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Contextualising the Necropolis of Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic Mortuary Horizon

Soloi Nekropolis'ini Kıbrıs-Arkaik Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri Dâhilinde Bağlama Oturtmak

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Abstract: Archaeological interest in the Cypriot necropoleis began in the late 19th century and has increased at a growing pace to the present day. As a result, there is a significant quantity of data related to Cypriot mortuary behaviour, which is referred to as the "Cypriot mortuary horizon" in this paper. However, studies of this so-called horizon have not been holistic, and some necropoleis have been consistently ignored by researchers. The necropolis of Soloi is one of these overlooked examples. This study aims to correct this oversight by focusing on the Cypro-Archaic (750-480 B.C.) necropolis of Soloi. Accordingly, the separately published results of the pre-1974 excavations are interpreted together with the unpublished data of the post-1974 rescue excavations. A comparison of the emerging picture with contemporary Cypriote necropoleis shows that Soloi was an essential component in the creation of the Cypriote mortuary horizon. The similarities it displays in tomb typologies and inventories, and, most importantly, to certain funerary behaviours identified elsewhere on Cyprus enables a better understanding of the pan-island mortuary world.

Keywords: Soloi • Cypro-Archaic • Ceramics • Masks and Figurines • Funerary Rites • Animal Sacrifice

Öz: Kıbrıs *nekropolis*'lerine olan arkeolojik ilgi geç 19. yüzyılda başlamış ve günümüze kadar artan bir hızla devam etmiştir. Bunun sonucunda Kıbrıslıların ölü gömme alışkanlıklarına dair ciddi bir bilgi birikimi oluşmuştur. Bu birikim bu çalışma bünyesinde Kıbrıs Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri olarak anılacaktır. Ancak bu alana sergilenen tüm bilimsel yaklaşımlar bazı nekropolis'lerin bilimsel çalışmalarda sürekli göz ardı edilmesi neticesinde hiçbir zaman bütünleşik olamamıştır. Soloi *nekropolis*'i de bu durumda bir istisna değildir. Bu çalışma bu göz ardı edilişi Soloi'un özellikle Kıbrıs-Arkaik (MÖ 750-480) *nekropolis*'ine odaklanacak şekilde gidermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunu başarabilmek adına 74 öncesi kazıların düzensiz yayınları ile 74 sonrası kurtarma kazılarının hiç yayınlanmamış bilgileri bir arada yorumlanmıştır. Ortaya çıkan resmin çağdaş Kıbrıs nekropolis'leri ile karşılaştırılması bizlere Soloi'un açıkça Kıbrıs Ölü Gömme Çevreni'nin önemli bir üyesi ve katkı sağlayıcısı olduğunu göstermiştir. Soloi *nekropolis*'inin mezar tipolojileri ve envanterleri ama özellikle de bazı ölü gömme adetleri bağlamında sergilediği benzerlikler bizim ada-geneli ölü gömme inançlarını daha iyi anlayabilmemizi sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soloi • Kıbrıs-Arkaik • Seramik • Maske ve Figürinler • Ölü Gömme Ritüelleri • Hayvan Kurbanı

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Introduction

The practice of archaeology on Cyprus was initiated within the sphere of funerary-oriented excavations and this tendency has been maintained to the present day. The first interest in Cypriot tombs and burials was shown by travellers and archaeologists of the 19th century. These so-called "pioneers" of Cypriot archaeology were interested solely in acquiring valuable archaeological objects rather than having scientific aims[1]. Ultimately, these activities paved the way for intense excavation of various tombs across the island between the late 19th and early 20th centuries[2]. The early 1920's saw the scientific development of funerary archaeology on Cyprus due to the more systematic explorations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition[3].

Since then, the excavation of tombs on the island has literally became a daily occupation for Cypriot archaeologists. Consequently, many astonishing discoveries related to the Cypriot *modus sepulturae* have been made. Numerous tombs have been excavated across the island, but mainly at the necropoleis of Salamis, Amathous, Kition, Paphos, Kourion and Lapithos[4]. The results of these excavations have been published by members of both Cypriot and foreign missions. What has emerged is a large and complex picture of the mortuary-oriented world of the ancient Cypriots, what I will call hereafter the "mortuary horizon". All the excavated necropoleis have been integrated, one after another, into this ever-expanding picture. However exceptions, better referred to as the neglected, also occured. Soloi, despite being an important political power of ancient Cyprus, is one of these exceptions and has, for most of the part, not been included in the mortuary horizon of Iron Age Cyprus[5].

This is certainly not due to an absence of material evidence. Although it has not been subject to a long-term excavation programme, the necropolis of Soloi has seen successful fieldwork, in particular the discovery of burials with rich inventories, especially of the Cypro-Archaic period. However, this is not reflected in the publications, and, consequently, this has resulted in the ignorance of Soloi in respect to the mortuary horizon of the Cypriot Iron Age.

In order to redress this situation, this paper first aims to characterise the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi in all its aspects (organisation, tomb typologies, inventories, rites, etc.). Then the necropolis of Soloi is placed within the setting of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon, to expose its similarities with and differences from the other contemporary necropoleis of the island. Thus, for the first time, the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi will be evaluated through a holistic approach, in order to

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1 A quick survey of the *memoires* of the first travellers and excavators on Cyprus, such as Cesnola, Hogarth and Ohnefalsch-Richter, reveals frequent mentions of tombs. Cesnola 1877; Hogarth 1889; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.

2 For instance, during five years of work on Cyprus between 1927 and 1931 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated more than 200 tombs.

3 The Swedish Cyprus Expedition established a still valid typology of the tombs and ceramics of the Cypriot Iron Age, thanks mostly to the vast number of tombs excavated. The outcome of this work can be found in Gjerstad 1948.

4 For a selective bibliography on Cypriote necropoleis, see Karageorghis 1967a; 1970a; 1973a; Benson 1972; Nicolaou & Michaelidou 1985; Yon & Callot 1987; Clerc 1991; Donohoe 1998; Parks 1998; Flourentzos 2007; Flourentzos 2011; Hadjisavvas 2012; Hadjisavvas 2014; Karageorghis & Raptou 2014; Cannavò *et al.* 2018.

