in the centre of the rear wall. The tomb is dated to the late 4th century BC, and it is considered part of a Hellenistic necropolis.

Pyla

A built double axial tomb was excavated in 1934.⁶⁹ The tomb had a stepped dromos with ashlar walls and facade. It had a total of four chambers, one central and the other three grouped around it. Corbelled barrel vaults roofed all chambers. The tomb is dated to the early 5th century BC.

Salamis

The British Museum mission conducted archaeological investigations in the late 19th century: In 1896 they excavated a large Mycenaean necropolis just west of the village of Enkomi.⁷⁰ But what really marked Salamis as a unique Cypriot site was the intensive excavations, which began in 1952 under the direction of V. Karageorghis.⁷¹ In 1964 the excavations of the Geometric to Archaic necropolis started.

The necropolis areas of Salamis can roughly be divided into two parts. The Royal Necropolis, which is centred around the tumulus of Tomb 3 c. 1.5 km inland, west of the Temple of Zeus, and the Cellarka Necropolis south of the Royal Necropolis.⁷² Eight so-called Royal Tombs were excavated, dating to Cypro-Geometric II to the Cypro-Archaic II periods.

The excavated part of the Cellarka necropolis is approximately 1092 m².⁷³ Here 82 tombs were found, dating from the Cypriot-Archaic I period, but the majority of the tombs were constructed in the Cypro-Archaic II (43) and Cypro-Classical I (25) period.⁷⁴ A small number of tombs may be Late Classical. Defined by finds and stratigraphy the tombs were on average in use for two burial periods, spread within a time frame of approximately 150 years. Rock-cut tombs of the Cellarka type were also registered west of Cellarka,

⁶⁶ For a brief account of the earliest research cf. Vessberg & Westholm 1956, 22-3.

⁶⁷ Karageorghis 1972.

⁶⁸ *BCH* 85, 1961, 281-2, fig. 33.

⁶⁹ Dikaios 1935b; Westholm 1941, 41-2.

⁷⁰ Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 1-54. The necropolis contain around 100 tombs, the majority cave-shaped rock-cut chamber tombs. The British team also tunnelled through the tumulus of tomb 3 at Hagia Katerina. Murray, Smith & Walter 1900, 1-3.

⁷¹ Cf. Wright 1992, 151 for a history of archaeological research.

⁷² Dikaios 1963; Karageorghis 1967a; 1970; 1973; 1978. Cf. Rupp 1988 for a reconsideration of the Royal Tombs.

⁷³ Karageorghis 1970a, 223-33.

⁷⁴ Karageorghis 1969a, 100, mentions 100 tombs, but only 82 tombs are published cf. Karageorghis 1970a, 82.

between the Monastery of St. Barnabas and Enkomi, in the Koufomeron area. Here a built tomb, Tomb 80 was investigated and published before 1974, but later five more rock-cut tombs from this area were published, all recalling the Cellarka tombs in style and date and dated to the Cypro-Classical I period.⁷⁵

Part of a supposed Hellenistic mass grave was excavated west of Tomb 31, tentatively interpreted as the burial of the men who fell in the Battle of Salamis in 306 BC.⁷⁶ The other dominant tumulus of Salamis lies east of Enkomi. This tomb (77) contained a platform for a sacrificial pyre, dated to the Late Classical period.⁷⁷

In the northeastern outskirts of Tumulus 77 a complex rock-cut tomb with loculi was constructed in the Roman period.⁷⁸ Another loculi tomb was investigated southeast of the Ayios Sergios village.⁷⁹

Soloi

Westholm mentioned a demolished built tomb at Soloi.⁸⁰ Otherwise the tombs at Soloi are rather plain rock-cut, cave-like tombs approached by sloping dromoi, which are sometimes stepped at the extreme outer end, dated to the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods.⁸¹

Stylli

In 1930 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated part of a necropolis, consisting of rock-cut chamber tombs, cut in the chavara.⁸² 17 tombs were investigated, belonging to the Cypro-Geometric II-III and the Cypriot-Archaic I periods.

Tamassos

The archaeological investigations of Tamassos were conducted by two German expeditions, by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the late 19th century, and the German excavations in the 1970s and 1980s directed by H.-G. Buchholz.⁸³

While the so-called Royal Tombs of Tamassos are well known and often discussed in analyses of Cypriot architecture, the Tamassos region repre-

sents a wide range of different tomb types, the majority rock-cut chamber tombs. Two such cemeteries were excavated by Ohnefalsch-Richter and reports of these excavations were discovered in his diaries in Berlin by H.-G. Buchholz. Both cemeteries, the Archaic tombs at Bamboulari, north of Politiko, and the Hellenistic at Hagios Mnason, west of Politiko, were only briefly described and seem to have been quite simple rock-cut chamber tombs, approached by a dromos, entered through a stomion, probably closed by a door slab, leading to an irregular chamber covered by a flat to domed rock-cut roof.⁸⁴

The Royal Necropolis of Tamassos. Only four of the 23 tombs are monumental tombs. In the 3rd preliminary report Buchholz presented a typological division of the tombs into seven groups belonging to three chronological periods, the Middle Bronze Age, the Geometric-Archaic period, and the Hellenistic age.⁸⁵ The tombs of the Royal Necropolis can be divided into two groups, the monumental and therefore princely tombs,

⁷⁵ Karageorghis 1973, 123-7; 1978, 13-9.

⁷⁶ Karageorghis 1978, 24-7, also quoting Plutarch: Demetrios 17.1.

⁷⁷ Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 1; Karageorghis 1973, 128-202.

⁷⁸ Karageorghis 1973, 203.

⁷⁹ Karageorghis 1978, 27-58.

⁸⁰ Westholm 1941, 49.

