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CHAPTER THREE

BRIDGING THE GAP: LONG-TERM USE AND RE-USE OF THE BRONZE AGE FUNERARY AREA AT YPSONAS- *VOUNAROS* AND *ERIMI-LAONIN TOU PORAKOU*

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1. Introduction. Context and aims

The archaeological area of *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* and *Ypsonas-Vounaros* lies on a high plateau on the eastern river slope facing southward to the Kouris Dam and on the border between the two modern villages.

Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou was first identified in 2007 as a result of a survey project focusing on the middle and lower Kouris Valley, with the aim of outlining the general patterns of landscape use and the sequence of ancient occupation in the valley area. The preliminary evidence attained paved the way towards further investigations in the site area, directed at a greater clarification of the occupation sequence and an increased understanding of the function and use of the different areas of the site.¹

A single EBA–MBA tomb was excavated in 1990 during rescue investigations in the nearby area of *Ypsonas-Vounaros* (about 400 m east of the top mound).² There recent rescue excavations carried out in 2012 by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus revealed three more graves pertaining to the same chronological horizon of the ones excavated during the last years within the southern Area E.

Thus, the new evidence points to the presence of two distinct tomb

¹ Bombardieri 2012b, 48–51. Short annual reports on www.erimilaonin.it.

² Papageorghiou 1991, 72.

clusters (a Southern and an Eastern cemetery) related to the Bronze Age settlement of *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*.

This paper presents a preliminary discussion of the results of a joint cooperative project between the Italian Archaeological Mission and the Limassol team of the Department of Antiquities, with the aim of focusing on two main aspects of particular relevance:

Chronology and diffusion of discrete tomb clusters related to the settlement and industrial centre of *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* during the EC–LC I period.

Features and significance of long-term use, gaps and re-use of tombs at the site and in the region from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic and Roman period.

2. *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*: chronology and funerary evidence

The general chronology of the settlement sequence within the whole site area, as recorded by survey collections and excavation results on the top mound (Area A), the first lower terrace (Area B), and the southern cemetery area (Area E), hints at occupation throughout two main periods (periods 1 and 2). At this point the most documented is the earlier Period 2, ranging from the Early Cypriote to the Late Cypriote I periods (EC II/III–LC I), with two phases attested within the sequence (Period 2: phases A and B); the subsequent period (Period 1), following a lengthy *hiatus*, is related to a possible sporadic frequentation of the area during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.³

The EC–MC cemetery area (Area E) extends along a course of two terraces sloping from the top mound towards the southeast. The investigation within the cemetery Area E was aimed at cross-checking the funerary evidence with the sequence of occupation outlined in the top mound settlement (Workshop Complex and Domestic Units), thus finally clarifying the general chronology of the occupation of the site, during the EC–LC I period.

A series of eight rock-cut tombs (tombs 228–232; 240–241, 248) were excavated during the 2008–2012 fieldwork seasons. As far as the typology is concerned, all of the tombs show single, small, irregularly rounded chambers with a cave-like section. A short *dromos* leads to the grave chamber of tombs 228–230, located on the upper terrace, where *stomia*

³ Bombardieri et al. 2011, 90–97.

were roughly outlined by regularizing the terrace façade. On the contrary, tombs 231, 232, 240, 241 and 248 without an incoming *dromos* have a wider dimensional variability.

Anthropological analyses were performed on the skeletal remains in two burials: Tomb 228 and Tomb 230 (Bombardieri et al. 2011, 99–103). Moreover, during the 2010 and 2011 fieldwork seasons, charcoal samples from the Workshop Complex and bone samples from three burials (tombs 228, 230, 248) were opportunely taken for radiocarbon analysis to be performed by Accelerator Mass Spectrometry at the Istituto Nazionale di Fisica Nucleare-LABEC in Florence. As a result, radiocarbon absolute dates now contribute to fixing the relative chronology produced by systematic excavation of the stratigraphic deposits.⁴

Tombs 231 and 240 show the earliest assemblages. The offering deposit includes more than 35 objects that have been documented within the deposits of these two burials, luckily found unlooted. The ceramic assemblage generally points to a typical EC–MC repertoire with a prevalence in Red Polished (henceforth RP) ware and lower (and significant) percentage attestations in Drab Polished (henceforth DP) ware.

The funerary deposit in Tomb 231 includes a gourd juglet with a narrow cylindrical neck, out-curved rim and two small, opposing, pointed handles (KVP09.T231.13).

It is worth noting that similar rare examples come from EC III contexts at Marki-*Alonia* (Units XCIX, XCIII), from funerary deposits at Psematismenos-*Koliokkremmos* and at *Trelloukkas*,⁵ which have been assumed by David Frankel and Jennifer Webb to be imports from the North Coast.⁶ Comparable gourd juglets in Black and Brown Polished ware are kept in the Ashmolean and Medelhavsmuseet (this one possibly from the Kalavassos area).⁷ Analogous types decorated with peculiar incised concentric circles are commonly recorded from North Coast funerary contexts and have been similarly dated to the EC IIIB–MC I period, as Ellen Herscher has pointed out.⁸

More recent assemblages come from tombs 228 and 230, located on the upper terrace, and from Tomb 248 on the lower terrace. In particular, the presence of Black Slip II and Red Polished punctured double-handled jars and globular jugs recovered in tombs 228 and 248, points to a later date, to the MC III–LC I period. The punctured variations of RP and BS

⁴ Bombardieri et al. 2011; Scirè Calabrisotto et al. 2012; forthcoming.

⁵ Frankel and Webb 2006, fig. 4.36; Webb et al. 2007, 123; Georgiou et al. 2011.

⁶ Frankel and Webb 2000, 77.

⁷ Winbladh 2008, 125–126, pl. II: 19.

⁸ Herscher 1991, 46.

were originally classified by Paul Åström, who collected some closely related fabrics with punctured decoration, typical of the ceramic horizon of South Coast styles, such as Red Polished Punctured ware, also known as Episkopi ware.⁹

The small objects repertoire matches well with the EC–MC South Coast horizon. In particular the BP and RP spindle-whorls assemblage from Tomb 231, showing standard incised decoration patterns which mostly corresponds to J. L. Crewe’s types III C–D, can be dated to MC I–II period.¹⁰ Picrolite disks and pendants are also well attested as personal objects from burial deposits, and a complete necklace with *Dentalium* beads and picrolite pendants (oval and comb-shaped) have been found in Tomb 240.¹¹

3. Ypsonas-Vounaros: the site

Vounaros village is situated on the south coast of the island, west of the town of Limassol, in a three-km range from both the villages of Erimi and Ypsonas (fig. 1). As indicated above, it lies about 400 m east of the Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou site, where excavations held by the Italian Mission (as a joint project of the universities of Torino and Firenze, in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus) brought to light a Bronze Age settlement dating to the EC II/III–LC IA periods. *Vounaros*, as its name implies (“mountainous”), is located on outstanding hill terraces of the local limestone bedrock (*havara*) that slope towards the south. Thus, *Vounaros*’ location and geomorphology made it ideal for use as a prehistoric burial ground.

In March 2012 the Department of Antiquities was called to investigate the destruction of tombs during bulldozing operations at *Vounaros*. Nine rock-cut tombs (T.35, T.35A–F, T.36, T.37) were found in a plot under construction, out of which six (T.35A–F) were almost completely destroyed (fig. 2). All of the tombs, cut into the limestone bedrock, were located on the northern edge of the plot where the construction was taking place, a fact that does not necessarily imply their spatial distribution within the area, rather than that these were the only ones that survived the ground levelling operations.

The area surrounding the investigated tombs, after the plot leveling, was widespread with fragments of bones and large quantities of RP ware

⁹ Åström 1972, 95, Type VIII B, 6e; Herscher 1976; 1991.

¹⁰ Crewe 1998, figs. 4.1, 6.7, 6.8.

¹¹ Bombardieri et al., forthcoming.

and Hellenistic/Roman ware sherds, but unfortunately it was impossible to collect material from the inside any of the destroyed chambers.



Figure 1. Aerial view of the archaeological area: Ypsonas-Vounaros in relation to Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou



Figure 2. Destroyed tombs at Ypsonas-Vounaros. From left to right: T.35E, T.35F, T.35C, T.35D, T.35 (the opening on the chamber walls entered the tomb), T.35A, T.35B

Beside the area of the tombs, towards the north, there was a threshing floor made of local limestone slabs, which was built on top of at least two of the investigated tombs (T.35 and T.37). Some slabs missing from the threshing floor and the hollows underneath them may indicate the existence of more tombs but it is not possible to verify this assumption unless the threshing floor is disturbed.

4. The tombs

All of the tombs were cut to a depth ranging from 0.50 m to 1 m from the surface. From the destroyed tombs only a very small impression of their cave-like chamber survived in the bedrock. A small part of the floor was preserved in tombs 35A and 35C, while the *stomion* was still preserved in tombs 35A and 35E. The entrance to T.35A had an eastern orientation and was not sealed, while T.35E had a northern orientation and was sealed with a limestone slab.

Tomb 35

At the northeast edge of the plot, about one metre below the surface level, a small hole, caused by the destruction of the southern walls of rock-cut tomb 35, gave us access to its chamber. This tomb was intact, because the large amount of soil and the rocks with which it was filled had preserved it from being looted. It had a cave-like, single ovoid chamber measuring 2.10 m from east to west and 1.50 m from north to south. The maximum height of the tomb was 1.10 m (fig. 3). The *stomion* of the chamber opened on the northern wall; it was elliptical in shape (0.50 × 0.40 m) and sealed with a large limestone slab on the top, lying upon an amount of soil, while the other stones, possibly used as wedges, were missing. For this reason the chamber was filled with a large amount of soil, which obviously penetrated from the open space left on the *stomion*. Due to the fact that the threshing floor was directly above the chamber, it was not possible to excavate the *dromos* of the tomb.