5 For instance, references to Soloi within Carstens' in-depth study of Iron Age Cypriot tombs are limited, despite the existence of data on its tomb architecture: Carstens 2006. A similar situation is also evident in relation to Janes' study of the funerary customs of Iron Age Cyprus: Janes 2013.

achieve a better understanding of the already existing data in relation to the mortuary world of ancient Cyprus.

Setting the Scene: Archaeological Interest in the Necropolis of Soloi

Situated within the modern-day Morphou/Güzelyurt region of Cyprus, Soloi is known to have been one of the famed Cypriot Iron Age polities. During antiquity, the city occupied a relatively high hill (the acropolis) and tended to extend towards the sea to the north (the lower city)[6]. Evidence of the burial grounds of the city reveals a vast necropolis surrounding the whole settlement[7].

Nevertheless, Soloi has not received the same level of archaeological focus as have other Cypriot centres of power. Thus its Cypro-Archaic era and the necropolis of this period remain obscure, and so, although we have ample published evidence from the Archaic burial grounds of many Cypriot polities[8], only superficial information is available about that of Soloi.

The site was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition during the late 1920's. However, the focus of attention was mainly directed at the Roman theatre and the extramural Graeco-Roman sanctuaries around the city[9]. The first references to the necropolis were made by the Swedish expedition, but are limited to field observations and records of surface finds consisting of pottery only[10]. The most noteworthy information resulting from this earliest work on the Solian burial grounds is the mention of a Cypro-Archaic built tomb, which was already badly damaged at that time[11].

Next came the Canadian Expedition of the University of Laval, which focused once again on the Roman or Early Byzantine monuments, with some interest in the Archaic to Hellenistic levels[12]. The necropolis was also subject to seasonal excavations, but these were not realised each year[13]. In addition a few rescue excavations were conducted by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus up to 1974[14].

The Canadian Expedition excavated within two different "plots" that were filled with tombs (fig. 1). The first plot is located to the south-east of the acropolis in an area recorded as *Toumballi tou Mavrou* in the cadastral records[15]. This first plot was excavated between 1965 and 1967, and a total of

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6 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 399-403; Gagniers 1975, 212.

7 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 404-405; Gagniers 1975, Fig. 1.

8 For Archaic burials from Marion, see Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 455. For Salamis, see Karageorghis 1970a; Blackwell 2010. For Amathous, see Nicolaou & Michaelidou 1985; Tygat 1989, 201 ff. For Kition, see Hadjisavvas 2012. For Paphos, see Karageorghis & Raptou 2014.

9 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 416-547, 548-582.

10 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 404-405.

11 Westholm 1941, 49.

12 For general information on Canadian excavations see Gagniers 1975.

13 For publications by the Canadians see mainly Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 50-54; Gagniers 1975, 226-229. For reports of the Department of Antiquities see Karageorghis 1966, 353-355; 1967b, 360-361; 1968, 327-330; 1970b, 273-274; 1971, 422-424.

14 Christou 1973; Karageorghis 1973b, 660-665.

15 Neither the Canadians nor Karageorghis is precise as to the exact location of this plot. However, with a detailed survey of the publications (Karageorghis 1966, 353; 1970, 274; Gagniers 1975, 226) and an in-detail glimpse of a map published by Gagniers (1975, Fig. 1) one can locate this particular plot. This first plot (Lot 244) falls within Sheet XXVIII.1 of the map of the Department of Land and Surveys of the Republic of Cyprus.

15 tombs were located. The tombs are dated between the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods[16]. The same plot witnessed another excavation campaign in 1972; this was conducted by the Department of Antiquities and revealed a total of 28 tombs[17]. The second Canadian plot is situated in the same vicinity as the first, but falls towards its north within an area known as *Physa*[18]. This plot was excavated between 1969 and 1970, and a total of 15 tombs were located, including some IX century B.C. burials, the earliest found so far at Soloi[19].

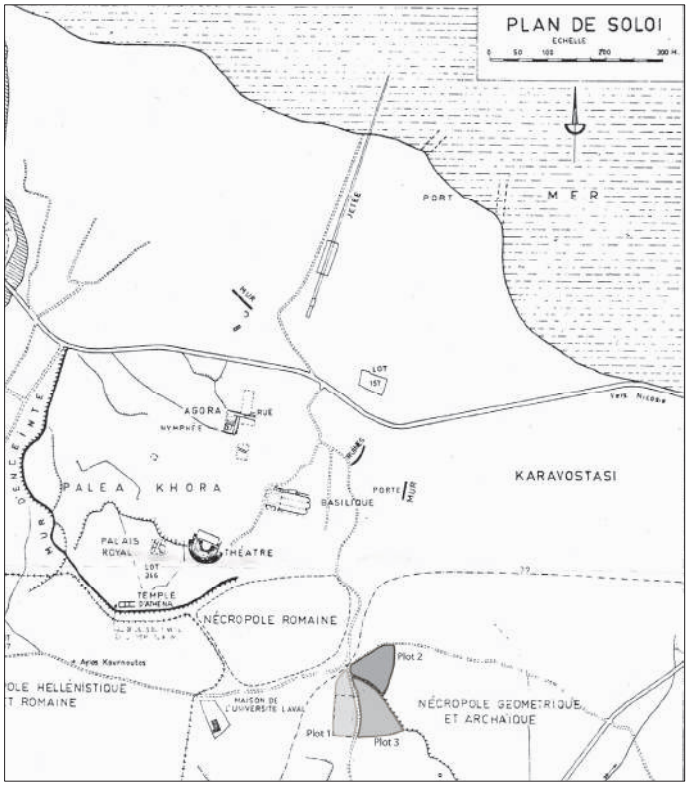


Fig. 1. *Map of the Site of Soloi with Plots that Revealed Cypro-Archaic Burials* (by author after des Gagniers 1975, fig. 1)

After 1974, fieldwork at Soloi came to an almost total standstill. Just some rescue excavations were conducted within the necropolis by the Morphou/Güzelyurt Branch of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the TRNC. Of these, only one, conducted in 1991, revealed tombs (three) from the Cypro-Archaic period.[20] The results of the post-74 excavations are yet to be published.

16 Karageorghis 1966, 353-355; 1967b, 360-361; 1968, 328-330.

17 Christou 1973; Karageorghis 1973b, 660-665. However, Christou wrongly places this excavation in a different area known as *Physa* in a more recent publication of his: Christou 2002, 32-33.

