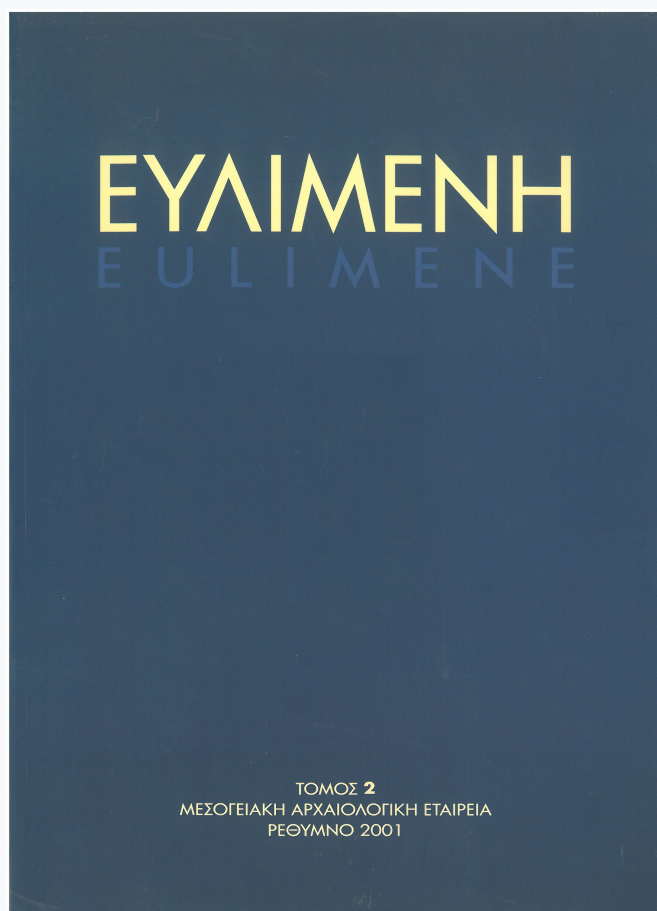


EULIMENE

Vol 2 (2001)

EULIMENE 2 (2001)



**Some innovations in the burial customs of Cyprus
(12th – 7th centuries BC)**

doi: [10.12681/eul.32699](https://doi.org/10.12681/eul.32699)

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Τόμος 2
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2001

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ

ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ

Π. Μανουσάκη 5 – Β. Χάλη 8

GR 741 00 – Ρέθυμνο

PUBLISHER

MEDITERRANEAN

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

P. Manousaki 5 – V. Chali 8

GR 741 00 – Rethymno

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ-ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

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Δρ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Χανιά)

PUBLISHING DIRECTORS-EDITORS

Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymno)

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Chania)

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Mediterranean Archaeological Society and the Editors wish to thank the Monastery of Arkadi, the Municipality of Arkadi and Mr. Konstantinos Konstantinides – Konstantin Travel (P.L.C.) for their sponsorship.

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EULIMENE

ISSN: 1108-5800

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Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymno – GR 74100

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis, Kalives – Apokoronou, Chania – GR 73003

web : <http://www.phl.uoc.gr/eulimene/>

mail : eulimene@mail.com

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Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Antonio Corso, Attitudes to the Visual Arts of Classical Greece in Late Antiquity, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 13–51

Attitudini tardoantiche nei confronti delle arti visive della Grecia classica. Argomento del presente articolo è lo studio dei diversi momenti tramite i quali la concezione dell'arte classica è progressivamente cambiata nel periodo che va dall'età dei Severi a quella di Giustiniano. Punto di partenza di questo processo è la tesi, asserita da Flavio Filostrato nella «Vita di Apollonio di Tiana», che l'arte di creare simulacri deve basarsi sulla *phantasia* e non sulla *mimesis*. Sempre a partire dall'età severiana, sale alla ribalta l'idea che i simulacri ottimali possano divenire abitacoli delle divinità rappresentate e siano pertanto magicamente provvisti della vita e delle facoltà di questi: tale concezione può essere appieno apprezzata nel *de statuis* di Callistrato. Inoltre, la concezione idealizzata delle arti visive di età classica, e soprattutto tardoclassica, considerate provviste di un messaggio edonistico, in seno alla seconda sofistica, comporta la condanna di queste produzioni artistiche da parte dei Padri della Chiesa, che ritengono i simulacri antichi corruttori dei costumi, oltrechè privi di valore dal punto di vista teologico. Tale condanna prelude alla distruzione di non pochi simulacri pagani praticata dai seguaci più estremisti del Cristianesimo tra 4 e 5 sec. Inoltre, il gusto cambia e, a partire dalla seconda metà del 4. sec., i palazzi e le ville provvisti di facciate scenografiche, le pitture e i mosaici ricchi di colori e involucranti gli spazi interni, piacciono di più talora delle opere d'arte antiche, in particolare delle statue. Tuttavia, a partire dal 4 sec., matura nella cultura cristiana il principio che si deve distinguere tra il pregio artistico delle statue classiche, che si può ammirare, e il loro contenuto religioso, che invece è inaccettabile. Questa distinzione sta alla base della fioritura di musei di statue antiche, in occidente durante il periodo fra l'ultimo quarto del 4. sec. e la prima metà del 5, a Costantinopoli tra Costantino e Giustiniano. L'articolo è chiuso da alcune note sull'affermazione in tale corso di tempo della convinzione che le statue in marmo di età classica non fossero colorate, ma mostrassero il colore del marmo, della tesi che la scultura era più importante della pittura nella Grecia classica, e infine di interpretazioni ingentilite, edonistiche e idealizzate dell'arte classica.

V. Karageorghis, Some innovations in the burial customs of Cyprus (12th – 7th centuries BC), EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 53–65

Μερικές αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου (12^{ος}–7^{ος} αι. π.Χ.). Σ' αυτή τη μελέτη γίνεται προσπάθεια να καταδειχθούν οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική και τα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο μεταξύ του 12^{ου} και του 7^{ου} αι. π.Χ., από την εποχή δηλαδή που εμφανίζονται στην Κύπρο οι πρώτες πολιτιστικές καινοτομίες κατά

τις αρχές του 12^{ου} αι. π.Χ. Οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική κορυφώνονται κατά τον 11^ο αι. π.Χ. με την εμφάνιση των τάφων με στενόμακρο δρόμο και μικρό τετράπλευρο θάλαμο, που θα μεταφέρθηκαν στο νησί από το Αιγαίο, με την άφιξη των πρώτων Αχαιών αποίκων. Είναι τότε που παρατηρούνται και τα πρώτα δείγματα καύσης των νεκρών. Γίνεται εκτενής αναφορά στις «ηρωϊκές» ταφές του 8^{ου}-7^{ου} αι. και επιχειρείται σύγκριση με ανάλογα φαινόμενα στο Αιγαίο, ιδίως στην Κρήτη και την Ετρουρία, και συσχετίζονται τα νέα ταφικά έθιμα με τις νέες κοινωνικές δομές που χαρακτηρίζουν τις χώρες τις Μεσογείου, με την εμφάνιση της αριστοκρατικής άρχουσας τάξης και του ανάλογου τρόπου ζωής και συμπεριφοράς.