Taking into account the scarce evidence that survived in the other tombs, it seems that in the case of the *Vounaros*' tomb cluster the orientation of the *stomion* of each tomb was directed by geomorphological and topographical characteristics (the hill slope and the natural terrain), rather than by any other possible ritual or ideological principles, as S. Swiny and J. Webb have already noted.¹² Specifically, T.35A had an eastern orientation, while T.35, T.35E and T.37 were oriented to the north.

¹² Swiny 1981, 79; Webb 1992, 92.

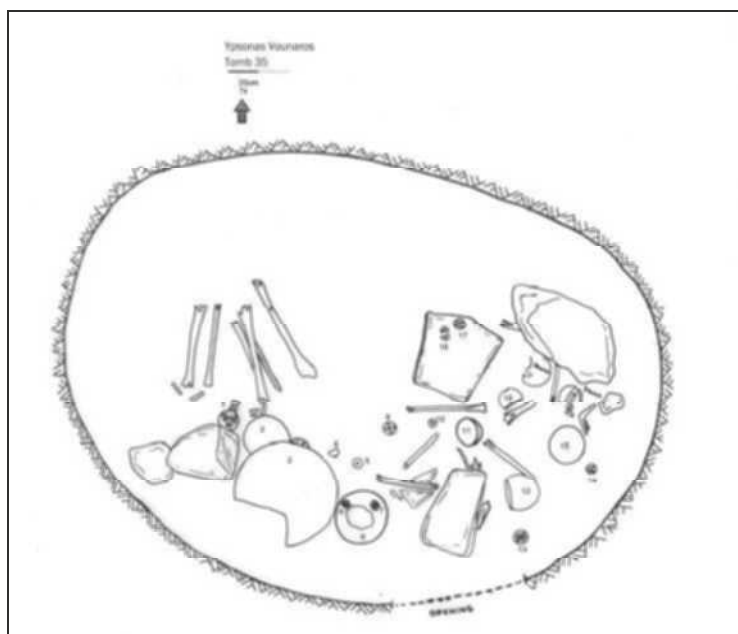


Figure 3. Floor plan of Tomb 35

Tomb 35 was used for the inhumation of at least three individuals. The fragmentary skeletal remains of one person were found in anatomical position: the body lay on one side with the skull facing the *stomion*, to the north, and the legs flexed. Two skulls were found in the southeastern part of the chamber, and the rest of the skeletal remains extended from east to west. A preliminary anthropological examination indicates two female individuals (one younger, aged between 25–35 and one older, aged between 35–45) and a third, probably a male between 25–35 years old.

Tomb 35: material assemblage from the offering deposit

Small vessels and small objects constituted the majority of the burial gifts. Most of them were very well preserved, aligned from east to west, on the southern side of the skeletal remains, while most of the smaller finds and the small bowls were recovered in conjunction with the skulls (fig. 3). The assemblage of the grave goods sums up to eighteen catalogued finds in total (fig. 4): seven clay spindle-whorls (RP and BP) with incised decoration, eight RP and DP wares, and three perforated

picrolite discs. Uncatalogued artefacts include mostly body sherds of RP and DP ware, which could add few more types and variations to the repertoire of vessels. Their fragmentary state of preservation and the fact that they were collected from the uppermost fill of the chamber reinforce the hypothesis that they were part of the material that was washed later into the tomb.

The ceramic assemblage of the tomb points to an EC III–MC I date, including RP III and IV wares with one example of DP (amphora T.35/6), two RP III Mottled ware (T.35/18,3) and three examples of Brown/Black Polished wares (spindle-whorls T.35/8,13,17). The repertoire of the RP III–IV ware consists of: one gourd juglet, one large spouted bowl (T.35/2), four spindle whorls (T.35/4,7,9,14) and three hemispherical bowls (T.35/11,12,15). Three picrolite disks were also recovered from the tomb (T.35/5,10,16).



Figure 4. The material assemblage from Tomb 35

The RP III gourd juglet (T.35/1, fig. 5), a specimen of a “highly homogeneous group” of the EBA that occurs island-wide with a great thematic variation in decoration,¹³ bears white-filled incised decoration of multi-linear horizontal zigzags and vertical banded diamonds. It is comparable in size and shape to a juglet from Pyrgos EC II–MC II, Tomb 2a,¹⁴ but it displays closer affinities in both shape and decoration with the

¹³ Morris 1985, 323.

¹⁴ Belgiorno 2002, 17, fig. 7:27.

juglet no. 40 from Kalavassos Tomb 5, dating to the EC III.¹⁵

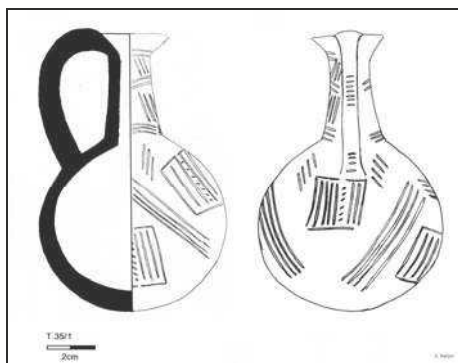


Figure 5. RP III gourd juglet from Tomb 35, T.35/1

The RP large spouted bowl T.35/2, a very common shape in the EC-MC repertoire of RP ware, finds its closer counterparts in nearby *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*, Tomb 232 no. 5,¹⁶ in Alassa MC II Tomb 1,¹⁷ and in the Phylactou Collection cat. no. 5.¹⁸

The RP III Mottled jug with a cutaway spout (fig. 6) resembles Stewart's RP III juglet.¹⁹ Similar incised decoration with a comparable two-line vertical zigzag on the neck and body occurs on RP globular-bodied jug no. 18 from *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* Tomb 231.²⁰ Of particular interest is the presence of two crescent motifs in relief with angled incisions on both sides of the neck beside the handle.

RP IV hemispherical bowls of different sizes were found in the southeastern part of the chamber in close proximity to the skulls (T.35/11,12,15). They bear a horizontal lug (in one case pierced) below the rim and have a carefully burnished brownish to orange slip. Their counterparts come in *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* Tomb 231²¹ and in Alassa Tomb 1 and Tomb 2.²² Analogous types are well attested to EC-MC

¹⁵ Karageorghis 1958, 125.

¹⁶ Bombardieri 2012, fig. 18: T.232/5.

¹⁷ Flourentzos 1991, 12, pl. XXVIII: 62.

¹⁸ Karageorghis 2010b, 23.

¹⁹ Stewart 1962, pl. LXIX: 11.

²⁰ Bombardieri 2012b, 55, fig. 4.4.

²¹ Bombardieri 2012, fig. 14: T.231/17.

²² Flourentzos 1991, 7, pls. XIV: 6,7, XVII: 50a, 15, XVIII: T2/1.

contexts all over the island: Marki-*Alonia* phases E–G dated to EC III–MC I,²³ and Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi* tombs.²⁴ The miniaturistic RP III mottled hemispherical bowl (T.35/18, fig. 8), which was also recovered among the skulls' area, has a small hollow circular base and two projections on the rim with incised parallel lines. A very close parallel can be traced in the Avdimou-*Kamare*s MC I–II Tomb 15, no. 1.²⁵ Its miniaturistic style is also encountered at Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*, Tomb 231.²⁶

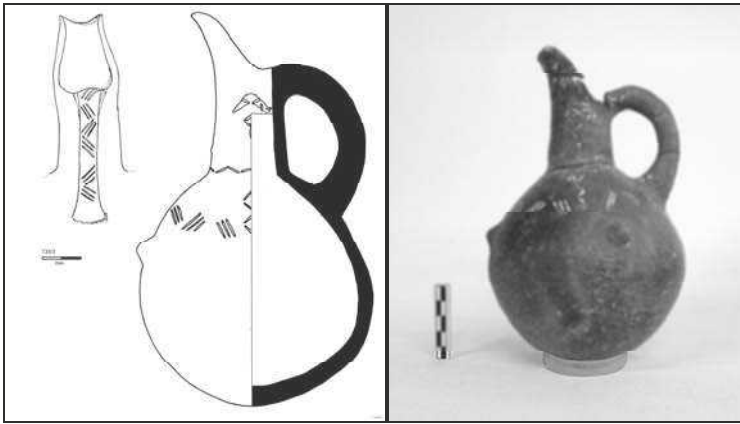


Figure 6. RP III Mottled ware jug with cutaway spout from Tomb 35, T.35/3

The DP amphora T.35/6 (fig. 7) is particularly interesting. It has a globular body, a high tubular neck and vertical handles with horned projections, and is decorated with impressed circles with a central dot on the neck, the base of the neck and handles, and three vertical rows of dots from the base of the neck to the central perforated lug on the shoulder. The upper part of the vessel was mended together from several sherds, and so the body surface is very worn and chipped. Therefore, any other original incised or impressed decoration might have been obliterated. Two DP vessels, an amphora and a jug, of unknown provenance now in the Copenhagen Cypriot collection,²⁷ an amphora from the Severis Collection,²⁸ an amphora and an

²³ Frankel and Webb 2006, fig. 4.58.

²⁴ Flourentzos 1988, 1232–1234, pls. XXV, XXVII.

²⁵ Vavouranakis and Magginis 1995, 77, fig. 6:1.

²⁶ Bombardieri 2012, fig. 14:T.231/7.

²⁷ Karageorghis 2001, 110–111, cat. nos. 4 and 5.

²⁸ Karageorghis 2010a, 50, cat. no. 51.

amphoriskos from two different tombs at Pyrgos,²⁹ and another one from Avdimou³⁰ bear decoration of impressed circles enclosing one or two strokes, which could resemble the decoration style of this amphora.