18 Due to Karageorghis (1970b, 274) we know that this plot is the Lot 96 which falls within Sheet XIX.58 of the map of the Department of Land and Surveys of the Republic of Cyprus.

19 Karageorghis 1970b, 274; 1971, 422.

20 This excavation was initiated with the construction of a house and took place during the last quarter of 1991. A total of 15 tombs were excavated under the directorship of Peyman Uzun, then Director of the Morphou/Güzelyurt Branch. Only a few tombs were dated to the Cypro-Archaic period.

Methodology and Problems

Placing Soloi within the setting of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon is only possible following its characterisation. This will be achieved by collecting all the data related to it to form some kind of a "corpus". This corpus will be used to establish multivariant analogies with other contemporary necropoleis. This requires the formation of a similar corpus covering the other necropoleis considered in this study. As Soloi was one of the important polities of the Cypriot Iron Age, analogies need to be established primarily with the necropoleis of the other major centres of power.

However, such a methodology has its problems. The mortuary data, even those recovered under the most scientifically stringent conditions, might be incomplete and complex, and so pose many challenges to forming an understanding. This situation is more problematic for sites that are impacted by one or more factors that can affect the integrity of the data: such as, a high ratio of tombs with disturbed contexts, a low number of tombs or artefacts, poor documentation or insufficient scientific publication. To overcome such problems, analysis should be based upon data stemming from undamaged, properly recorded and published tombs. Unfortunately, such a scenario is not applicable to most of the necropoleis of Iron Age Cyprus.

Soloi, at this point in time, is no exception. Its Cypro-Archaic necropolis is known to host a decent number of tombs, a relatively good amount of undisturbed contexts and vast quantities of artefacts. Unfortunately, the publications of the Canadian expedition in relation to this material are generally superficial and repetitive. This situation is redressed, to a certain extent, due to the publications of Vassos Karageorghis in the well-known series "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre"[21]. Even so, detailed architectural interpretations, the exact contents of tomb inventories, the distribution of artefacts across burial phases and their precise locations within tombs are largely lacking. This is perhaps best exemplified by the ceramic inventories. Despite being better documented and published than most of the other artefacts, even for the ceramics we lack any proper information on the definition of specific forms or how many examples are classified under each form.

The situations for contemporary necropoleis are varied. For instance, Salamis and Marion have well-documented and well-published Cypro-Archaic mortuary contexts. Amathous, on the other hand, has a wide range of tombs, but nearly all are not suitable for analysis due to looting, the disturbance of contexts or a lack of publication[22]. Additionally, the publications on Amathous adopt a non-holistic approach, with separate volumes for each artefact group. This separation of the material makes it difficult to combine the datasets, which all adopt different scientific approaches. For Kition, Palaepaphos, Lapethos, Ledra and Kourion there is a lack of enough contemporary tombs and inventories, and this could easily create misleading results and bias the interpretations. Thus, a bilateral methodology needs to be utilised in which certain necropoleis are more integrated into the study than others. Within this frame, those necropoleis with more data will be used both for quantitive and discussion-based analogies, and the others will be used solely as mediums for discussion. Marion, Salamis and Kition are the principal necropoleis that will be integrated into the quantitive analogy, while Amathous will be excluded[23].

A quantitive approach seems to be possible mostly for ceramics, lamps and terracotta items. These

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21 See footnote 13.

22 For this situation with regards to the Amathousian tombs especially see Janes 2013, 155.

23 The data from Marion stem from 47 tombs, from 44 for Salamis and 10 for Kition.

artefacts comprise the best-documented and best-studied groups for nearly all the necropoleis. Other artefacts, such as jewellery, metal vessels and weapons, are included in the discussion-based analysis only. This is due to their poor documentation at Soloi and their appearance in pairs, which proved to be deceptive in quantified analysis.

Despite these issues, an overall analysis of the organisation of the burial grounds, tomb typologies and inventories of the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi is presented below.

Testimony of the published tombs

The excavations of the Canadians brought to light certain Cypro-Archaic tombs labelled as IV, V, VI, VII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV and XV all originating from the first plot (fig. 2)[24]. It is possible to further increase the number of contemporary tombs from this plot by the addition of tombs CS 1870, 1882, 1884 and 1893 which were excavated by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus[25]. Despite the knowledge that the second plot also housed Cypro-Archaic tombs, their exact numbers are not expressed clearly within any publication. The only exception, in this case, is a single tomb referred to as T3[26].

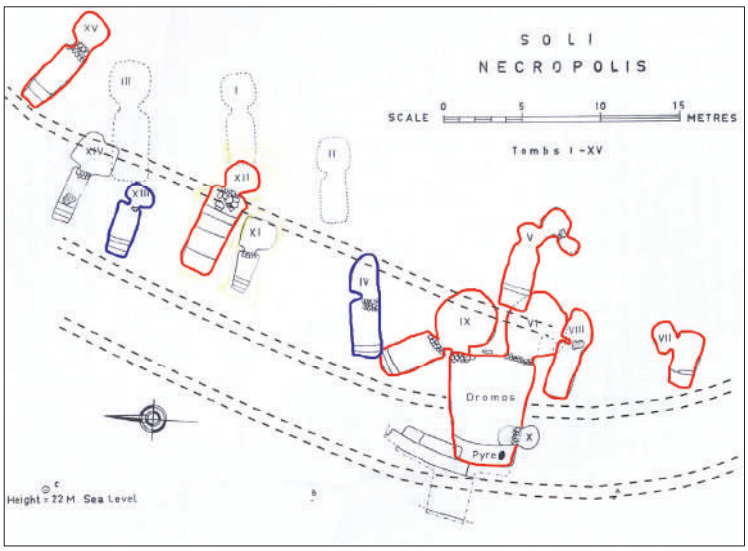


Fig. 2. *Map of the First Plot Showing the Cypro-Archaic Tombs and Possible Paths between the Tombs* (by author after des Gagniers *et al.* 1967, fig. 1)

Some of these tombs were in part looted but nearly all supplied us with rich inventories mostly originating from their dromos. All of the tombs reflect a similar typology in which a sunken dromos approached by steps (generally three) leads to a circular burial chamber. The so-called cave-like chambers generally measure around 2-5 m with a height of 1 m. Certain tombs with exceptions are evaluated below under their entries.