D. Paleothodoros, Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 67–92

Σάτυροι ως επισηήματα ασπίδων στην αγγειογραφία. Περίπου 120 αγγεία της αρχαϊκής και πρώιμης κλασικής περιόδου παρουσιάζουν ασπίδες με τη μορφή του σατύρου ως επίσημα. Τεχνοτροπικά, στον μελανόμορφο ρυθμό επικρατεί το θέμα της ανάγλυφης μάσκας, που εγκαινιάζει ο Κλειτίας, ενώ στον πρώιμο ερυθρόμορφο κυριαρχεί ο Επίκτητος με την εισαγωγή δύο θεμάτων, της μετωπικής μάσκας και της μάσκας σε προφίλ και σκιαγραφία. Η εικονογραφική και αρχαιολογική ανάλυση δείχνει ότι η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου θέματος υπαγορεύεται από την επιθυμία των ζωγράφων να δημιουργήσουν μια εικονιστική ατμόσφαιρα, όπου κυριαρχούν οι αναφορές στον Διόνυσο και τον κόσμο του κρασιού.

K. Ρωμιοπούλου, Πτηνοι Έρωτες ύπνω εύδοντες, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 93–96

Sleeping Erotes in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Hellenistic plastic arts introduced a whole range of sleeping or resting types and styles; among them is the type of sleeping Eros in childlike appearance, which acquired great popularity in Roman times as a decorative statue for gardens or as a funerary statue symbolizing heroisation. The relation of Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) has been suggested as the reason for this subject becoming so popular in literature and art. In this article are presented two unpublished statuettes of sleeping Eros depicting two different types of Eros, products of Attic workshops. They are dated around the end of 1st and in the 2nd cent. AD.

M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, Gortynians and others: the case of the Antonii, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 97–119

Οι Γορτύνιοι και οι άλλοι: η περίπτωση των Αντωνίων. Για τη συγγραφή μιας βάσιμης ιστορίας της κοινωνίας στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη θα πρέπει στο πλούσιο και διαρκώς αυξανόμενο επιγραφικό υλικό της Γόρτυνας να γίνει μια διάκριση ανάμεσα στους Γορτυνίους και τους μη Γορτυνίους. Το όνομα Άντωνιος, διάφοροι φορείς του οποίου είναι γνωστοί στη Γόρτυνα από τον 1^ο π.Χ. έως τον 2^ο μ.Χ. αιώνα, αποτελεί ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα ρωμαϊκού ονόματος γένους με εμπορικές αλλά και πολιτικές διασυνδέσεις. Στο άρθρο αυτό δίνεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή στην παρουσίαση δύο περιπτώσεων. Η πρώτη είναι μια πρωτοδημοσιευμένη επιγραφή από τη Γόρτυνα, η οποία αναφέρεται σε

κάποιον Αντώνιο, αρχικά κάτοικο της Κυρήνης ή της Κυρηναϊκής, πριν αναλάβει πολιτικό αξίωμα στην αποικία της Κνωσού. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση, μια επιγραφή από την Έφεσο, αναφέρεται σε έναν κατά τα άλλα άγνωστο Γορτύνιο που διετέλεσε ιερέας της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα· η επιγραφή αυτή μας επιτρέπει να τοποθετήσουμε τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας και του Αυγούστου στο πλαίσιο της κοινότητας των εμπόρων που είχαν εγκατασταθεί στην ελληνική Ανατολή πριν από τη μάχη του Ακτίου. Η ένταξη αυτού του αναθήματος του Αντωνίου στο ιστορικό του πλαίσιο, του 2^{ου} μ.Χ. αιώνα, μας επιτρέπει να συνδέσουμε τη συμμετοχή της Κρήτης στο Πανελλήνιον με την εξέλιξη της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα στη Γόρτυνα και την επάνοδο της συγκλητικής διοίκησης στη Γόρτυνα. Οι Αντώνιοι που μαρτυρούνται στη Γόρτυνα —είτε είναι Γορτύνιοι είτε όχι— αντανakλούν επίσης την εκεί παρουσία πελατών και υποστηρικτών του Μάρκου Αντωνίου, του μέλους της τριανδρίας (όπως και στην Κόρινθο). Θα είναι αναγκαίο να επανεξετάσουμε την καθιερωμένη άποψη, ότι η Γόρτυνα υποστήριξε τον Οκταβιανό, ενώ η Κνωσός πήρε το μέρος του Αντωνίου.

I. Κολτσιδα–Μακρή, Ο θησαυρός Γυθείου IGCH 170, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 121–128

The Gythion Hoard IGCH 170. IGCH 170 was found at Gythion of Laconia in 1938. It consists of 33 silver coin–issues often occurring in Peloponnesian hoards: 1 drachm of Aegina, 32 triobols of Sikyon, 1 tetradrachm of Antiochus I Soter. The drachm issue, with two dots on the reverse incuse, dates to the second half of the 4th century B.C. The triobols follow the so–called reduced Aeginetan standard, with an average weight of about 2.6 gr. each; these can be attributed to the very last years of the 4th up to the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. The tetradrachm of Antiochus I, minted in Seleucia on the Tigris c. 278–274 B.C., is important for the chronology of the find. In a total of 23 coin hoards found in the Peloponnese, buried in the period between the middle of the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., four include Seleucid tetradrachms (17 in all); see the table in p. 124, of which 8 were minted in Seleucia on the Tigris.

It is probably an emergency hoard connected either with the troubled times of Cleomenes III's war (228–222 B.C.) or the Social War (220–217 B.C.). Thus, the period around the year 220 B.C. is *grosso modo* suggested as the possible burial date. The Gythion find is another important hoard for the dating of the triobols of Sikyon and also provides further evidence for coin circulation in the Peloponnese during the second part of the 3rd century B.C.