The occurrence of this type of decoration is not very common in the area, whereas the shape and the ware (DP) do occur in the vicinity. This production can be related to the west coast ceramic tradition around the Kissonerga area, from where other finds reveal closer parallels with our *Vounaros* amphora.³¹ This characteristic decoration of impressed circles with a central dot motif in combination with incised lines and rows of dots is considered formulaic and standard on the west coast,³² especially at the Kissonerga-*Ammoudhia* cemetery.³³

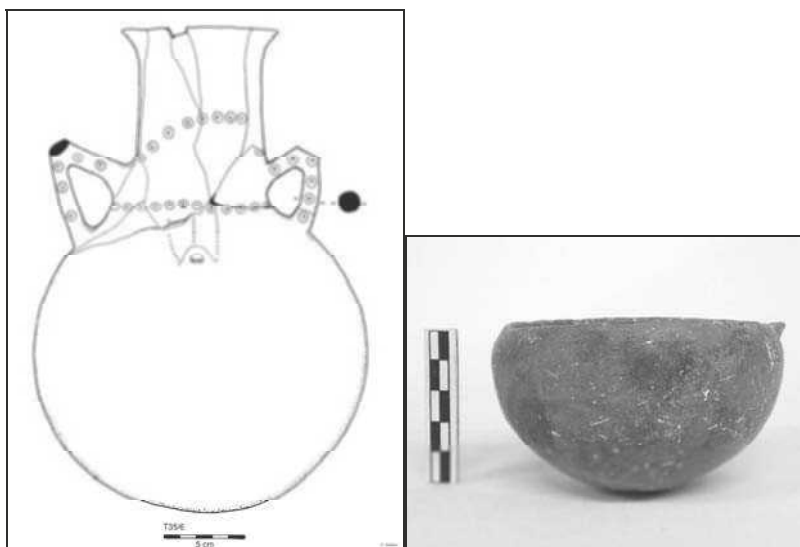


Figure 7. DP amphora from Tomb 35, T.35/6.

Figure 8: RP III Mottled ware bowl from Tomb 35, T.35/18.

²⁹ Karageorghis 1972, 357–358, fig. 43; Belgiorno 1997, T.21/62-15, 133, fig. 8: 15.

³⁰ Christou 1997, 895, fig. 18.

³¹ For a further discussion on the DP ware chronology and its occurrence in the west region see Graham 2012.

³² Graham 2012, 44, figs. 3.5, 3.6; Crewe et al. 2008, 112, fig. 10:4.

³³ Karageorghis 1973, 606–607, fig. 8; Karageorghis 1976, 861–861, figs. 43–44; Philip 1983, 49–53, fig. 13: 5,15.

Regarding the assemblage of small objects, a group of seven terracotta spindle whorls was found (fig. 9). Four of them are RP (T.35/4,7,9,14) with incised decoration, except for one (T.35/4). Nos. 7 and 14 are almost identical in shape, size and decoration, Crewe's type IIID4.³⁴ Both have four sets of three oblique parallel lines on the body and four sets of radiating lines on the flat end. Their parallels come from Tomb 231 at *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*,³⁵ from *Episkopi-Phaneromeni*,³⁶ from *Episkopi-Bamboula* EC-MC Tomb 98,³⁷ and from *Marki-Alonia*.³⁸ The other three spindle whorls (T.35/8,13,17) have a different conical shape, Crewe's type IB1 and IB4³⁹ and are decorated with incised linear and dot motifs. Their decoration and shape are comparable to examples from the south coast: *Episkopi-Phaneromeni* settlement C,⁴⁰ tombs in Kalavasos village,⁴¹ and *Sotira-Kaminoudhia*.⁴²

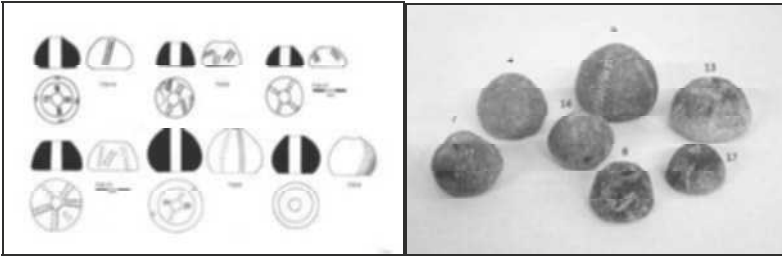


Figure 9. RP and BP clay spindle whorls from Tomb 35

Three picrolite disks were brought to light as well, one of which is decorated with four equally spaced circles-and-dot motif drilled on the upper surface (fig. 10). The latter's closest parallel can be traced to the *Lophou-Chomatsies* cemetery.⁴³ A disk of the same size and decoration with six instead of four circles, said to be of steatite, comes from *Episkopi-*

³⁴ Crewe 1998, 22.

³⁵ Bombardieri 2012a, fig. 14:T.231/1.

³⁶ Swiny 1986, fig. 70:TC11.

³⁷ Now in the British Museum, Reg. No. 1896,0201.46.

³⁸ Crewe 1998, fig. A2.25:P8468.

³⁹ Crewe 1998, 22.

⁴⁰ Swiny 1986, 101, fig. 70:TC24, TC61, TC30, TC10.

⁴¹ Crewe 1998, fig. A2.28.

⁴² Swiny et al. 2003, fig. 9.1:TC5.

⁴³ Herscher and Swiny 1992, 81, pl. XIV: 5, fig. 3:5.

Bamboula Tomb 98.⁴⁴ Two more examples, made of steatite and bearing a more elaborated drilled decoration, come from Pyrgos⁴⁵ and from a MC tomb at Limassol-*Katholiki*.⁴⁶ The same decoration appears frequently on contemporary stone pendants or ornaments. The other two undecorated disks, one of the same (T.35/10) and the other (T.35/5) of a larger size, find their geographically closest parallels at Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*, Tomb 230,⁴⁷ at Lophou-*Chomatsies* cemetery,⁴⁸ at Lophou-*Koulaouzou*,⁴⁹ at Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*,⁵⁰ at Episkopi-*Bamboula* Tomb 98,⁵¹ and at Limassol-*Katholiki*, MC tomb.⁵² The use of these objects still remains uncertain despite the various suggestions as pendants, spindle whorls, buttons and toggles.⁵³ Herscher and Swiny have traced evidence supporting the pendant function, after having observed a slight groove on both sides of a picrolite disk from Lophou-*Chomatsies*. They considered these grooves as the wear marks of the thong used to hang the pendant. Despite this very helpful note, in *Vounaros*' examples there were no visible signs of wear and the question of their function still remains open. The larger disk (no. 5) (fig. 10) exhibits concentric and linear scratch marks made both by the drill during perforation and the tool used to flatten the lower surface. The two undecorated disks show a high polish on the upper surface, while their lower end was not even smoothed, suggesting that the latter was not intended to be visible. The decorated disk preserves the same treatment at both ends (even though the lower surface is very worn) and looks smoother and less burnished.

While cleaning the decorated picrolite disk (T.35/16), traces of red colour in two of its central dots were noticed. Were these "stains" related to organic remains or could they be evidence of painted decoration (traces of pigment) on the picrolite items used for personal adornment? However, no further analysis (microscopic or chemical) has been conducted on the object yet in order to confirm or disprove any of these hypotheses; hence, they will remain as such unless new evidence is found.

⁴⁴ Now in the British Museum, Reg. No, 1896,0201.52.

⁴⁵ Karageorghis 1967, 306, fig. 82.

⁴⁶ Karageorghis 1967, 305, fig. 89.

⁴⁷ Bombardieri 2009, 288, fig. 6:b.

⁴⁸ Herscher and Swiny 1992, 81, fig. 3:6, pl. XIV: 5.

⁴⁹ Violaris et al. forthcoming.

⁵⁰ Swiny 1986, 17, fig. 20:S16, S20.

⁵¹ Now in the British Museum, Reg.No. 1896,0201.51.

⁵² Karageorghis 1967, 306, fig. 89, third from left.

⁵³ Crewe 1998, 9, 113; Herscher and Swiny 1992, 81.

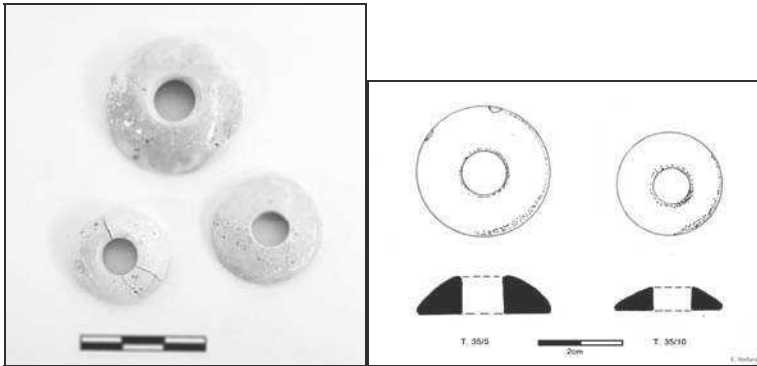


Figure 10. Picrolite disks from Tomb 35

The assemblage of Tomb 35 points to an EC III/MC I dating, common of the South coast of the island and of which many parallels can be traced from the tombs in nearby *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou*. Especially Tomb 231 at *Laonin* provides the greatest degree of similarity regarding the ceramics, and the presence of small objects such as picrolite disks and spindle whorls among the burial gifts. More precisely, an interesting coherence between the two tombs can be observed in the quantity of the spindle whorls (seven from each tomb) and the presence of picrolite disks (three from *Vounaros* Tomb 35 and two from *Laonin* Tomb 231), where in both cases one was decorated.