Tomb IV (hereafter T4)[27] is located at the midpoint of the first plot (fig. 2: IV)[28]. It has a west to east

[24] Karageorghis 1966; 1967b; 1968; Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53, Fig. 1.

[25] Karageorghis 1971. For a brief mention of this excavation, see also Gagniers 1975, 229.

[26] Karageorghis 1973b. For a brief mention of this excavation, see also Gagniers 1975, 229.

[27] The designation of tombs by Roman numbers, as done by the Canadians, is not adopted here. This is mainly to prevent any confusion with Cypriot ceramic ware types, which are also designated by Roman numbers.

[28] Gagniers *et al.* 1967, Fig. 1.

orientation. The chamber that was partially looted yielded 14 vases with a high percentage of Black-on-Red forms of types III and IV[29]. An amphora belongs to White Painted III ware. A general dating within Cypro-Archaic I (hereafter CA I) (750-600 B.C.) is suggested for this tomb[30].

Tomb V (T5) reflects the same orientation as the previous (fig. 2: V). All the finds from T5 were recovered from the main chamber. The ceramic inventory mostly consisted of vases belonging to types IV and V. Among the ceramic inventory a trefoil jug of White Painted IV is the only published exemplar. An inventory combined of types IV and V gives a general date around CA II (600-480 B.C.)[31].

Tomb VI (T6) is the biggest Cypro-Archaic tomb exposed to date (fig. 2:VI). It has a west to east orientation. This tomb reflects a strange structure as two other contemporary tombs are somehow integrated into its dromos (fig. 3)[32]. Another salient trait of T6 is its relatively large dromos that can be simply referred to as "semi-monumental"[33].

Among all the Cypro-Archaic tombs excavated by the Canadians T6 is the best published. Not only we have sufficient information on its different burial layers but we are also supplied with ample information related to specific artefacts originating from its chamber. T6 yielded three different burial contexts of which the first two belonged to our era of interest (fig. 4). The first burial was made directly on the floor of the chamber and contained "*…vases of that period together with bones, gold beads, small medallions and faience amulets of Egyptian style*" as expressed by its excavators. This burial was dated to the very beginning of the VI century B.C. (CA IIA). The second burial consisted of several bodies together with "*…vases as well as iron and bronze knives, mirrors etc.*". This burial was dated slightly later than the first, somewhere between the VI and V centuries B.C. (CA IIB)[34].

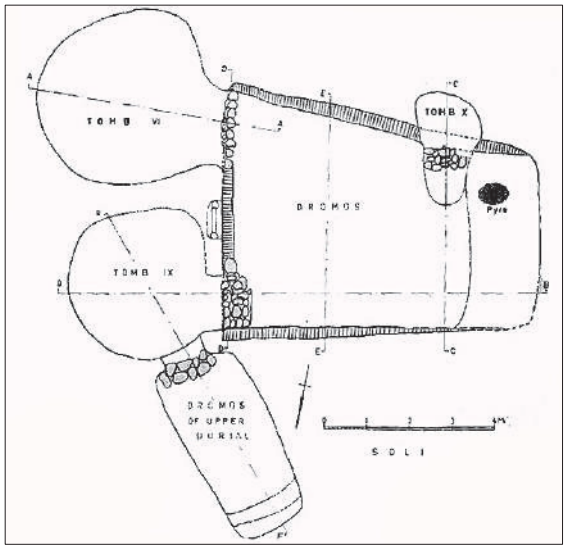


Fig. 3. *Plan of T6, T9 and T10* (Karageorghis 1967b, fig. 168)

[29] All references to ceramic forms, types and ware groups are based on the well-established terminology of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. For the types and grouping of ceramic vessels within this paper, see Gjerstad 1948, figs LVIII-LXXI and related entries.

[30] All dates used in this article are based on the chronological table in Gjerstad 1960.

[31] Karageorghis 1966, 353, for the published jug, see Fig. 108 *bis*.

[32] Karageorghis 1967b, Fig. 168.

[33] The dromos is referred to as "*…grand dromos…*" by the Canadians: Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 52. The approximate measurements of this dromos can be calculated from its technical drawing. The total length is ca. 7.20 m; its width widens from ca. 4 to 6 m towards the *façade* of the chamber.

[34] Gagniers 1975, 228. For a visual from the chamber showing ceramics from burials, see Karageorghis 1966, Fig. 108 *ter*.



Fig. 4. *View from the Chamber of T6 Showing its Mixed Context* (Karageorghis 1967b, fig. 108)

A total of 150 vases are reported to be found from this tomb alone[35]. Two trefoil jugs and two trefoil juglets are reported as the most important ceramic finds. The first jug is of Black-on-Red II (IV)[36]. The second jug is important as it bears a Cypro-syllabic inscription on its shoulder reading Θεμίστιος[37]. Both juglets belong to the Bichrome V ware but supply us with different forms (fig. 5a-b)[38].



Fig. 5 a-b. *Juglets from T6* (Karageorghis 1966, fig. 109)

Tomb VII (T7) has an east to west orientation (fig. 2: VII). Robbed to a certain extent, the inventory of T7 mainly consisted of vases found from the dromos. The majority of the vases belong to Type V with a few other of Type IV. A single cup of White Painted IV is the only published vase[39]. The tomb can be dated to CA II (600-480 B.C.) due to the distribution of its ceramic inventory.

Tomb VIII (T8) has an east to west orientation similar to its neighbouring contemporaries T5 and T6 (fig. 2: VIII). A total of 16 vases constitute all that is left from the partially looted context. The

35 Gagniers 1975, 226.

36 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T VI 156), Fig. 2.

37 Karageorghis 1966, 355; Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T VI 76).

38 Karageorghis 1966, figs 109 & 109*bis;* Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T VI 33&34).

39 Karageorghis 1966, 355 (T VII δ2), Fig. 109 *ter*.

majority of this ceramic inventory comprised of Type V vases accompanied by a few Type VI specimens. The only published vase from T8 is a jug of White Painted V[40]. A date in CA IIB (540-480 B.C.) seems valid for this tomb thanks to its ceramic inventory.