⁸¹ *BCH* 85, 1961, 277; *BCH* 88, 1964, 317; *BCH* 89, 1965, 248; *BCH* 90, 1966, 325-6; *BCH* 90, 1966, 353; *BCH* 92, 1968, 281; *BCH* 92, 1968, 283; *BCH* 91, 1967, 360, fig. 168; *BCH* 92, 1968, 328-30; *BCH* 93, 1969, 552; *BCH* 97, 1973, 661-5.

⁸² Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 142-80. R. Gunnis, later Inspector of Antiquities in Cyprus had in 1928 excavated part of the necropolis.

⁸³ Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893; Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899; Buchholz 1973; 1974; 1978; 1987. Buchholz 1996 presents a good overview of the history of research. For reports of the work of the Department of Antiquities cf. *BCH* 87, 1963, 346; *BCH* 89, 1965, 248; *BCH* 90, 1966, 326; *BCH* 91, 1967, 289; *BCH* 92, 1968, 281; *BCH* 92, 1968, 287; *BCH* 97, 1973, 612-5; Hadjisavvas 1978.

⁸⁴ Extracts from the diaries were reproduced in Buchholz 1974.

⁸⁵ Buchholz 1978, 117-80. I refer only to Buchholz' numbers of the tombs. Buchholz 1973, 324 lists a concordance of previous names for the Royal Tombs.

Tomb 4, 5, 11 and 12, and the simpler citizen tombs, Tomb 1, 2, 9, 13-17.⁸⁶ Tomb 4 is published in the third report,⁸⁷ Tomb 5 in the second report,⁸⁸ and Tomb 11 in the first.⁸⁹

In the Alakati Necropolis, northwest of Politiko, Ohnefalsch-Richter excavated a so-called Zwölfkammergrab, dated by the finds to the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ In 1952 a Roman rock-cut tomb was found in the middle of the village of Politiko.⁹¹ Another rock-cut tomb was investigated in 1970.⁹² Situated ca. 100 m south of the ruins of the Mnason monastery, it was already called the "Katakombengrab" by Ohnefalsch-Richter.

Trachonas

A necropolis with rock-cut tombs, the Kountoura Trachonia, and a built tomb at Trachonas were excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1928. In the necropolis at the Kountoura Trachonia 15 tombs were excavated, all quite similar, and belonging to the 4th century BC according to coin finds.⁹³ The tombs are rock-cut cave-like to rectangular, approached by a sloping dromos, at times stepped at the outer end. In two tombs Π-shaped platforms were found, and in one tomb there were platforms along the two sidewalls of the chamber.⁹⁴ A low tumulus covered Tomb 15, but similar low tumuli marked at least seven other tombs here; however these tombs were not excavated by the SCE.⁹⁵ A tumulus also covers the built tomb.⁹⁶ It was built in a ditch cut into a sloping hillside. A stepped dromos leads to a prodromos. A gabled roof constructed of slabs, which rested on the sidewalls, covered the tomb chamber but the gable was not pointed, rather rounded.

Tsambres and Aphendrika

In 1938 a British mission excavated two cemeteries on the north coast of the Karpas peninsula, the first, Tsambres, north of Rizokarpaso at Ayios Philon, ancient Karpasia; the second, Aphendrika east of Tsambres at the village Limionas.⁹⁷

The Tsambres necropolis was excavated in two parts, an eastern section called Vrysi, and a western called Tsiorka. Here a total of 29 rock-cut cham-

ber tombs were excavated, the earliest from the beginning of the 5th century BC.⁹⁸ Apparently the necropolis was in use until the 2nd century BC.

The 19 tombs of the Aphendrika Necropolis match the picture of the Tsambres Necropolis.⁹⁹ The earliest tomb may derive from the very late 6th century BC and the necropolis remained in use until the 2nd century BC.

Vouni

The cemetery, which was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1928-9, lies c. 400 m west of the Vouni acropolis on a ridge above the Paradisotissa valley, at a site named Korakas. The tombs, 16 in all, excavated by the Swedish team were situated widely apart from each other.¹⁰⁰

Both Cesnola and E. Oberhummer, travelling with Ohnefalsch-Richter, visited the site on their journeys in the latter part of the 19th century. They identified the site as ancient Aipeia, a city mentioned by Plutarch (sol. 26) as predating Soloi, which is situated ca. 6.5 km southeast of Vouni. But the Swedish Cyprus Expedition found no evidence of any settlement or tombs from before the 5th century BC, a fact that ruled out the old identification.¹⁰¹

Xylotymbo

M. Ohnefalsch-Richter excavated and published

⁸⁶ Buchholz 1978, 179.

⁸⁷ Buchholz 1978, 191-5; 1973, 322.

⁸⁸ Buchholz 1974, 578-98.

⁸⁹ Buchholz 1973, 328.

⁹⁰ Buchholz 1978, 202-7.

⁹¹ Buchholz 1996, 42.

⁹² Buchholz 1973, 384.

⁹³ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 439-60.

⁹⁴ Tomb 7, 8 and 6.

⁹⁵ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 439.

⁹⁶ Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 461-6.

⁹⁷ Dray & Plat Taylor 1951.

⁹⁸ Only 17 of these tombs were published in any detail.

⁹⁹ Only 15 of these tombs were published in any detail.

¹⁰⁰ Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 298-339.

¹⁰¹ For a short introduction to the history of research cf. Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 76.

two built tombs from Xylotymbo, dated to the Cypro-Archaic period.¹⁰² Only sporadic excavations at Xylotymbo have been carried out, revealing tombs from the Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic period.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 477; Gjerstad 1948, 33; Westholm 1941, 42.

¹⁰³ *BCH* 100, 1976, 852; *BCH* 108, 1984, 926.