Tomb 1

While analyzing the material assemblage from Tomb 35 we came across another unpublished tomb excavated in 1990 by the Department of Antiquities and for which we were granted permission to study. As stated above, the discovery of this tomb and some of its grave goods were reported in a short note in the *ARDAC* 1991 and *BCH* 115, registered as Tomb 1 *Vounaros*.⁵⁴

Tomb 1 was found accidentally during bulldozing operations for the provision of electricity supply in the area; it was excavated by the technician of the Limassol District Museum, Mr. Odysseas Michael. A brief description of the circumstances of its discovery, including some observations about the tomb's architecture, a preliminary catalogue of the finds, a site plan locating the tomb, and plans of the tomb floor showing

⁵⁴ Papageorgiou 1991a, 71, figs. 67–69; Papageorgiou 1991b, 794, figs. 21–23.

the grave goods and the sections accompanied the tomb report. The site plan places Tomb 1 approximately 150 m west of Tomb 35 and 350 m east of the *Laonin tou Porakou* site.

The tomb chamber was cut into the soft limestone bedrock. Part of its roof had been cut away by the bulldozer. The shape of the chamber is ovoid to circular (1.70 × 2 m) with a cave-like section (max. preserved height 0.90 m). There was an opening (width 0.70 m) on the east part of the walls that was probably connected to the dromos, but the lack of any other details and plans indicates that the tomb was not further excavated. No skeletal remains were reported or drawn, while the grave goods were found scattered around the tomb's floor and not arranged in a specific order.

Tomb 1: material assemblage from the offering deposit

The assemblage of Tomb 1 consists of seventeen catalogued objects (fig. 15): two RP IV punctured juglets (T.1/1,3), two cooking vessels (T.1/2, 11-3), one *pyxis* of RP mottled ware, five RP hemispherical bowls (T.1/5,7,8,11-4,11-5), one RP mottled hemispherical bowl (T.1/10), one DP anthropomorphic jar, two RP jugs, one deep RP bowl, one DP spouted jug and one clay spindle whorl. Among the material found in the tomb, the uncatalogued sherds of RP, DP and RP Punctured ware add some new shapes and decorative styles to the ceramic repertoire.



Figure 11. Ceramic assemblage from Tomb 1

The decoration of the RP punctured juglets (T1/1,3, fig. 12, 13), with fine incised linear motifs and impressed circles, is frequently attested on DP, RP, BP and BS wares during the MC period in the south coast: at

Limassol-*Ayios Nicolaos* T.1/24, T.4/6,⁵⁵ Anoyira,⁵⁶ Avdimou,⁵⁷ Pyrgos,⁵⁸ Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*,⁵⁹ and Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*.⁶⁰

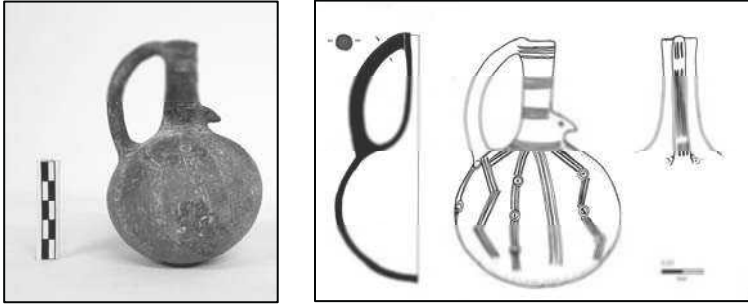


Figure 12. RP punctured juglet from Tomb 1, T.1/1

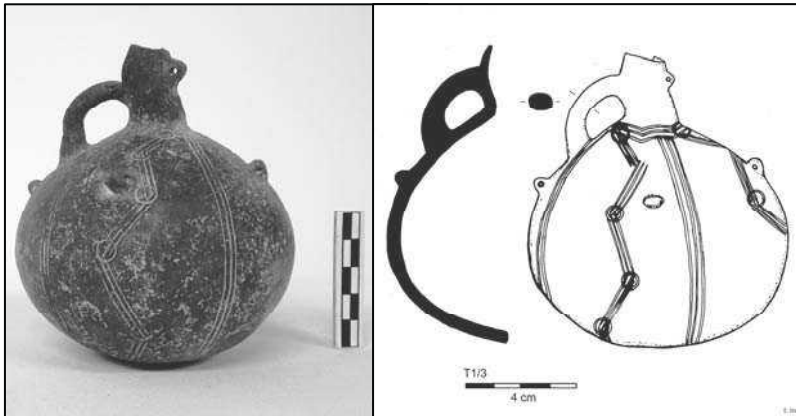


Figure 13. RP punctured juglet from Tomb 1, T.1/3

⁵⁵ Karageorghis 1958, 144, 146, figs. 27:24, 29:6.

⁵⁶ Karageorghis 1978, 893, fig. 38; Swiny 1979, fig. 84:48.

⁵⁷ Herscher 1976, 19, pl. V:7n.

⁵⁸ Karageorghis 1971, 357, fig. 43; Christou 1994, 657, fig. 26, T.21/23,62-15; Belgiorno 2002, 125, 133, figs. 5:23, 8:15.

⁵⁹ T.228/36, Bombardieri et al. 2009, 139, fig. 26.

⁶⁰ Swiny 1979, fig. 87:45.

The shape of the juglet T.1/1 (fig. 12) belongs to the Type CVIII from Kalavassos tomb 5⁶¹ and occurs also at Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*.⁶² Herscher uses this type of juglet as evidence for a MC dating of the previously excavated Kalavassos tomb. She also uses the material from Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*, comparable to that from Limassol-*Ayios Nicolaos*, as an indicator of the latter's dating to the end of MC and the beginning of LC IA.

The small *pyxis* of RP IV Mottled ware (T. 1/4, fig. 14), with fine incised decoration and four perforations below the rim, is comparable to RP IV Punctured ware in the Phylactou Collection, dated to MC III.⁶³ Its shape also recalls a BS II rounded, deep bowl with punctured decoration, similarly perforated below the rim, dated to the transitional MC-LCI period, and found in Tomb 228 at nearby *Laonin tou Porakou*.⁶⁴

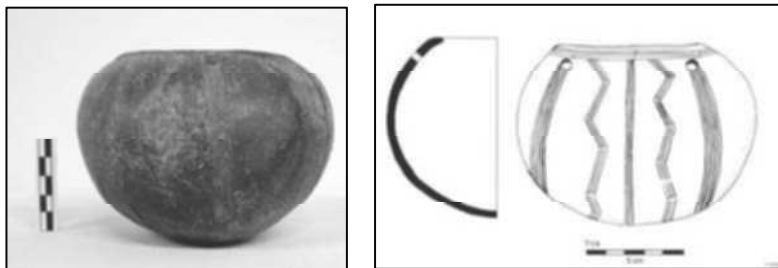


Figure 14. RP IV *Pyxis* from Tomb 1, T.1/4

The RP IV globular jug (T.1/11-1, fig. 15) with cutaway curving rim bears fine incised linear decoration, knob-like projections on the body and one pierced lug on the front mid-neck. Similar examples come from Kalavassos,⁶⁵ Pyrgos,⁶⁶ Avdimou⁶⁷ and Alassa.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Karageorghis 1958, 141.

⁶² Herscher 1976, 13, pl. II:4.

⁶³ Karageorghis 2010, 39, cat. no. 31.

⁶⁴ Bombardieri 2009, 139, fig. 29.

⁶⁵ Karageorghis Type BV, 1958, 140, fig. 22: T.8/39 dated to the end of MC; Herscher 1976, 13.

⁶⁶ Belgiorno 2002, 135, fig. 5:19.

⁶⁷ Herscher 1976, 18, pl. V: 6.

⁶⁸ Flourentzos 1991, 11, pl. XVI: 33.



Figure 15. RP IV globular jug, T.1/11-1

Figure 16. RP ware cooking pot (tankard), T.1/11-2

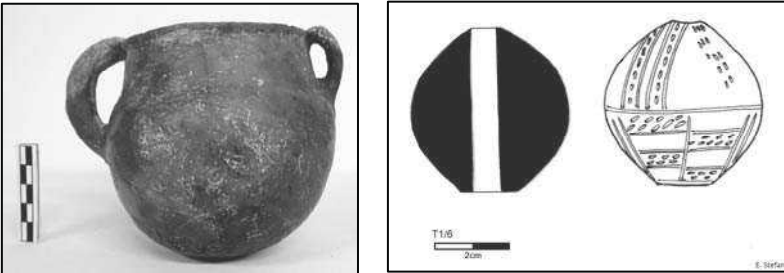


Figure 17. RP ware cooking pot, T.1/2.

Figure 18. Clay spindle whorl from Tomb 1, T.1/6

Two RP ware cooking pots of different sizes were also found in the tomb. They both have a rounded base, short neck, flaring rim and two asymmetrical vertical handles.⁶⁹ The largest one (T.1/11-3, fig. 16) has a parallel tankard of RP IV ware at Alassa T.1.⁷⁰ The smaller (T.1/2, fig. 17) is similar to Stewart's RP III Coarse ware cooking pot from Vouvous.⁷¹

Only one clay spindle whorl was found in Tomb 1 (T.1/6, fig. 18). The BS (?) spindle whorl is biconical, Crewe's type IIC3 (1998, 113), and it

⁶⁹ For a discussion about the two-handed cooking pots found at Marki-Alonia, attributed to the EC III–MC I/II see Frankel and Webb 2006, 135–136.

⁷⁰ Flourentzos 1991, pl. XIV:10.

⁷¹ Stewart 1962, fig. CXXII:6.

displays incised linear decoration. Its counterparts come from Limassol-*Ayios Nicolaos*,⁷² *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* T.228,⁷³ *Alassa* T.1,⁷⁴ *Episkopi-Phaneromeni*⁷⁵ and *Erimi-Kafkalla*.