V.E. Stefanaki, Sur deux monnaies de bronze inédites d'Hiérapytna. Monnayage hiérapytnien et timbres amphoriques à l'époque hellénistique, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 129–142

Δύο αδημοσίευστα χάλκινα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας: Ιεραπυτνιακά νομίσματα και σφραγίδες αμφορέων στην ελληνιστική εποχή. Η Ιεράπυτνα, φημισμένο λιμάνι της νοτιοανατολικής Κρήτης, κυρίως κατά τα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, είχε ήδη αρχίσει να αναπτύσσεται στην ελληνιστική εποχή, από το τέλος του 3^{ου} και στις αρχές του 2^{ου} π.Χ. αιώνα. Το 145 π.Χ., μετά την κατάκτηση της γειτονικής Πραισού, έγινε η πιο δυνατή πόλη της Ανατολικής Κρήτης, όπως μαρτυρούν οι επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές πηγές.

Τα αργυρά της νομίσματα (τετράδραχμα, δίδραχμα και δραχμές), με την κεφαλή της Τύχης ως εμπροσθότυπο, κόπηκαν μεταξύ του 110 και του 80 π.Χ., και μαρτυρούν την οικονομική ευημερία της κατά την εποχή αυτή. Η ευημερία αυτή ήταν αποτέλεσμα τόσο της εδαφικής προσάρτησης της πλούσιας περιοχής της Πραισού όσο και της αύξησης της παραγωγής κρασιού στην χώρα της Ιεράπυτνας (με βλέψεις εμπορικές ή μη), όπως μαρτυρούν οι ενσφράγιστοι ιεραρυτνιακοί αμφορείς που βρέθηκαν στην Αλεξάνδρεια της Αιγύπτου, στην Καλλατία της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και στη μικρή χερσόνησο Τρυπητός στην περιοχή της Σητείας, όπου οι έρευνες έφεραν στο φως τμήμα σημαντικής ελληνιστικής πόλης.

Η μέλισσα που εμφανίζεται σε μία από τις σφραγίδες των αμφορέων ως επίσημο σύμβολο της Ιεράπυτνας, συναντάται επίσης στην οπίσθια όψη δύο χάλκινων ιεραρυτνιακών νομισμάτων, τα οποία βρίσκονται σήμερα στη νομισματική συλλογή του Ashmolean Museum στην Οξφόρδη. Ίσως η επιλογή της μέλισσας ως συμβόλου να είχε σχέση με την κατάκτηση της Πραισού από την Ιεράπυτνα, καθώς ο τύπος είναι χαρακτηριστικός των πραισιακών νομισμάτων.

Η επιγραφή που εμφανίζεται στη σφραγίδα του αμφορέα με τη μέλισσα και στα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, είναι το εθνικό των Ιεραρυτνίων σε συντετμημένη μορφή: ΙΕ. Σε άλλες σφραγίδες ιεραρυτνιακών αμφορέων εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο το εθνικό δηλ. ΙΕ(Α)ΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ[ΩΝ] καθώς και ονόματα αρχόντων, επώνυμων ή μη (ΣΩΣΟΣ, ΠΑΣΙΩΝ). Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και στα αργυρά νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας με την κεφαλή της Τύχης που αρχίζουν να κόβονται μετά το 110 π.Χ. Το εθνικό των Ιεραρυτνίων δεν εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο σε κανένα νόμισμα πριν το 110 π.Χ. και τα ονόματα των αρχόντων αρχίζουν να αναγράφονται στα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας μέσα στο δεύτερο μισό του 2^{ου} π. Χ. αιώνα. Πρόκειται για την περίοδο κατά την οποία η Ιεράπυτνα αρχίζει να οργανώνει τη νομισματοκοπία της για να διευκολυνθεί ο οικονομικός και διοικητικός έλεγχος. Τον ίδιο έλεγχο άσκησε, πιθανώς την ίδια περίοδο, και στην διακίνηση των προϊόντων της. Από τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι οι ιεραρυτνιακοί αμφορείς καθώς και τα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, θα πρέπει να χρονολογηθούν μετά το 145 π.Χ. και μάλιστα προς το τέλος του δευτέρου μισού του 2^{ου} π.Χ αιώνα.

M.D. Trifiró, The hoard Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (*IGCH* 154), *EYΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 143–154

Il tesoretto Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (IGCH 154). Il tesoretto *IGCH* 154, rinvenuto a Creta (località Astritsi), consta di emissioni argentee provenienti dalle città cretesi e da Cirene, Corinto e colonie, Argo, Tebe ed Egina. Sono state studiate solo le emissioni non –cretesi che ammontano a cinquantacinque monete d'argento a cui vanno aggiunti altri sei esemplari provenienti da Cirene. Questi ultimi ufficialmente appartengono ad un tesoretto rinvenuto nel 1935 a Hierapytna (*IGCH* 318), ma molto probabilmente fanno parte del nostro ripostiglio, e sono attualmente conservati insieme ad esso presso il Museo Numismatico di Atene.

Unitamente al catalogo numismatico si è fornito un breve commento relativo alle singole emissioni monetali, nel tentativo di contestualizzare le serie e di chiarirne la cronologia assoluta e relativa. Particolare attenzione è stata riservata alla monetazione cirenea nel tentativo di motivarne la presenza nell'isola di Creta, alla luce dei rapporti economici e commerciali testimoniatrici dalle scarse fonti storiche. Per tali serie si è

sostenuta una cronologia «bassa» (300/290–280 a.C.) e si è proposto di identificarne lo standard ponderale con la fase intermedia del peso tolemaico adottato dal 310 a.C., probabilmente in concomitanza con un cambiamento della *ratio* tra oro e argento.

I «pegasi» provengono sia da Corinto che dalle sue colonie (Anactorion, Amphilocheian Argos, Thyrrheion) e presentano simboli e monogrammi differenti, ma cronologicamente appartengono tutti al V periodo Ravel (387–306 a.C.).

Delle emissioni argive, scarsamente studiate, si è presentata la classificazione e si è proposta una cronologia molto ampia, dovendo necessariamente appartenere al periodo precedente l'ingresso della città nella Lega Achea.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, 4–10 [συνέχεια του άρθρου «Ψήγματα κριτικής», *Ευλιμένη* 1 (2000), 127–131], *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 155–159

Critical Trifles, 4–10 [continuation of «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Eulimene 1 (2000) 127–31].

4. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 41 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 1/2 and 4 read [μυ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]τρέφης respectively rather than the published [τ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]/τρέφης.

5. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 42 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 8 read τ|ούς άκραπόδων (for άκρο–) δακτύλους rather than the published ...]ους άκρα ποδών δακτύλους.

6. On the gemstone Religions and cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesfőrvár, Csók István Gallery, 15 May–30 September 1996 (Székesfőrvár 1998), no. 240 (Pannonia, III A.D.), read the personal name Φιλοσέραπιν Ἀγάθωνα rather than the published ΦΙΛΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΑΘΜΝΑ.

7. On the silver phylactery *BullMusComRoma* n.s. 13 (1999) 18–30 (Rome, IV/V A.D.), in line 1 read Πρὸς σεληνιαζομένους rather than the published Πρὸς σελ[ήν]ην παξομένους.

8. On the papyrus phylactery *P.Oxy.* VII 1058 = *PGM* 6b (IV/V A.D.) read δὲ/τ|λον rather than the published δο/ύλον in lines 3/4. The ὁ κατ[ο] (ὁ καλ[edd.] in line 6 is no doubt from the beginning of LXX Ps. 90.1: Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοθηείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπη τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀλίσθησεται.

9. The ἐν της ταρταρης in lines 8/9 of the formulary *P.Carlsberg* inv. 52 (31) (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 1) should be normalized ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάροις rather than ἐν τῆς Ταρτάρου as published.

10. On the parchment amulet *P.Louvre* inv. 7332 bis (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 2 = *SB* XVIII 13602) at line 13 read τῇ[α]ς τεγούσης (for τεκούσης) (e.g.) Μ[ι]ητρὸς] Θ[ε]οῦ rather than the published τῆς' δετετουσης μ[ι]..... I.

A. Agelarakis, On the Clazomenian quest in Thrace during the 7th and 6th centuries BC, as revealed through Anthropological Archaeology, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 161–186

Περὶ του Κλαζομενιακού αποικισμού στη Θράκη τον 7^ο και 6^ο αιώνα π.Χ., μέσω της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας. Παρουσιάζονται τα αρχαιο-ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα που βασίζονται στη μελέτη του ανθρώπινου σκελετικού υλικού από ανασκαφές στο αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Κλαζομενίων, του ανασκαφικού τομέα «Κ» στα Ἀβδηρα. Τα δημογραφικά και επιδημιολογικά στοιχεία αυτού του δείγματος του πληθυσμού, όπως

υποστηρίζονται από την ταφονομική, αρχαιομετρική, φυσική ανθρωπολογική και παλαιοπαθολογική έρευνα, παρέχουν σημαντικότερα αποτελέσματα στον χώρο της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας, συμβάλλοντας, σε συνδυασμό με τις καθαρά αρχαιολογικές και σωζόμενες ιστορικές πηγές, στη διαλεύκανση πολλών ερωτημάτων σχετικά για τις εμπειρίες των Κλαζομενίων αποικιστών στη Θράκη και προσφέροντας παράλληλα ένα γόνιμο πεδίο για περαιτέρω προβληματισμό και ερμηνείες όσον αφορά τα αρχαϊκά χρόνια στα Άβδηρα.

C. Bourbou, Infant mortality: the complexity of it all!, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 187–203

Παιδική θνησιμότητα: Μια πολύπλοκη υπόθεση. Η αρχαιολογική και ανθρωπολογική έρευνα μέχρι σήμερα δεν έχει στρέψει το ενδιαφέρον της στη μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών. Παρόλα ταύτα, οι ταφές των ανήλικων ατόμων μπορούν να προσφέρουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη σύνθεση της εικόνας των παλαιότερων κοινωνιών, καθώς τόσο το ποσοστό της παιδικής θνησιμότητας σε κάθε πληθυσμό όσο και οι διάφορες ασθένειες αποτελούν σημαντικές μαρτυρίες για το βιοτικό του επίπεδο. Τα παιδιά, πέρα από τη βιολογική τους υπόσταση προσδιορίζονται και μέσα από το πολιτιστικό πλαίσιο που ορίζει ο κάθε κοινωνικός ιστός. Έτσι, η συμπεριφορά των ενηλίκων απέναντι στα παιδιά είναι διαφορετική, ακόμα και στις περιπτώσεις του θανάτου ή της ταφής τους. Το θέμα της παιδοκτονίας (μέσα στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ή ως θυσία–προσφορά στους θεούς) έχει απασχολήσει περισσότερο τους ερευνητές, ιδιαίτερα στην προσπάθειά τους να αναγνωρίσουν τέτοιες περιπτώσεις από τα αρχαιολογικά και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλοιπα. Στην εργασία αυτή, παράλληλα με το θέμα της ταφονομίας (παράγοντες διατήρησης ή μη των παιδικών οστών) και της παιδοκτονίας στην αρχαιότητα, επικεντρώνουμε το ενδιαφέρον μας στην παιδική θνησιμότητα σε θέσεις της πρωτοβυζαντινής περιόδου (Ελεύθερνα, Γόρτυνα, Κνωσός, Κόρινθος, Μεσσήνη, Αλική). Η πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος παρουσιάζει ξεχωριστό ενδιαφέρον καθώς αποτελεί μία αρκετά «ταραγμένη» περίοδο της ύστερης αρχαιότητας για την οποία ελάχιστα μας είναι γνωστά. Η μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών από τις παραπάνω θέσεις μας έδωσε πολύτιμα στοιχεία για τα ποσοστά της παιδικής θνησιμότητας (υψηλότερα μετά τη γέννηση σε κάποιες θέσεις) αλλά και διάφορες μεταβολικές κυρίως ασθένειες (cribra orbitalia, Harris lines, έλλειψη βιταμίνης C).

SOME INNOVATIONS IN THE BURIAL CUSTOMS OF CYPRUS (12TH–7TH CENTURIES B.C.)¹

Changes in burial customs or in religious beliefs do not occur in the same way and are not governed by the same rules as changes in artistic styles. The latter may be affected by mere contact, trade in works of art, or even the exchange of artists or craftsmen. Burial customs and religious practices are deeply rooted in human conscience and behaviour and do not alter except when there are changes in the social and political environment.

In this paper the evolution of burial customs in Cyprus from the earliest periods (Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early to Middle Bronze Ages) will not be examined, but attention will be confined to the five hundred year period from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Cypro–Archaic I period, roughly from the 12th to the 7th century B.C.