Tomb IX (T9) is the first of two tombs that has an opening into the huge dromos of T6 and supplies us with an additional dromos (fig. 2: IX-3)[41]. Within the chamber, three different burial levels were present, of which the first belonged to the end of the Cypro-Geometric period (hereafter CG). The other two burials belonged to the Cypro-Archaic period and revealed a fairly large number of human remains (a total of 15 skeletons according to the excavators). Cypro-Archaic burials of this specific tomb also yielded a variety of objects (mirrors, bronze bracelet etc.) and vases of types IV-V. Among the published vases we know of a jug belonging to Bichrome Red I (IV) ware[42]. Another two vases that we know of are a hydria and an amphora with vertical handles[43]. An inventory combined of types IV and V gives a general date around CA II (600-480 B.C.).

Tomb X (T10) is the smallest tomb from this plot. Its dromos was dug perpendicularly in the large dromos of T6 (fig. 2: X-3)[44]. In front of the tomb, some intact vases were found and a pyre was located little to the west of it. The burial contained only one adult skeleton, probably a female, with a child's skeleton by its side. The offerings were few. A total of five vases of Type IV constituted the ceramic inventory of which only two trefoil jugs were published[45]. One of the jugs is given to Bichrome Red I (IV) ware[46]. A small bronze ring was also present at the side of the child's head[47]. Through its inventory of ceramics, T10 can be dated to the CA I (750-600 B.C.).

Tomb XII (T 12) is located towards the northeastern section of the plot (fig. 2: XII). It has a northwest to northeast orientation. The chamber was found almost entirely robbed of its inventory. Nevertheless, the dromos, that must have escaped the attention of the robbers, revealed vases but also remains from the sacrifice of two animals. Found laying on the floor of the dromos at a short distance from the *stomion* these sacrificed animals were identified as an ox and a goat. Accompanying the ox was a knife found next to its neck[48]. Additionally, accompanying the animals were also fragments of a large amphora with basket handles. Among the vases found within the dromos, the majority belonged to Type IV with a clear indication of the presence of a White Painted IV jug. A rare find , again from the dromos, was a fragmented Ionian cup[49]. With the help of vases from the dromos, of which a

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40 Karageorghis 1966, 355 (T VIII 6), Fig. 110.

41 This opening towards the dromos of T6 does not seem to belong to the original structure of the tomb itself. Rather, it must be the result of a miscalculation that took place during the carving of the tomb which was fixed later by the formation of a rubble wall. This is a common scenario for the Cypriot rock-cut chambers observable in many other necropoleis. For some similar cases, see Karageorghis 1970a, 225; Hadjisavvas 2014, 41. The dromos related to T9 was probably the one that stretches in a north-westerly direction.

42 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T IX 7).

43 Karageorghis 1967b, 360; Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T IX 17 & 31), pl. XIII.4.

44 Karageorghis 1967b, Fig. 168.

45 Karageorghis 1967b, 360 (T X 1 & 4).

46 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T X 4), pl. XII.5.

47 Karageorghis 1967b, 360.

48 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 52-53; Gagniers 1975, 228.

49 Karageorghis 1968, 328 (T XII Δ2), Fig. 113.

major portion were Type IV, we can securely date T12 to CA IIB (540-480 B.C.).

Tomb XIII (T13) is positioned towards the north of T12 nearly occupying the same linear axis (fig. 2: XIII). It also reflects a similar orientation not only to T12 but also to T11 and T14. This tomb was also for the most part looted. The chamber yielded only a few objects. Hair spirals and some fragmentary silver rings were the notable finds recovered from the chamber. Among the ceramics mostly Type IV forms were evident among which we are only informed of a small Black-on-Red bowl. The dromos again yielded a richer context by giving five good quality vases that were all found *in-situ* placed upside down. Among them, a Bichrome IV jug is noteworthy for its elegant shape (fig. 6)[50]. A hydria belonging to White Painted IV ware is another vase found from the dromos[51]. A ceramic inventory mostly dominated with Type IV gives a date of around CA IB (675-600 B.C.) for this tomb.



Fig. 6. *A Bichrome IV Jug from T13* (Karageorghis 1968, fig. 114)



Fig. 7. *The "East Greek" Syphos from T14* (Karageorghis 1968, fig. 115)

Tomb XIV (T14) is one of the northernmost tombs from the first plot (fig. 2: XIV). It is located on an angular line, that stretches northeast to southwest, together with T13, T12 and T11[52]. T14 was not found intact, but only its last burial was looted. What remained mainly consisted of a small number of decorated vases belonging to types IV-V. Among the finds especially an "East Greek" skyphos dated tentatively to the VI century B.C.[53] attracts attention (fig. 7)[54]. Based on the local ceramic evidence (with types IV-V) T14 can be dated into CA II, a date further supported by the so-called East Greek skyphos.

Tomb XV (T15) is the last tomb from the northern limit of the first plot (fig. 2: XV). It is oriented in a northwestern to a southeastern axis. Its chamber containing two inhumations was found mostly looted. Publications are clear with the information that these two inhumations respectively belonged to CG (with Type III vases) and CA II (with types IV-V). Nevertheless, sole information related to the inventory informs us that a total of 30 vases of "good quality" were evident from our era of interest[55].

CS 1870 (T1870) is the first among the Cypro-Archaic tombs excavated by the Department of

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50 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 52-53; Karageorghis 1968, 330 (T XIII Δ6), Fig. 114.

51 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 53 (T XIII Δ 5), pl. XIII.1.

52 Gagniers *et al.* 1967, Fig. 1.

53 For a brief evaluation of this skyphos, see Gjerstad 1977, 32-33. However Gjerstad also accepts that this vessel does not belong to any typology established so far for East-Greek pottery (Gjerstad 1977, n. 31). It is highly likely what we have here is an atypical local imitation.

54 Karageorghis 1968, 330 (T XIV 26), Fig. 115.

55 Karageorghis 1968, 330.

Antiquities of Cyprus. No specific information or visuals exist related to its location within the plot, its orientation or architecture. On the other hand, we are informed that it contained jugs and juglets of Black-on-Red II (IV), an Ionian skyphos (fig. 8a), a terracotta bird figurine in Bichrome (fig. 8b) and a small amulet depicting the Egyptian god Anubis (fig. 8c)[56]. The Ionian skyphos is important in this context as it further supports the date of the tomb established through the local ceramics. This specific skyphos is given a wide timeline between the last quarter of the VII and first of the VI century B.C.[57]. When this date is combined with the one obtained from local types, the date for this tomb can be fixed to somewhere around the beginning of CA IIA (around 600 B.C.).