Also of great interest is a small-sized anthropomorphic amphoriskos in DP ware (T.1/9, fig.19). It bears incised linear decoration on its body and neck, while the facial features on the upper neck are rendered in relief (eyebrows, pointed nose/beak) and the eyes with punctures, recalling Stewart's juglets group IB1c Type h3 with anthropomorphic relief and incised decoration (Vounous Tomb 64, 110).⁷⁶ Of the triple pierced ears, one is missing. Vessels with human features (incised, in relief or painted) occur frequently in funerary contexts especially during the MC and LC periods in many sites all around the island, and some parallels can be drawn from the *Pyrgos* EC II–MC II T.2⁷⁷ and T.21,⁷⁸ from *Episkopi-Bamboula* T.59⁷⁹ and *Alassa* MCII tomb 1.⁸⁰

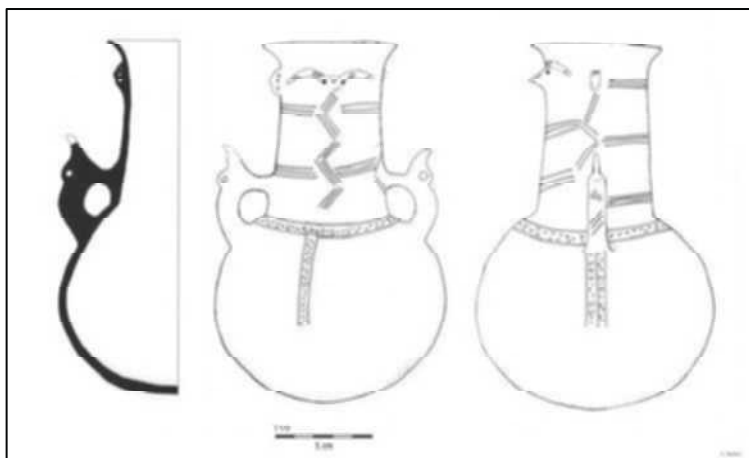


Figure 19. DP anthropomorphic amphoriskos from Tomb 1, T.1/9

⁷² Karageorghis 1958, 144, fig. 27:4,21.

⁷³ Bombardieri 2010, 42, fig. 15.

⁷⁴ Flourentzos 1991, 12, pl. XVII: 44.

⁷⁵ Swiny 1986, Type1a, fig. 68:TC156, 45, fig. 69:TC128.

⁷⁶ Stewart 1988, 84, fig. 19:3.

⁷⁷ Belgiorno 2002, 19, fig.8:35.

⁷⁸ Belgiorno 1997, 131, cat. no. 62/14, fig. 8:14.

⁷⁹ Hadjisavvas 2001, 749.

⁸⁰ Flourentzos 1992, 11, pl. XVI: 39.

Tomb 37

The partial collapse of the northeastern wall of the chamber of T.35 revealed the existence of another rock-cut tomb, T.37. The architecture of this tomb is very similar to the typical chamber tombs found in the plot. The burial chamber of T.37 has an irregular ovoid shape and a *stomion* of the same diameter as that of T.35, located on the north side (fig. 20). In the south wall of T.37 another opening was found filled with dense soil and stones, most probably connected with the later history of this tomb. Only a small part of the original roof was preserved at a maximum height of 1.10 m., after its collapse due to the excavation of the chamber and the weight of the threshing floor slabs.

The tomb chamber was completely filled with soil and limestones that probably penetrated from the unsealed opening in the south. From this upper stratum the skeletal remains of a likely disturbed inhumation were collected. Found on the floor level were the skeletal remains of two individuals in extended position in north-south orientation, the skulls facing south. The preliminary anthropological examination indicates the presence of at least three individuals: two adult males and one adult of undetermined sex. The two males belong to the final floor deposit and could be associated with the final use, whereas the unidentified bones were collected from the upper fill, possibly washed into the chamber at a later phase. For the disturbance of the tomb's stratigraphy, apart from the re-use and presumable looting in antiquity, another factor to be considered is the root disturbance that occurred to a lesser extent in T.35. The finds from T.37 were very few, and only a handful of RP ware sherds were recovered. Instead, a Hellenistic unguentarium (fig. 24) was found on the floor deposit, close to the skeletal remains, as well as a limestone tombstone. It seems that the opening in the south confirms its use during the Hellenistic period.

The architecture and the *stomion* of the tomb definitely point to an Early-Middle Cypriot date for its first use. The lack of Bronze Age burial gifts can be viewed in conjunction with the Hellenistic re-use of the chamber and the cut of an additional entrance to the south. What should be established, hopefully in the future with radiocarbon dating, is whether the two internments date to the second use of the tomb, a fact that could be reinforced by the recovery of the unguentarium on the same floor level.

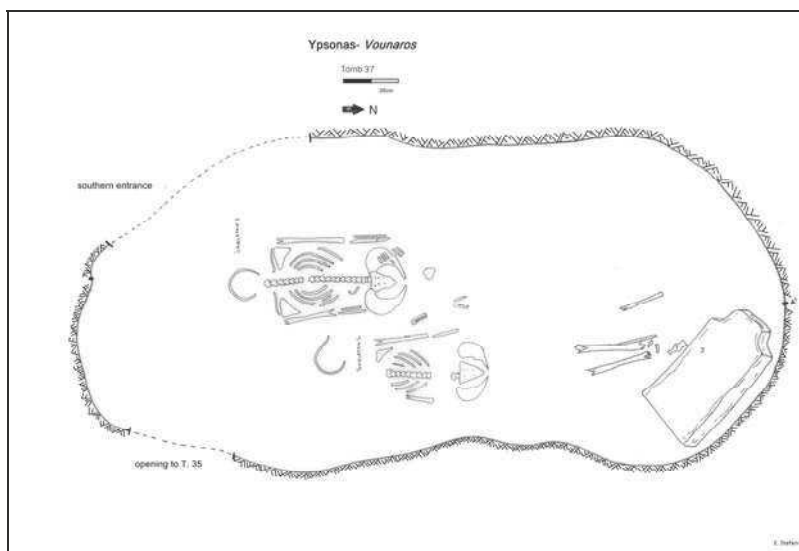


Figure 20. Floor plan of Tomb 37

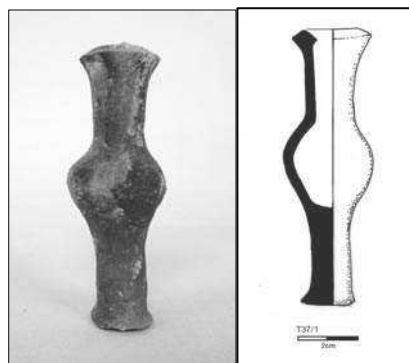


Figure 21. The sole ceramic find from Tomb 37: a Hellenistic unguentarium, T.37/1

Tomb 36

Found in the same plot, only about 15 m south of T.35 was a typical Hellenistic/Roman tomb, T.36. It is a common rock-cut rectangular tomb measuring 3.20×2.75 m with an opening on the south side. It only

survived the levelling of the ground because it was initially cut into a lower part of the hill, following its southern slope. Unfortunately, the tomb had been partially looted and its roof had been destroyed by the bulldozer, so its height could not be determined. When found, the tomb was filled to the top with crushed stones and topsoil. Its entrance, was filled with stones and soil, which were not removed, and so its *dromos* was not investigated.

When removing the debris from inside the tomb some sherds of amphorae and a small clay unguentarium were collected (T.37/1). Only the eastern side of the tomb was found undisturbed with the grave goods lying all over the floor among the fragmentary dispersed skeletal remains (fig. 22). Sixteen objects were found: eleven Hellenistic clay unguentaria, two Hellenistic amphorae, one cooking pot, a glass juglet, and a clay mould-made oil lamp with a stag motif decoration on the discus (fig. 23).

All of the finds point to a Late Hellenistic/Early Roman date for the tomb. The tomb must have been used for multiple burials, but only a few, very fragmented skeletal remains were recovered. The anthropological examination revealed the inhumation of at least four individuals, but their fragmented state made it impossible to determine their sex and age.



Figure 22. Tomb 36 with the finds in the eastern part

Tomb 36: material assemblage from the offering deposit

The greatest part of the ceramic assemblage of T.37 is constituted by fusiform unguentaria of Plain White ware. Of the eleven catalogued unguentaria, four are fragmentarily preserved, and ten are of White Painted ware. They homogeneously share a fusiform shape, commonly attested during the Hellenistic period in Cyprus and throughout the Mediterranean.⁸¹ As a whole, they are comparable with the Plain Buff ware types, falling into the Later Types' classification by J. W. Hayes for the unguentaria from Paphos.⁸² They are made of fine-grained clay with some white (lime grit) and dark inclusions, and they display a treatment on their surface (surface wash). Their large number might indicate the importance of their use during the funerary rites or as gifts to the deceased, containing perfumed oils and unguents (from which their name derives).



Figure 23. Assemblage from Tomb 36

The cooking pot (T.36/6, fig. 23: first from left) is also a common find in the Hellenistic and Roman tombs; similar examples were found in Paphos, dating to the 2nd century B.C. (Hayes 1991, fig. XXX) and in Roman tombs at "Kambi" Vasa.⁸³

The amphoriskos of Coarse ware (T.36/8, fig. 24) represents a form

⁸¹ Hayes 1991, 68.

⁸² Hayes 1991, 71, 72, pl. XVI.