The chamber tomb with multiple inhumation burials was the dominant tomb type in Cyprus for a period of about 2300 years, starting from *c.* 2500 B.C. After the beginning of the 12th century B.C. a new type of tomb made its appearance, namely the pit or shaft grave, usually containing only one burial. In the area of Palaepaphos, 21 of these tombs have been excavated, but they still remain unpublished. In a short account Catling (1979, 273) dates them to the LC IIIA–B periods (end of the 12th century B.C.) and underlines their «great potential interest» and the fact that this cemetery may suggest «a marked distinction, whether of race or class, within the 12th century B.C. population» of Palaepaphos. Similar tombs have been excavated in other parts of Cyprus (at Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kourion). A rich shaft grave was excavated at Kourion–*Kaloriziki*: Tomb 40, dating to the LC IIIB period, where a rich assemblage of objects was found, including the famous gold and enamel sceptre. The dead in this tomb were cremated and there is strong evidence suggesting that the people buried in it were of Greek origin (McFadden 1954, 134; Niklasson–Sönnnerby 1987, 224). In fact such shaft graves or cists have been found in the Aegean, particularly in Crete (at Khania and Knossos), from where some of the Achaean Greeks may have emigrated to Cyprus after *c.* 1200 B.C. (for a general discussion on this topic see Karageorghis 1999, 257–9, with bibliography).

The change in tomb architecture, which has been universally accepted as the result of the arrival in the island of new settlers from the Aegean in substantial numbers, occurred in the 11th century B.C. and appeared in places such as Alaas (Karageorghis 1975) and Salamis on the east coast (Yon 1971), Amathus (Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990) and Kourion–*Kaloriziki* on the south coast (Benson 1973, Tomb 19), Palaepaphos on the west coast (Karageorghis 1983) and at Lapithos on the north coast (Gjerstad 1948, 29–33, 431–3). The new type of tomb was rock-cut, with a small rectangular burial

¹ This paper was read at the International Archaeological Symposium held in Rhodes in June 2000 on the theme «Burial practices and traditions in the Mediterranean, from 1100 B.C. to 400 A.D.».

chamber and a long narrow stepped dromos and was used only for new burials (Fig. 1); the type is well known in the Aegean, particularly in Crete. The tombs in the cemeteries of Palaepaphos, Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Amathus have a consistent orientation (Fig. 2), a fact which induced some scholars to suggest a connection with Rhodes, where the new colonists may have spent some time before moving to Cyprus (cf. Benson 1973, 23–4; Karageorghis 1975, 25–6; *idem.* 1983, 2, 8). This type of tomb continued to be used in Cyprus for a century or more, and it was then replaced by the traditional Cypriote tomb with a wider and shorter dromos, probably as a result of the cultural fusion of the new ethnic element (the Greeks) with the local population.

A new burial custom, the sacrifice of slaves or other humans, in the dromoi of tombs at Lapithos, is a practice which some scholars have attributed to the Mycenaean colonists (Gjerstad 1948, 433), but there are only a few examples of this custom (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265). It is true, however, that in the Aegean there is evidence for the sacrifice of a woman during the burial of a prominent male; such customs have been observed at Tiryns and Lefkandi. The men were cremated and their remains were placed in a bronze cauldron, but the women were inhumed. The Tiryns and the *Kaloriziki* burials may be dated to the middle of the 11th century B.C., that of Lefkandi to *c.* 1000 B.C. (for a general discussion and a bibliography see Catling 1995, 126; Morris 2000, 218–39). The introduction by the Mycenaean Greeks of the custom of cremation seems more certain, although now there is evidence for cremation in the late 11th century–early 10th century B.C. from the cemetery of Pandanassa Amariou in Crete (Tegou 2001); the cremated remains were found in a bronze amphoroid crater, like those from Kourion–*Kaloriziki* Tomb 40. The discoveries in this tomb, including a jug which imitates the Black Slip I ware of Cyprus, illustrate very eloquently the close connections between Cyprus and Crete *c.* 1000 B.C. (cf. Tegou 2001). The custom of cremation is observed at Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Palaepaphos–*Skales*, although again only on a very limited scale (cf. Karageorghis 1983, 7). A similar custom of the mid–11th and 10th centuries B.C. in the Levant, however, is attributed by Vanschoonwinkel to influences from Syria (Vanschoonwinkel 1999).

The evidence so far mentioned shows that tomb architecture was seriously affected by a new ethnic element which started to arrive in Cyprus from the Aegean during the 12th century B.C., and this influx continued on an even larger scale during the 11th century B.C. New burial customs (burial of slaves and cremation) were not in common use; the few instances which have been observed may be related to an élite of newcomers, as for example in the case of Tomb 40 at Kourion–*Kaloriziki*. Although the new types of Aegean funerary architecture were widespread, they did not last much more than a century. The ethnic Greeks must have fused with the local population and thus became culturally assimilated as what might be called Cypro–Greeks, who formed the foundation on which Cypriote culture of subsequent generations was based.

The custom of the cremation of élite males accompanied by inhumed females, in both the Aegean and Cyprus, which may have originated in the Aegean, may have even wider ramifications. Catling put forward a convincing case for heroic burials in Crete, Tiryns and Lefkandi of «grandees» returning home after their adventures abroad, some from Cyprus, and compared them with the *Nostoi* of Homer. The material associated with such tombs of warriors has striking similarities, and Catling rightly compares it with material found in Kourion–*Kaloriziki* Tomb 40 and also at Palaepaphos–*Skales* (for a

general discussion see Catling 1995, 125–8; see also Masson 1988). Some of the common characteristics defined by Catling among these heroic burials are 1) they were all associated with major sites; 2) the graves were not reused; 3) they are all warrior burials; 4) in most cases women were buried simultaneously with men, obviously sacrificed; 5) they have iron knives and bronze armour, including *phalara* and bronze spearheads.

The Homeric description in the *Iliad* of the burial of Patroklos by his friend Achilles dates to more than 150 years later. It is quite possible that Homer was drawing on conditions and stories of the 11th and 10th centuries, related to the *Nostoi*, or the return of heroes, such as the burial of the 10th century B.C. in the «royal» burial at Lefkandi in Euboea (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 22).