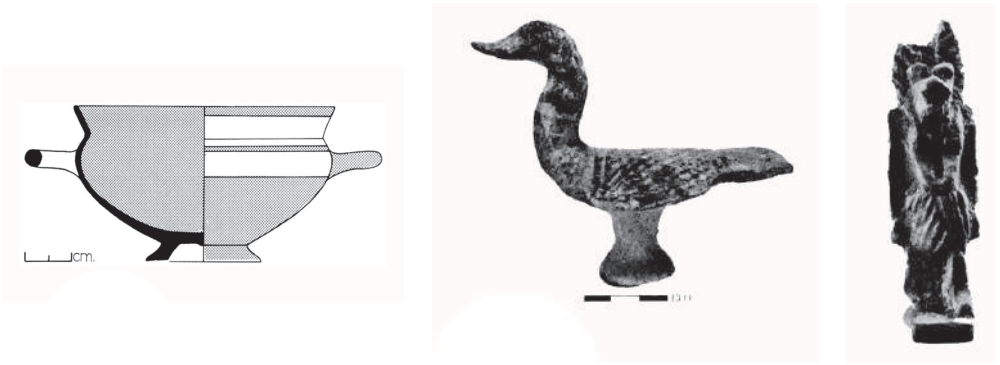


Fig. 8. *The Ionian Skyphos* (a), *Bird Figurine* (b) *and the Amulet of Anubis* (c) *from T1870* (a: Karageorghis 1973, fig. 95, b: 1973, fig. 96, c: 1973, fig. 97)



Fig. 9. *The Corinthian Aryballos from T1884* (Karageorghis 1973, fig. 100)

CS 1882 (T1882) is the second tomb among the rescue excavated with a Cypro-Archaic date. No proper information exists related to its location, orientation and architecture as well as its inventory. The only artefact that we know to have originated from it is a small phiale of Bichrome IV, richly decorated with triangle motifs filling a band around its rim and a rosette on its tondo. This phiale, with its decoration, is accepted as a local imitation of certain Naukratian or Ionian exemplars. T1882 is dated to CAI (750-600 B.C.)[58].

CS 1884 (T1884) is another tomb from the first plot for which we have no proper information. Its ceramic inventory is characterized by Bichrome V, White Painted V and Red Slip III (V) exemplars. In addition to these local vases, it also yielded a Corinthian aryballos (fig. 9). The tomb is dated to CAII (600-480 B.C.) thanks to its inventory[59].

CS 1893 (T1893) is the last Cypro-Archaic tomb from the rescue excavations that are noted as found in the first plot. We only know that it housed juglets of Black-on-Red II (IV) and a bronze spiral ring[60]. Its ceramic inventory of only Black-on-Red II (IV) vases places this tomb within the early years of CA II around 600 B.C.

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56 Karageorghis 1973, 663, Figs. 95-97.

57 Cook & Dupont 1998, 131, Fig. 1.8.c.

58 Karageorghis 1973, 665, Fig. 98.

59 Karageorghis 1973, 665, Fig. 100.

60 Karageorghis 1973, 665, Fig. 99.

T3 (T3) is the only Cypro-Archaic tomb from the second plot. Its ceramic inventory consisted of types IV and V[61]. From this information, a date around CA I (750-600 B.C.) can be suggested for this tomb.

Testimony of the Unpublished Tombs

Among the post-74 excavations, only one conducted in 1991 revealed certain tombs of Cypro-Archaic origin. This excavation took place within a plot in the locality of *Toumballi tou Mavrou* which stood between the previous two excavated by the Canadians[62]. The northern limit of this plot is adjacent to the first one and its northwestern tip lies adjacent to the second.

The report related to this excavation supplies us with a shred of ample written evidence on the architecture, measurements and contexts of the tombs but fails to further support all these with enough drawings or photographs[63]. What is missing is a plan of the overall distribution and orientation of the tombs within the plot. Among the tombs from this plot only three housed burials from the Cypro-Archaic period. Those three tombs are labelled as Mezar 6 (hereafter M6), Mezar 10 (M10) and Mezar 12 (M12).

M6 is the first Cypro-Archaic tomb from the post-74 excavations. M6 reflects all the characteristics of the well known "cave-like" type rock-cut chamber tomb. It is noted as north-south oriented. M6 supplies us with a never seen before dromos type for Soloi, as the whole western longitudinal side of its dromos is carved into a bench (*parastades*)[64].



Fig. 10. *Amphorae and the Bowl in their In-Situ Positions next to the Entrance of M6* (Courtesy of the Güzelyurt Archaeology and Nature Museum)



Fig. 11a. *Assemblages of the Burials from M6* (photograph by Kadir Kaba)

Two different layers were present at the chamber, of which the oldest belonging to our era of interest[65]. The report lacks detailed information related to the setting of the Cypro-Archaic burial. However, photographs show that a group of vases (two amphorae and a bowl) were placed towards the left side of the chamber right after the entrance (fig.10). Notably, the bowl is seen to be placed on the mouth of one of the amphorae for closing it. On the other hand, a detailed list of its inventory of mostly local ceramics is given. The local ceramics from M6 are a Bichrome V amphora, a Bichrome V jug, two

61 Karageorghis 1971, 422.

62 This plot is "Lot 153/1" on Sheet XXVIII.2 of the map of the Department of Land and Surveys of the Republic of Cyprus.

63 All information related to this excavation, including tombs and artefacts found, can be obtained from "KKTC Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Dairesi Müdürlüğü, Güzelyurt Bölge Sorumluluğu EEM. 12/91 Sayılı Rapor".

64 For the term *parastades*, see Gjerstad 1948, 37.

65 The other burial (second) dates to Cypro-Classical I.

Black-on-Red II (V) jugs, a Plain White VI juglet, two Black-on-Red II (V) juglets, a Black-on-Red II (V) amphoriskos, a Red Slip III (V) bowl, a White Painted VI jar and a White Painted VI plate. A Chian amphora constitutes the only imported vase from M6 (fig. 11a)[66]. A single terracotta figurine of a bird was also present in this inventory (fig. 12).