⁸³ Taylor 1958, 35, fig. 12:C.

common during the Hellenistic period (3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.). A close parallel with broad shoulder and pointed base is supplied by a Coarse ware amphoriskos from a Hellenistic tomb in Pegeia.⁸⁴

The two-handled jar of Plain White ware (T.36/11, fig. 25) recalls the Plain ware amphoriskos from Maloutena (Paphos), dating to the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century B.C.⁸⁵ It also has very close affinities in size and shape with a Hellenistic polychrome jar, found in Tomb 68 at Kourion (Site E), now in the British Museum.⁸⁶

The Red Slip ware is confined to one mould-made lamp (T.36/12, fig. 26) with a stag motif on the discus. The shape is typical of the Roman period. The same decoration motif, with a prancing stag facing right (common in Cyprus), occurs on a plain lamp dating to the 1st century A.D. in the Semitic Museum at Harvard University,⁸⁷ on a lamp from the Pierides collection⁸⁸ and on a lamp found in a Roman tomb at Kandou-*Kokkinospilios*.⁸⁹

The uncatalogued finds include sherds of Plain White and Coarse ware of a lagynos, jugs and amphora, and glass fragments of a Roman beaker. The material assemblage from Tomb 36 points to a late Hellenistic–early Roman date (between the 2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.D.).



Figure 24. Amphoriskos, T.36/8

Figure 25. Two-handled jar, T. 36/11

Figure 26. Red Slip lamp, T.36/12

⁸⁴ Raptou et al. 2002, 203, pl. 2:16.

⁸⁵ Papuci-Władyka 1995, 76, fig. 6:1.

⁸⁶ Online catalogue, Reg. No. 1896,0201.128.

⁸⁷ Online catalogue, Reg. No. 1995.10.991.

⁸⁸ Oziol 1993, 44, fig. 10:57, with bibliographical references.

⁸⁹ Karageorghis 1988, 798, 200, fig. 12.

4. Aspects of the EC–MC funerary evidence

The new evidence from the Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* and Ypsonas-*Vounaros* funerary area can finally contribute to adding further elements to the overall—even though still quite fragmentary—picture of the EC/MC period on the south coast region. The analysis of offering assemblages and funerary architecture, as well the evidence of the burial deposits, clearly indicate a regional sphere of production and influences.

The connection of the two funerary areas, *Laonin tou Porakou* Area E and *Vounaros*, to the *Laonin tou Porakou* settlement is straightforward. The proximity of the two, only 400 m apart, and the similarities between the ceramic types and the decorative styles, as well as the presence of picrolite items and spindle-whorls of the same typology, reinforce this assumption and extend sufficiently the catchment area of the site at *Laonin tou Porakou* during the EC III/MC III. All this evidence only suggests that *Vounaros* could be treated as the eastern border of the same site.

What remains to be determined is whether we are presented with a picture of two distinct tomb clusters or tombs of the same cemetery. Both possibilities though extend the possible burial ground (or grounds) of the nearby *Laonin tou Porakou* settlement sufficiently pointing to an expansive necropolis.

At the moment we have come across two scarce tomb clusters at a short distance from each other. Is this due to lack of archaeological visibility of the area in between, or was there an intentional distinction between the two groups of tombs? All of the tombs seem to encircle and landmark the settlement site of *Laonin tou Porakou*. The tombs excavated by the Italian mission (tombs 228–230, 231–232, 241, 247–248) establish its southern border, while T.35 (inc. A–F), T.37 and T.1 marks its northern border.

J. E. Coleman's point⁹⁰ should be mentioned here, that possible discontinuities in the distribution of tombs may exist in view of the different tomb architecture or of limitations of the local terrain, but this does not seem to be the case at *Vounaros/Laonin tou Porakou*, since the local *havara*/limestone terrain continues without any variability along the hill, and the tombs appear to be quite uniform in shape. Even though there are some indications that the cemetery Area E extends eastward towards *Vounaros*, at the moment until further archaeological work is undertaken both possibilities should remain open and their social implications should be considered in conjunction with the finds.

⁹⁰ Coleman 1996, 113.

The evidence from both funerary areas does not show any clear indication of a (hierarchical) social diversification.

Even though dimension variability and the presence of peculiar architectural features (such as the carved bench in the larger Tomb 248)⁹¹ could appear to be reflecting an “intra-community distinction in status”, as suggested for earlier contexts like Psematismenos,⁹² the pattern of burial gifts deposited with the dead is almost uniform in all tombs, and there is no evidence for status claim through increased mortuary expenditure.

If a correlation does exist between the funerary contexts of *Laonin tou Porakou* and *Vounaros* and the social structures of their parent settlement, then the “broad homogeneity in burial practice [...] [is] consistent with a low level of socioeconomic differentiation”.⁹³

Thus, the possibility for viewing the “mortuary ritual as an occasion for prestige competition and the negotiation of social identities at the local level”⁹⁴ remains difficult to ascertain.

What is intriguing to consider is that *Laonin tou Porakou* area E is contemporary with both phases of the workshop in area A.⁹⁵ Since the *Vounaros* tombs share the same chronology, is it possible to suggest that the extensive burial ground with the more elaborate “proto-ashlar” architecture of the workshop complex⁹⁶ point to the existence of an increasingly thriving settlement site involved in the first stages of an industrialized economy, which fully evolved elsewhere in the LC period?

The question that still remains concerns the relationships and the bonds of the deceased buried in the same chamber and/or within the same tomb cluster. A large debate has been dedicated to kinship ties as the moving power of development in the EC/MC periods.⁹⁷ The very close proximity of the tombs at *Vounaros* (T.35, 35A, 35B, 35C, 35D, 35E, 35F and T.37) could highlight a form of linkage between the individuals interred, but also of the living who chose to bury their dead so closely together. In such a landscape, where the terrain favoured the carving of tombs over a span of several kilometres, this observation could be treated as a conscious practice of linking and/or preserving familial links and, therefore, preserving and reinforcing these bonds in the future.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Bombardieri et al. 2011, 94.

⁹² Georgiou et al. 2011, 356.

⁹³ Davies 1997, 22.

⁹⁴ Keswani 2004, 38.

⁹⁵ Bombardieri 2012b, 61.

⁹⁶ Bombardieri et al. in this volume.

⁹⁷ Frankel 1988; Knapp 1994; Keswani 2004.

⁹⁸ Keswani 2004, 55.

Alternatively other researchers have proposed different views on the reasons why chambers contained multiple burials, taking into consideration more practical aspects, such as increasingly crowded cemeteries, with some having been in sequential use for many generations⁹⁹ and the contemporaneity of death.¹⁰⁰

In T.35 the deceased were found in anatomical positions, thus suggesting a contemporaneity of death. It is only natural that if such a small chamber was re-opened after several years, the remains of the previous skeleton would be pushed aside and swept from the centre in order to make room for the next burial. In addition, the grave goods found next to the skeletal remains do not present a wide chronological range.

If contemporaneity of death is the only reason for multiple interments, then tombs of roughly the same chronology would be clustered together and would be separated geographically to previous or later clusters of tombs.¹⁰¹ The present evidence from the two sites does not reveal such a geographical distinction (contemporary tombs located on both upper and lower terraces at *Laonin tou Porakou*, Area E).

As to the nature and the significance of the spindle-whorls, it has been suggested that they are possible gender indicators of the deceased. Whether activities like spinning and weaving were indeed practised by women and the presence in the funerary contexts of material connected with them, such as spindle whorls, could imply a gender diversification, should be considered with caution, since there is still much to be learnt about the mortuary behaviour expressed in the presence or absence of specific objects in burial offerings¹⁰² and about their connection with the socio-economic organisation of village communities during the EC and MC periods. L. Crewe also refers to P. Davies' study of mortuary variability and notes that no tomb with only male burials had spindle whorls,¹⁰³ while J. Webb includes spindle whorls among the sex-specific objects.¹⁰⁴

It seems that the evidence from *Vounaros'* Tomb 35 does not show differential treatment between the male and the female burials. Tomb 35 is the only example from the area (both *Vounaros* and *Laonin tou Porakou*) where seven spindle whorls were found in conjunction with skeletal

⁹⁹ Davies 1997, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Webb 1992.

¹⁰¹ e.g. Paramali-*Pharkonia* North and South cemeteries: Herscher and Swiny 1992,75; Bellapais Vounous A and B: Keswani 2004, 40.

¹⁰² Crewe 1998, 36; Webb 1992, 88–90.

¹⁰³ Crewe 1998, 36–37.

¹⁰⁴ Webb 1992, 90.

remains. Can this difference be associated with the number of females buried? In the view of a statistical analysis from both Laonin Area E tombs and *Vounaros*, it can be derived that in each female burial 2–3 spindle whorls were recovered among the burial gifts.

Therefore, having also the evidence from T.35, can we suggest that spindle-whorls, associated with household (more feminine) activities could indicate their symbolism as feminine paraphernalia and were offered to the women as a constant reminder of their role in the afterlife?

Drawing our attention to the evidence of the rituals and burial practices observed, these can only be traced from the single undisturbed chamber Tomb 35. Found between and on top of the bones and the burial gifts were some medium- and large-sized worked and unworked limestones (fig. 6). These could have fallen from the *stomion*, since they were found dispersed irregularly on the deposit floor surface or above the bones, causing their fracture; in any case, the practice of “throwing” stones in the tomb chamber is also attested in contemporary burial contexts at Avdimou-Kamaries,¹⁰⁵ Kalavassos, Sotira-Kaminoudhia¹⁰⁶ and Mesoyi-Katarraktis.¹⁰⁷

Additionally, in the case of Tomb 35, the hemispherical bowls were all found in conjunction with the skulls (fig. 3). Webb¹⁰⁸ notes that sometimes in EC/MC burials the bowls were found near the skull or the feet of the deceased, turned upside down. Similar evidence come from *Laonin tou Porakou* Tomb 231, where a vertical stone slab subdivides the burial chamber, separating the space of the inhumation from the offering deposit. In this case also, only two RP bowls were in the inhumation area.¹⁰⁹ According to Åström these vessels in inverted position could be an indication of the funerary ritual practice of libation or offering.