There was a considerable lapse of time before real heroic burials appeared again in Cyprus, Crete and the Peloponnese, namely at Salamis, Kavousi, Eleutherna and Argos. However there was a certain degree of continuity. Already in the 11th century B.C. we can observe the appearance of some of the characteristic types of objects belonging to such burials, which were to become more common from the 9th century B.C. onwards. A notable example is the profusion of bronze vessels, mainly bowls with decorated handles (Fig. 3), which appeared in the tombs of Palaepaphos–*Skales* as early as the Cypro-Geometric I period (11th–10th centuries B.C.) (Karageorghis 1983; for a recently discovered tomb at Palaepaphos see Flourentzos 1997; it yielded important bronze objects, including a *thymiaterion*). In Crete the same kind of bowls appeared from c. 900 B.C. onwards (Stampolidis 1998, cat. nos 280–281). It has already been suggested that some of the rich 11th century tombs at Palaepaphos–*Skales* and Kourion, which have yielded large bronze vessels and weapons (Fig. 4), may have belonged to the aristocratic élite of the new immigrants from the Aegean, who, attracted by the lucrative copper industry of the island, established themselves in Cyprus, having left the dangers and uncertainty in their own homeland (Coldstream 1994, 145). In several 11th century tombs excavated at Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Amathus–*Diplostrati*, we find bronze tripod stands of 13th–12th century B.C. date, which were placed as status symbols in heroes' burials (Catling 1984; Coldstream 1989; Catling 1995; Hermary and Iacovou 1999, 153–4, and 159–60).

The 11th century burials on the Greek mainland and in Cyprus are associated with objects and funerary customs which befit a warrior, a hero, but at the same time they display wealth and high social status. These elements will continue to appear in burials even if the élite society becomes less and less a society of warriors and develops into a society of energetic aristocrats and rich merchants, who tend to demonstrate their wealth even in their tombs. These princes, who represent those who created the aristocratic society in Greece, which lasted from the 11th century B.C. to the 6th century B.C., are the dynamic individuals of Homer who were interested in feasting and the display of wealth. This may explain not only the occurrence of large bronze vessels, tripods (Fig. 5) and iron weapons, even bathtubs of clay or limestone among the tomb gifts (Fig. 6), but also of extraordinary pottery shapes (e.g. at Palaepaphos–*Skales*). Rich material has been found in recently excavated tombs at Palaepaphos (Raptou pers. comm.; cf. Morris 2000, 171–85).

One item in tomb furniture which has great significance is the *obelos* (skewer) for roasting meat. We know how important meat roasting was in the life of a hero, and that it was a habit which accompanied him in the afterlife (*Iliad* ix. 206–215; Coldstream 1977,

146). Bronze *obeloi* were known in Cyprus from the 11th century B.C. and one of them, found in a tomb at Palaepaphos-*Skales*, certainly belonged to a Greek immigrant (together with two others found in the same tomb), as it was engraved with the Greek name of its owner, Opheltes (Fig. 7). Such *obeloi*, in bronze or iron, also appear in other Cypro-Geometric tombs (Karageorghis 1983, 75, with bibliography; two iron *obeloi* were found in a recently excavated tomb at Palaepaphos: Flourentzos 1997, 218). Their early occurrence in Cyprus induced scholars to suggest that their origin was Cyprus (Coldstream 1977, 146) but it will not be surprising if one day they are found in the Aegean in an 11th century B.C. context. In Crete both *obeloi* and firedogs of iron appear at Eleutherna in the early 9th century B.C. in a warrior's burial (Stampolidis 1998, 258–9, cat. no. 323). The firedogs are of a type in the shape of a warship, and this type is uniform both in Crete, Argos and Cyprus, suggesting that by the 9th–7th centuries B.C. there were common characteristics in the heroic burials of both Cyprus and the Aegean (for a bibliography see Matthäus 1999, 24–25, n. 57). Another common feature already mentioned above is the profusion of decorated metallic bowls. These must have been fashionable throughout the Mediterranean, occurring in the Aegean, Etruria and Cyprus. In Cyprus and Etruria they appear in gold, silver and bronze (Markoe 1985); but in Crete they are of bronze, richly decorated with embossed and / or engraved orientalizing motifs (Stampolidis 1998, 234–56), under strong Phoenician influence. A silver bowl of this category is known from Lefkandi and is dated to the 10th century B.C. (Popham and Lemos 1996, pls 133–134, 144–5).

The heroic burials in the «royal» tombs of Salamis, dating mainly to the 8th–7th centuries B.C., have already been discussed by a number of scholars and it is unnecessary to comment on them in great detail here (cf. Coldstream 1977, 349–50 with bibliography; Malkin 1998, 117, 167). They are impressive, not only for the monumental character of their architecture —one of them was covered by a tumulus (see discussion in Karageorghis 1967, 121–2)— but also for the wealth of the tomb gifts which were found in the dromoi (Fig. 8); their chambers had been looted and thus their contents are unknown. The chamber of Tomb 1, which was half-looted, yielded a large quantity of Middle Geometric Greek vases, a bronze cauldron with the incinerated remains of the dead, with which was found a necklace of gold and rock-crystal beads (Dikaïos 1963; Gjerstad 1979; for a «dinner set» consisting of Greek imported pottery found in a late 9th century B.C. tomb at Amathus see Coldstream 1995).

Particularly characteristic of the Salamis «royal» burials are the sacrifices of horses and chariots in the spacious dromoi of the tombs (Fig. 9). Sacrifices of horses are known from Anatolia, Palestine and the Aegean world, and in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age period (cf. Karageorghis 1968, 5, with bibliography), and at Lefkandi *c.* 950 B.C. (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 21–2); but the reappearance of this funerary custom in the 8th–7th centuries in Cyprus is a novelty. The tumulus above Salamis Tomb 3 and the sacrifice of horses in the case of Phrygian tombs and of chariots in Etruscan tombs, are a few of the burial customs prevailing in the Mediterranean world which may help to explain those in the «royal» tombs of Salamis and other places in Cyprus. Coldstream goes so far as to suggest that «the princely burials of Salamis were influenced in large measure by the circulation of Ionic epic poetry and especially of the *Iliad* in the royal court of Salamis» (Coldstream 1977, 350). The sacrifice of horses is mentioned by Homer in Book XXIII of the *Iliad* (XXIII.171–172). It is significant that this also occurred in

Crete (for references see Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 22, no. 9), a place where other characteristics of «heroic» burials are encountered, as mentioned above.