Fig. 11b-c. *Assemblages of the Burials from M10* (b) and M12 (c) (photographs by Kadir Kaba)

The local ceramic inventory from M6 comprised of a mixture of types V and VI. A ratio of eight vases of Type V and four vases of Type VI gives a date of CA IIB (540-480 B.C.) according to the chronology of Gjerstad[67]. The Chian amphora is dated to around 575-525 B.C. through parallels[68]. A combination of dates given by both local and imported vases fix the sealing date of M6 to somewhere between 540-525 B.C.

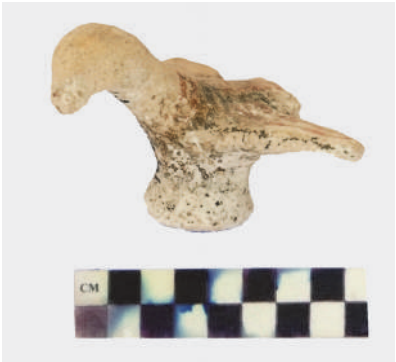


Fig. 12. *The Bird Figurine from M6* (photograph by Kadir Kaba)

M10 has a north-south orientation with its dromos opening to the north. The Cypro-Archaic burial was laid directly on the floor of the chamber and was later topped by a second burial of Cypro-Classical date. The inventory of the Cypro-Archaic burial is rather varied, consisting of 10 vases, 2 plastic vases and a terracotta votive mask of local production. The inventory consisted of a Black-on-Red II (IV) amphoriskos, a Bichrome IV amphoriskos, two vases of White Painted IV, a jug of Coarse Ware, a Bichrome Red II (V) bowl, two Red Slip II (IV) bowls, a Plain White V bowl and a Red Slip II (IV) plate (Fig. 11b). A bull-head rhyton of Bichrome IV and a "ring vase" of Bichrome III are the two plastic vases (fig. 13a-b). A grotesque male mask is the only coroplastic artefact from the tomb (Fig. 13c). The ceramic inventory from M10 consisted of a mixture of types IV and V. A ratio of seven vases of Type IV and two vases of Type V gives a date of CA IB - IIA (ca. 650-550 B.C.).

M12 is the last of the Cypro-Archaic tombs from Soloi. It repeats the same orientation as M6 and M10. It received a single burial accompanied by ceramics only. All vases were noted to be located at both sides of the entrance towards the corners. A jug of Plain White V, a jug of Bichrome Red I (IV), two juglets of Bichrome V, an amphoriskos of Bichrome Red I (IV), two amphorae of Plain White V, a cup of Coarse Ware and a plate of Red Slip II (IV) constitute the ceramic inventory (fig. 11c). A ratio

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66 The amphora belongs to "Type A" of the typology of Calvet & Yon 1977. However, it should be noted here that the Chian amphorae found on Cyprus have received many other typological designations by various scholars. For a collective approach to this matter, see Hadjicosti 1993, 183.

67 Gjerstad 1948, 202-203.

68 Sezgin 2012, 98-101.

of five vases of Type IV and three vases of Type V gives a date of CA IIA (ca. 600-540 B.C.).



Fig. 13a-b-c. *The Bull-Head Rhyton (a), Ring Vase (b) and the Grotesque Male Mask (c) from M10* (photographs by Kadir Kaba)

Contextualising Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon

The answers to a range of questions are necessary in order to contextualise Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. These questions focus on both micro-oriented and macro-oriented issues. A balance needs to be established in order to understand Soloi both within itself and within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. The principal questions include the following. Where does Soloi stand in terms of the organisation of Cypro-Archaic necropoleis? Does Soloi share any similar tomb typologies with the other necropoleis? How are its tomb inventories similar or different? Did the funerary customs or rituals of the Solians follow similar patterns to those of other Cypriot communities? Is it possible to detect any pan-island customs or do local variations prevail? It is challenging to find answers to these questions, but not impossible, and the point of departure is the organisation of the burial grounds of Soloi.

We know that all the tombs were located in three separate yet adjacent plots (burial grounds). However, our data related to the organisation of tombs within each plot vary. The first plot has visual data, but written information only exists for the third. Unfortunately, no useful data is available for the second plot.

The ground-plan of the first plot offers an interesting picture (fig. 2). A general orientation plan is evident, and thus T14, T13, T12, T4, T9 and T8 all have their dromoi aligned in a north-east to south-west direction. A second row is evident towards the east of the first, onto which the dromoi of T15 and T5 must have opened. The dromos of T6, which stretches more towards the west, can be located in another row. These "rows" must have constituted of roads or paths that were used to traverse this "city of the dead". Consequently, at least in the first plot, we witness a well-organised burial ground. It is a pity that no information related to the other plots can be obtained. Nevertheless, a repetitive north-south orientation that is evident for the tombs of the third plot (M6, M10 and M12) indicates the possibility of a similar organisation here.

Can we trace a similar "organised" pattern in the other contemporary necropoleis? Interestingly at Marion, the closest neighbour to Soloi, we find a similar situation. Marion offers a good number of Cypro-Archaic tombs in three separate burial grounds. For the first of these, *Potamos tou Myrmikof*, we see that all the Cypro-Archaic tombs were aligned in a row, as evidenced at Soloi[69]. With only two tombs from the second burial ground, *Kaparka*, it is not possible to determine the arrangement of

[69] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 184, map 2 nos 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 13.

this portion of the necropolis during the Cypro-Archaic period[70]. The final burial ground at Marion, *Evrethades*, like Soloi and *Potamos tou Myrmikof*, seems to have an arrangement based on rows (fig. 14 a). Additionally, *Evrethades* supplies us with some further information related to the organisation of its Cypro-Archaic burial grounds[71]. Here, the Cypro-Archaic tombs are oriented in different directions. Appearing a bit heterotaxic at first sight, the orientation reveals its true nature when certain tombs are identified as aligned in rows as is evident at Soloi and *Potamos tou Myrmikof*. Then a system emerges, at least on paper, in which the burial ground is seen to be divided into specific plots that are not equal in size or orientation. The emerging picture is satisfactory in terms of supplying us with proof of an organised burial ground. The organisation of *Evrethades*, most importantly, provides a glimpse of what we might expect at Soloi with regards to the organisation of its burial grounds.