Vounaros, as any typical burial ground of the EC/MC, fulfilled all of the “criteria” of the society that it served: close proximity with a contemporary settlement site, easy access, security, and suitable terrain for carving the underground chambers.¹¹⁰ *Vounaros* tombs, in conjunction with the excavations at *Laonin tou Porakou*, undeniably provide us with new insights and understanding of the Early–Middle Bronze Age occupation of the Kouris valley. They bring closer together otherwise isolated tomb clusters with their possible settlement area and broaden our knowledge of the Bronze Age Cypriot society.

¹⁰⁵ Vavouranakis and Magginis 1995, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Swiny et al. 2003, 123, fig. 3.4.

¹⁰⁷ Herscher and Fox 1993, 69, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Webb 1992, 91–92.

¹⁰⁹ Bombardieri 2012, 9.

¹¹⁰ Webb 1992, 87.

Having presented and discussed the funerary evidence from the area, we would like to return to the very beginning of this paper and mention once more the circumstances that led to the excavation of this group of tombs. The tombs at *Vounaros* were found accidentally during bulldozing operations for the construction of a house in the area. The Department of Antiquities was called after six of the tombs had been almost completely destroyed and their material lost. The rescue excavation of the rest of the tombs was conducted in a very short time under difficult conditions.

Cyprus has been rapidly developing in the last decades, and numerous construction projects are being carried out in many parts of the island, the conduction of which is not easily controlled. Most of the ancient tombs were found in the last years during building activities, and many others have surely been destroyed unbeknownst to the Department of Antiquities. The data deriving from rescue excavations is often scarce because of the irretrievable damage already caused on the archaeological (and in this case mortuary) record. Furthermore, at nearby *Laonin tou Porakou* site, some tombs have also been illegally opened and excavated.

The scarcity of the material recovered after such interventions causes difficulties for an approach to the historical reality of the prehistoric Bronze Age and for the identification of important social and chronological patterns.

5. Bronze Age to Hellenistic/Roman period: issues of historical continuity?

Taking into consideration the evidence from both tomb T.36 and the reused tomb T.37, a connection between the EC–MC and the Hellenistic/Roman period becomes apparent, a connection that we can detect on the basis of the reuse of the prehistoric tombs as well as with the construction of new tombs in very close proximity to the older ones. This behaviour on its own raises a number of questions concerning the ideological implications—if any—of these practices.

One can claim that the Bronze Age tombs already carved into the bedrock were a fast, effortless and efficient context for the internment of the dead. Once detected, these tombs would ideally serve the local Hellenistic/Roman communities, especially since they would still uphold their initial funerary purpose. These “carvings” would have been exploited and their initial finds removed.

If this should be the situation though, then why did the local Hellenistic/Roman communities not take advantage of all of the tombs of the Bronze Age period? The reused Tomb 37 that we excavated is located

right next to the unlooted Tomb 35; we realized the existence of Tomb 37 from the partial collapse of the chamber walls of Tomb 35!

Here we stress the fact that another six Bronze Age tombs were destroyed and the material we collected was a mix of Bronze Age wares and a few Hellenistic/Roman sherds, which might point to the reuse or the existence of at least another Hellenistic/Roman tomb among the destroyed ones. The possibility though exists that Tomb 37 (and possibly other(s) among the destroyed tombs), having been looted in a previous period and being found empty in the Hellenistic/Roman period, was re-used. But even so, why would members of the local Hellenistic/Roman community have carved a new Hellenistic tomb (T.36), at such close proximity to the other tombs if the area as a whole did not hold some significance to them?

What we are implying is the possibility of a further connection, associated with the reuse of tombs in the Hellenistic/Roman world. Was this a conscious effort to establish a connection with the tombs of the ancestors through the use of a common burial – familial ground?

The importance of ancestral lineage in Roman society is attested in written sources of the period as well as the material record.¹¹¹ This proposal should be viewed in conjunction with the present evidence from tombs excavated at the nearby cemeteries of *Erimi-Kafkalla* and *Erimi-Pitharka*. Inside some tombs of the Middle Bronze Age at *Kafkalla* there were also artefacts of the Hellenistic–Roman period, while at *Pitharka* a tomb of Hellenistic–Roman date with prehistoric architectural features was excavated. Radiocarbon dating of a prehistoric tomb at *Erimi-Kafkalla* has produced a date ranging from the 3rd to the 6th century A.D., which also strengthens our assumptions (Scirè Calabrisotto et al. forthcoming).

Through the observations presented here it seems that *Vounaros* was not the only funerary site chosen by the Hellenistic/Roman society of the territory, even though we are not aware if such re-use was being implemented elsewhere on Cyprus. Could this practice, attested at *Erimi* and *Vounaros*, provide a glimpse of the belief system of the local Hellenistic/Roman communities? On the other hand, we may note that the tombs excavated at *Laonin tou Porakou* did not show traces of re-use in later periods, even though such evidence exists from surface collection in the settlement area.¹¹² Hopefully, further archaeological research in the territory will shed light on the questions raised by the excavation of *Vounaros*' tombs.

¹¹¹ Hekster 2009.

¹¹² Bombardieri 2012b.

6. Catalogue of finds

Tomb 35

1. Gourd juglet of Red Polished III ware. Mended handle, slip faded on parts of the body. Ovoid to globular body, rounded base, cylindrical neck, flaring rim, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, circular in section. Orange/red lustre worn slip, white-filled incised decoration with geometric motifs: multi-linear horizontal zigzags with vertical banded diamonds on body. H. 10 cm, Body D. 6.5 cm (fig. 5).
2. Large spouted bowl of Red Polished III–IV ware. Mended from several fragments. Parts of body and rim missing. Rounded base, plain rounded rim, one ledge handle pierced twice below rim opposite the tubular spout. H. 15.5 cm, Rim D. 37.5 cm.
3. Jug of Red Polished III Mottled ware. Upper part mended from five sherds. Parts of neck missing. Ovoid body, cutaway spout, rounded base, cylindrical neck, handle from rim to shoulder, ovoid in section. Thick walls. Incised white-filled decoration on upper body, shoulder and handle consisting of parallel oblique lines and zigzags. Four breast-like projections on mid-body. On both sides of neck, beside the handle, two relief crescents with incised strokes (one side missing). H. 17.5 cm, Body D. 10.5 cm (fig. 6).
4. Terracotta spindle-whorl of Red Polished ware. Complete. Spherical, with curved carination and convex side, flat lower end, undecorated. H. 3 cm, D. 3 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.
5. Picrolite disk. Complete. Depressed conical body with central perforation. High lustre on upper surface, visible scratch marks on the flattened surface. Concentric scratch marks made by drill on the perforation. H. 1 cm, D. 3 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.
6. Drab Polished amphora. Upper part mended from several sherds. Tip of rim and tips of horned handles missing. Worn and chipped surface. Globular body, round base, high tubular neck with flaring rounded rim. Vertical handles from lower part of neck to shoulder, ovoid in section, with horned projections (one partly and other totally missing). Decoration consists of impressed circles with central dot on the neck, base of neck and handles. Three vertical rows of dots from the base of the neck to the perforated lug on shoulder, between handles. H. 30 cm, Rim D. 10 cm, Body D. 18.5 cm.
7. Terracotta spindle-whorl of Red Polished ware. Complete. Spherical body with convex sides and flat base. Decorated with four sets of three oblique parallel lines. H. 3 cm, D. 2.5 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.
8. Terracotta spindle whorl of Black Polished ware. Conical with convex sides and one end flattened. Incised decoration consisting of two opposing sets of two oblique lines alternating with herringbone pattern. H. 2 cm, D. 3 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.
9. Terracotta spindle whorl of Red Polished ware. Spherical with convex sides and one flat end. Incised decoration: two sets of vertical double lines alternating with vertical double dotted lines on body. On flat end: two sets of triple

vertical lines alternating with dotted double lines. H. 4 cm, D. 3.5 cm, Hole D. 1.5 cm.

10. Picrolite disk. Complete. Conical body with convex sides and flat ends. Complete, hole slightly off centre. Undecorated, high lustre on the upper surface; less visible are the concentric circles of the drilling on the lower flat end. Slightly off-centre perforation. H. 0.5, Max. D. 2, Hole D. 1.

11. Bowl of Red Polished IV ware. Complete. Hemispherical body, rounded base, incurved thinning rounded rim, horizontal lug on side, below the rim. H. 4 cm, Rim D. 8.5 cm.

12. Bowl of Red Polished ware. Complete. Deep hemispherical body, rounded base, incurving thinning rounded rim, pierced lug on side. H. 8.5 cm, Rim D. 12 cm.

13. Terracotta spindle whorl of Black Polished ware. Complete. Conical body with both ends flat. Incised decoration: double oblique dashes alternating with vertical double dotted line on body. On flat end two sets of radiating dotted lines and four radiating dotted lines framed by parallel lines. H. 2.5 cm, Max. D. 4.5 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.

14. Terracotta spindle whorl of Red Polished ware. Complete. Spherical body with convex sides and one flat end. Incised decoration of four sets of oblique lines on body and four sets of radiating lines on flat end.

15. Bowl of Red Polished IV ware. Complete. Hemispherical body, rounded base, incurving thinning rounded rim, horizontal lug on side, below rim. H. 8.5 cm, Rim D. 13 cm.

16. Picrolite disk. Mended from three fragments. Depressed conical body with central perforation. Medium lustre, decorated with four drilled circles and dot motif, equally spaced around the upper surface. Traces of red colour in fill of dots in the circles. H. 0.5 cm, Max. D. 2.5 cm.