The occurrence of a human sacrifice in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 2 (Fig. 10), together with earlier examples in three Cypro-Geometric I tombs at Lapithos (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265) points to the significance of the funerary practice of human sacrifices (cf. Karageorghis 1967, 9, 121) also observed in the heroic burials of Eleutherna with their close resemblance to the Salamis tombs (cf. Stampolidis 1998, 149–200). This custom is also alluded to in the *Iliad* (XXIII.175–176). Equally cremation, which, as we have already shown, appears in the 11th century B.C. in both Cyprus and the Aegean, also reappears at Salamis in the 8th–7th centuries B.C., although in only two cases (Karageorghis 1967, 119–21).

In their eagerness to demonstrate wealth and pomp, the members of the royal family and the élite members of the society to whom the «royal» tombs no doubt belonged, probably vied with Assyrian kings and nobles, Cyprus in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. having been under the influence if not the rule of the Assyrians. From the Assyrian reliefs and from literary evidence we know the importance of war chariots, elaborate horse-gear and other luxury goods such as ivory furniture, in the life of nobility (King 1988, 139–49). Some of these fashions may have influenced the taste of the Cypriote élite. The large and elaborately decorated iron swords known from Cyprus during this period (one of them found in Salamis Tomb 3) (Fig. 11) no doubt reflect a tendency to imitate the status symbols of the Assyrians, who are often depicted with such swords on reliefs. It is probable that at Salamis or elsewhere there must have been a workshop specializing in the production of such swords, which up to now are unique to Cyprus (Karageorghis, Vassilika and Wilson 1999, 108–9).

It is interesting that these «royal» burial customs of the Greek and Cypriote élite during the 8th–7th centuries B.C. were imitated by some of the ordinary people in Cyprus, such as those who sacrificed mules or donkeys in the dromoi of their rock-cut tombs at the *Cellarka* site in the necropolis of Salamis (Karageorghis 1970, 232); in one case in the same cemetery a slave was also sacrificed in the dromos of a rock-cut tomb (*ibid.*). The custom of sacrificing a horse or donkey in the dromos of a tomb was imitated also by the Phoenicians in Cyprus, as is demonstrated in a recently excavated built tomb at Kition (Karageorghis 2000, 9–10). It should also be mentioned that there is epigraphic evidence for the sacrifice of horses at the burial of a late Assyrian king (MacGinnis 1987).² In Etruria similar status symbols are also found in princely tombs (cf. Ridgway 1997, with bibliography) and there is even a burial of chariots (and no doubt horses) in the tomb of a Phoenician at Huelva in Spain, and there are other examples elsewhere (for references see Karageorghis 1967, 117–9; *idem.* 1982, 129).

It has been argued that what instigated the phenomenon of the «royal tombs» at Salamis may have been the desire of the ruling élite to consolidate and legitimize their power and authority over the people they governed (Rupp 1988; *idem.* 1989). Although this may be one of the reasons for the emergence of this phenomenon, I do not believe it was the only one. In other parts of the Mediterranean similar funerary customs existed at the same time and it is striking how the tomb gifts in Iron Age tombs in various parts of

² I owe this reference to the kindness of Stephanie Dalley.

the Mediterranean are often very similar, especially the silver or bronze vessels of a Phoenician type, firedogs and *obeloi*, luxury furniture and other items (cf. Matthäus 1999). The phenomenon of «globalization» in what constituted the characteristics of a ruling élite must have already started in the Mediterranean in the 9th–8th centuries B.C. The new fashions travelled rapidly and the Phoenicians may have contributed considerably to the dissemination of some of these fashions, at least with regard to luxury goods (cf. Pisano 1999). The princely tombs in Etruria may offer a good example (cf. Winter 1997; cf. also Malkin 1998, 103, 167, with bibliography). Some of these customs, however, such as «heroic» drinking, may have been introduced by Greeks (cf. Ridgway 1997, 338–9).

To sum up the foregoing discussion: the tomb architecture of Cyprus underwent changes during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C., at the time of the arrival of settlers from the Aegean. These changes did not continue for long, and the traditional Cypriote funerary architecture predominated. At the same time we observe new funerary customs in tombs of a warrior élite (mainly of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.) such as cremation of males, the sacrifice of slaves to accompany the dead, the offering of bronze vessels and weapons and other luxury goods. Such customs appear both in the Aegean and Cyprus. These status symbols in «heroic» burials may actually have continued uninterruptedly; but such continuity is so far lacking in the archaeological record. In the heroic burial at Lefkandi (mid-10th century B.C.) the burial of horses, the cremation of a male and the inhumation of a female, and the offering of a large bronze crater are in evidence. Tombs of the 9th century B.C. at Eleutherna in Crete had large bronze vessels as well as human sacrifices on a funerary pyre, and the offering of *obeloi* and firedogs. The most impressive expression of «heroic» burials occurs in the monumental «royal» tombs at Salamis in Cyprus, where the élite, whether warriors or wealthy nobles, are accompanied in their spacious built tombs (one covered by a tumulus) by horses and chariots, sacrificed slaves, large bronze vessels and ivory furniture, *obeloi* and firedogs, and elaborately decorated iron swords. This demonstration of wealth was a phenomenon which may have been influenced by the customs of the Assyrians who held sway over Cyprus in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. Some of the burial customs of «heroic» burials were imitated by wealthy Cypriots, and also by Phoenicians, both in Cyprus and in Spain.

Thus we see that the burial customs in Cyprus and the Aegean are in complete accord with the social and political conditions which prevailed in these two regions and form part of their close interconnections during two crucial periods, the 11th century B.C. and the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

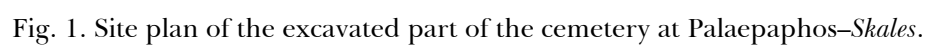
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Leventis Foundation