17. Terracotta spindle whorl of Black Polished ware. Complete. Conical body with convex sides and one flat end. Incised decoration consisting of four sets of three parallel oblique grooves on body. On flat end three sets of double radiating lines. H. 1.5 cm, D. 3 cm, Hole D. 0.8 cm.

18. Bowl of Red Polished Mottled ware. Complete hemispherical body, small circular hollow base, incurving thinning rounded rim. Two rim projections with parallel incised lines. H. 5 cm, Rim D. 8 cm (fig. 7).

Tomb 1

1. Juglet of RP Punctured ware. Complete. Globular depressed body, small narrow neck, handle from rim to shoulder. Incised decoration of parallel vertical and zigzag lines and impressed circles. H. 11.3 cm, Rim D. 1.8 cm, Body D. 7.8 cm.

2. Two-handed cooking pot. Complete. Ovoid to globular body, rounded base, low neck and flaring rim. Asymmetrical vertical handles. H. 10.5 cm, Rim D. 9.2 cm.

3. Juglet of RP IV Punctured ware. Upper neck and rim missing. Squat globular body, rounded base, cylindrical neck, cutaway curving rim, handle from

rim to shoulder, four pierced lugs around the shoulder and one at front mid-neck. Incised decoration (vertical and zigzag parallel lines and impressed circles) and multiple line decoration. Preserved H. 10.8 cm, Body D. 9.5 cm.

4. *Pyxis* of Red Polished IV Mottled ware. Globular body, round opening, plain rim, rounded base. Incised linear decoration of parallel vertical lines and zigzags. Four perforations below the rim. H. 9.5 cm, Rim D. 7.5 cm.

5. Hemispherical bowl of Red Polished ware. Chipped rim. H. 8 cm, Rim D. 16.5 cm.

6. Terracotta spindle whorl of BS (?) ware. One-third of body missing. Biconical body with curved carination, central vertical piercing, decorated with incised vertical dashed lines framed by parallel lines on the upper part and angled dashes in horizontal frames on the other half; white fill. Incised line around the circumference. H. 4.3 cm, Max. D. 4.3 cm, Hole D. 1 cm.

7. Bowl of Red Polished ware. Chipped rim. Hemispherical body, rounded base, perforated knob lug below rim. H. 8.5 cm, Rim D. 16.5 cm.

8. Bowl of Red Polished ware. Chipped rim. Hemispherical body, rounded base, incurved rounded rim. Perforated knob lug on rim. Transverse linear incisions on rim. H. 5.5 cm, Rim D. 11.5 cm.

9. Anthropomorphic jar of Drab Polished ware. Tip of one-horned handle restored, one earring missing. Depressed globular body, horn-shaped handles and incised decoration. Slip faded on the lower body. Anthropomorphic features below rim and on the neck rendered in relief (eyebrows, nose and ears). Triple incised ears protrude from the side of the neck, below rim, one missing. Incised vertical zigzag lines along neck and two sets of incised triple bands filled with rows of strokes. H. 16.5 cm, Rim D. 7.2 cm.

10. Bowl of Red Polished Mottled ware. One-fourth of body missing. Deep hemispherical body, rounded base, walls slightly incurved towards rim. Perforated lug below rim.

11. Sherds:

11/1. Jug of Red Polished ware. Mended from several fragments. Globular body, round base, narrow cylindrical neck, long cutaway curving rim, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, round in section. Incised decoration of vertical zigzag and straight lines, four knob-like projections on mid body, three on the base of neck and one on handle. One pierced lug on front mid-neck. Max. H. 20.7 cm.

11/2. Jug of Red Polished ware. Mended from fragments, one-fourth of body missing. Ovoid/globular body, simple rounded base, narrow cylindrical neck tapering to flaring rounded rim. Vertical handle from mid-neck to shoulder, ovoid in section. H. 24 cm, Rim D. 5 cm.

11/3. Cooking jar (tankard) of Red Polished ware. Ovoid deep body, rounded base, short neck, flaring rim, two vertical asymmetrical handles, ovoid in section with incised lines along them as decoration. H. 24.5 cm, Rim D. 19 cm.

11/4. Bowl of Red Polished ware. Parts of the body missing (might have had handle or lug). Hemispherical body, rounded base, incurved rounded rim. H. 10.5 cm, Rim D cm. 15.

11/5. Bowl of Red Polished ware. Handle and part of the body missing. Hemispherical body, rounded base, slightly inturned rounded rim. Horizontal handle – missing. H. 9 cm, Rim D. 13.5 cm.

11/6. Large Bowl of Red Polished ware. Mended from fragments, parts of body and rim missing.

11/7. Spouted jug of Drab Polished ware. Mended from fragments, one-third of body preserved.

Tomb 36

1. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Complete, chipped rim. Pink clay with fine white inclusions. Unslipped, spiral wheel marks visible. Elongated tall piriform body, concave-sided foot with flattened base. Straight neck, overhanging rim. H. 16 cm, Rim D. 5 cm, Body D. 5 cm.

2. Unguentarium of Plain ware. Complete, encrusted surface. Orange-brown clay with white inclusions. Rounded body tapering to flat base, concave neck with flaring beveled rim. H. 8 cm, Rim D. 2.5 cm, Body D. 3.5 cm.

3. Inadvertently given number.

4. Fragmentary fusiform unguentarium of Red Slip ware. Yellowish/light brown clay with white inclusions. Neck with rim and foot missing. Orange-brown clay with fine lime inclusions. Very worn surface, brownish/red slip flaked off. Elongated ovoid body. Preserved H. 6.2 cm, Rim D. 4 cm.

5. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Brown/orange clay with dark-coloured inclusions. Neck with rim missing. Preserved H. 6.1 cm, Body D. 3.1 cm.

6. Cooking pot of Coarse ware. Intact, encrusted surface, cracks on the interior surface. Light brown clay with white grits. Sack-shaped body, short neck, triangular everted rim and rounded base. Ridge on the neck. One strap handle from neck to body. H. 11.5 cm, Rim D. 12 cm, Body D. 15 cm.

7. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Orange-brown clay with white and dark-coloured inclusions. Nine restorable sherds, foot missing. Ovoid body, narrow, concave neck flaring to a wide rim.

8. Amphoriskos of Coarse ware. Encrusted surface, part of the rim missing. Reddish/orange clay with white and dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Pear-shaped body, tapering to a very short flaring foot with a spike on the end. Cylindrical neck, triangular-shaped rim, opposing vertical handles, sub-rectangular in section from upper neck to shoulder. H. 30 cm, Rim D. 7 cm, Body D. 12 cm, Base D. 2 cm.

9. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Brown/orange clay with white inclusions. No slip. Upper neck and foot missing. Upper neck and foot missing. Elongated ovoid body, tapering to a foot. Narrow cylindrical neck, rim missing. Preserved H. 14.8 cm, Body D. 5.5 cm.

10. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Complete. Reddish-brown clay with white and dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Visible wheel-marks on body. Spindle-shaped body, tapering to a concave foot with slightly flared crooked

base. Straight cylindrical neck, flaring out to a wide rim. H. 12 cm, Rim D. 2.5 cm, Body D. 4.5 cm.

11. Two-handed jar of Plain White ware. Complete, encrusted surface. Light brown clay with dark inclusions. Thin slip of the same colour. Elongated ovoid body, ring base, tall narrow neck tapering to the everted overhanging rim. H. 26 cm, Rim D. 5 cm, Body D. 8.5 cm, Base D. 6 cm.

12. Lamp of Red Slip. Mould made, complete, encrusted surface. Light brown clay with lime inclusions. Reddish brown slip. Circular body without handle, slightly depressed discus, concave base. Rounded nozzle with double shoulder volutes, filling hole beneath motif on the discus. Three ridges encircling the shoulder rim. Discus features a stag facing right. H. 2.2 cm, L. 8.5 cm, W. 6 cm.

13. Fusiform unguentarium of White Painted ware. Complete. Reddish-brown clay with white inclusions. No slip. Visible wheel-marks on body. Rounded body, tapering to a relatively short foot with slanting-sided flat base, straight cylindrical neck, everted wide rim. H. 13.3 cm, Rim D. 2.5 cm, Body D. 4.2 cm.

14. Unguentarium of Plain White ware. Complete. Pale brown clay with fine dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Rounded body tapering to a flat base, slightly concave neck, everted rim. Faint wheel-marks visible on body. H. 6, Rim D. 2, Body D. 3.5.

15. Unguentarium of White Painted ware. Complete. Brownish to orange clay with dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Elongated body, tapering to a rather short foot with slanting-sided flat base, cylindrical neck, flaring to the rim. H. 14.9 cm, Rim D. 2.5 cm, Body D. 4.5 cm.

16. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Upper neck and foot missing. Light brown clay with white and dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Rounded body tapering to the missing foot and to the missing tubular straight neck. Preserved H. 6.5 cm, Body D. 3.5 cm.

17. Juglet of transparent pale bluish glass. Upper neck with rim and circular concave base missing. Squat ovoid body, short tubular neck, concave base. Flat handle from the shoulder to below; rim missing. Preserved H. 6.8 cm, Body D. 5 cm.

Uncatalogued finds include sherds from Hellenistic lagynos, lugs and amphora of Plain White ware.

Tomb 37

1. Fusiform unguentarium of Plain White ware. Complete, encrusted surface. Orange/brown clay with dark-coloured inclusions. No slip. Rounded biconical body, foot tapering to slanting-sided flat base, concave neck, flaring to out-turned bevelled rim. H. 9 cm, Rim D. 2.5 cm, Body D. 3.1 cm.

2. Limestone tombstone.

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