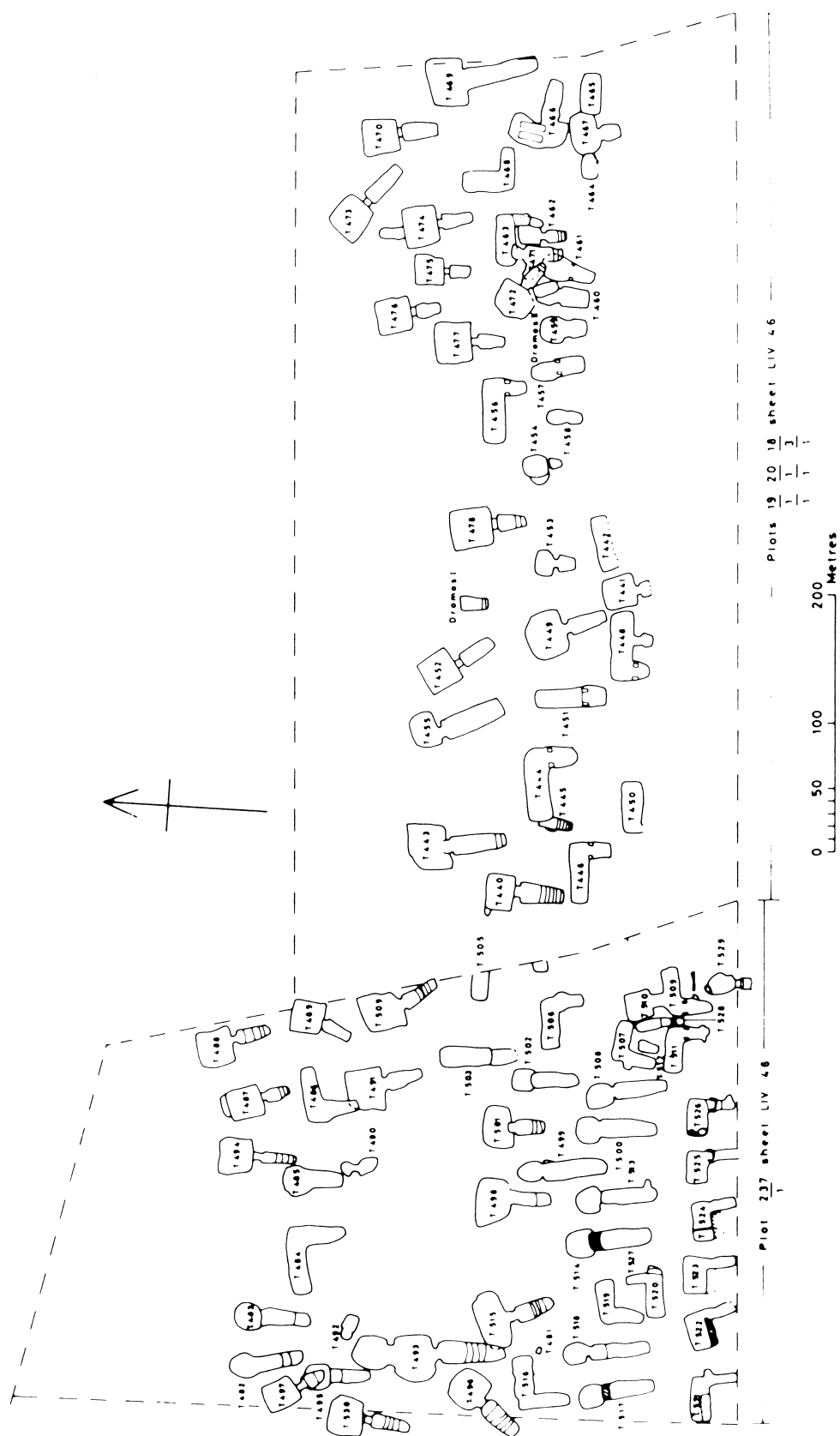


Fig. 2. Site plan of the western necropolis of Amathus.



Fig. 3. Large bowl from Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 49, no. 1.

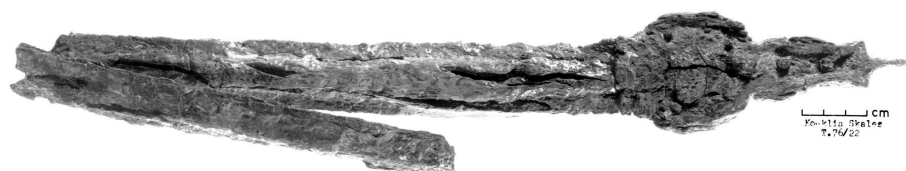


Fig. 4. Iron sword from Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 76, no. 22.



Fig. 5. Bronze tripod from Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 58, no. 31.



Fig. 6. Limestone bath-tub from
Palaepaphos-*Skales*, Tomb 49, no. 198.



Fig. 7. The inscribed part of a bronze obelos from Palaepaphos-*Skales*, Tomb 49, no. 16.



Fig. 8. General view of the dromos of Salamis Tomb 79.

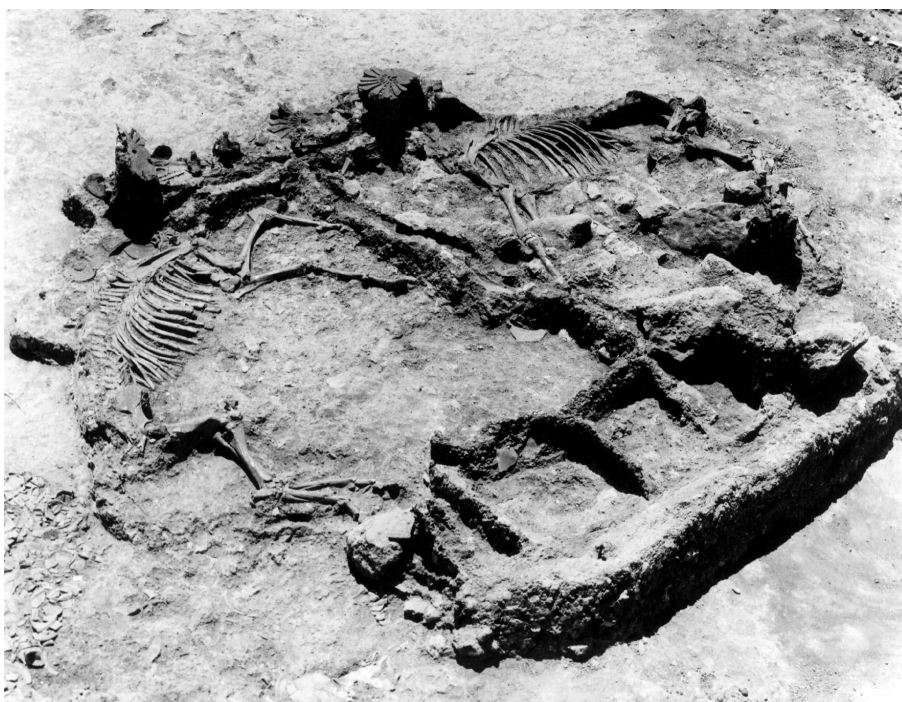


Fig. 9. The remains of horses and the impressions of a chariot in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 79.



Fig. 10. Human skeletal remains in the fill of the dromos of Salamis Tomb 2.



Fig. 11. Iron sword from Salamis Tomb 3.