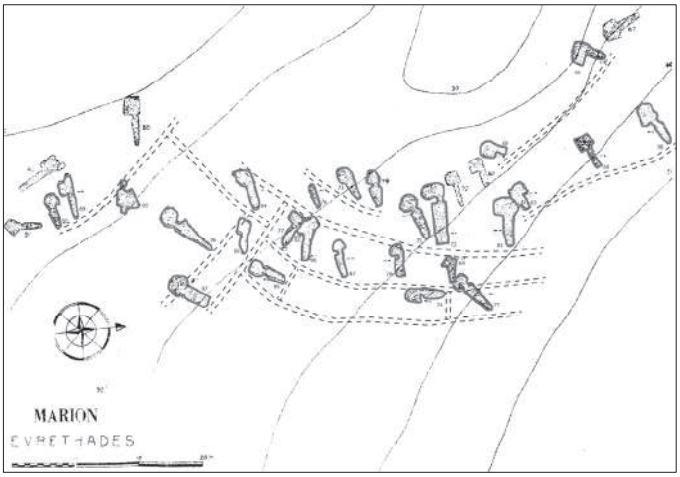


Fig. 14a. *Map of the Evrethades Burial Grounds with Cypro-Archaic Tombs and Possible Paths between the Tombs* (by author after Gjerstad et al. 1935, map 3)

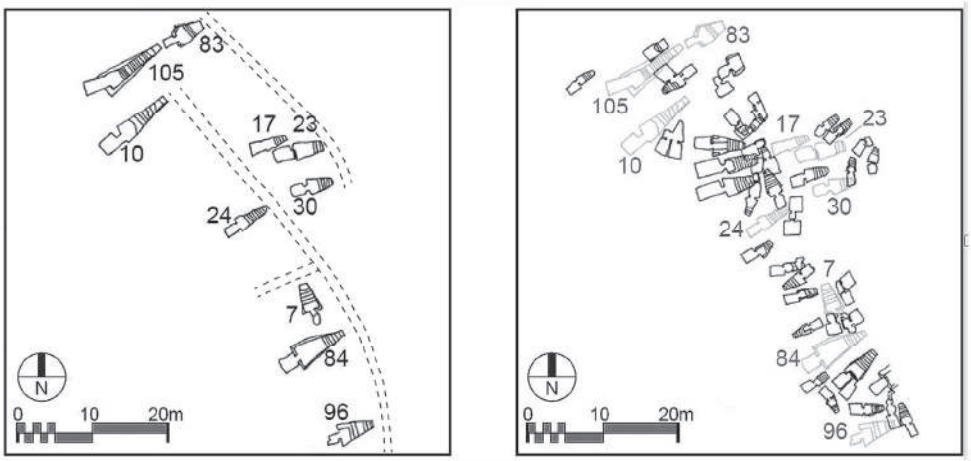


Fig. 14b. *Map of the Cellarka Burial Grounds with Cypro-Archaic tombs and Possible Paths between the Tombs* (by author after Blackwell 2010, figs. 3-4)

70 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 184, map 4 nos 20 and 50.

71 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 184, map 3 nos 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97 and 98.

Another contemporary necropolis that should be integrated into this analysis is that of Salamis: specifically the *Cellarka* burial ground. The early Cypro-Archaic *Cellarka* is a further example of an organised burial ground. Due in particular to Blackwell's illuminating study on *Cellarka*, we see that the early phase of this burial ground saw an organised pattern in which tombs were aligned linearly to face particular roads or paths (fig. 14b)[72]. The pattern of *Evrethades*, in which intersecting roads or paths formed specific plots, is also evident in this phase of *Cellarka*. In contrast, this organised structure gave way to a rather crowded and disorderly pattern during C-A II. During this phase of the *Cellarka* burial ground, orientations varied, no linear or any other organisation existed and the overlapping of different tombs was apparently a very common feature[73].

These similar patterns that emerge from Soloi, Marion and Salamis cannot be coincidental, and we can cautiously put forward the idea that a certain level of organisation existed at different scales across the island (fig. 15)[74]. However, the scarce amount of holistic information (both visual and written) from other necropoleis prevents us from applying this analysis on a pan-island Cypro-Archaic scale.

The tomb typology of Soloi does not contain any novelties. All 18 Cypro-Archaic examples belong to the well-known category of rock-cut chamber tombs of the Cypriot Iron Age[75]. The only exception is the built-tomb, of which, unfortunately, we have no proper evidence. The rock-cut tombs reflect a very mediocre structure. That said, despite replicating a single type, the Solian tombs do display some modifications, such as dromos benches (*parastades*), side chambers and extra chambers opening to a single dromos.

The "cave-like" tomb structure typical of the Cypro-Archaic necropolis at Soloi was popular island-wide (fig. 15). The persistence of this specific type occured especially during our period of interest. Nevertheless, contemporary necropoleis like Marion, Amathous and particularly Kition included additional tomb types with trapezoid or rectangular chambers[76]. Thus the monotonous tomb typology of Soloi becomes rather interesting. This adoption of a single tomb type has been noticed in other studies[77] and should not be considered coincidental. This choice could be related to various factors; it might be due to a regional or local "taste" or determined by the character of the local rock[78]. Neverthless more tombs need to be revealed in order to obtain more concrete and securely established ideas on this specific matter related to the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi.

The built tomb is included in the analysis to indicate that the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi did indeed house monumental tombs like those evident at Tamassos, Amathous, Trachonas, Salamis

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72 Blackwell 2010, figs 3-4.

73 According to Karageorghis, landscape-related problems seem to have been a major factor in this matter. As also noted by him (Karageorghis 1970a, 1), the "utmost economy of space" was utilised. This must have been evident at many necropoleis due to the scarcity of ideal landscape.

74 Hadjisavvas (2014, 41) suggests a similar situation for at least a portion of the Kitian necropolis. However, his opinion is not supported by any visual data.

75 Gjerstad 1948, 29; Carstens 2006.

76 Carstens 2006, 128, Fig. 2. For regional variations, especially at Amathous and Salamis, see Carstens 206, 129-136. More recently, for Salamis, see Raptou 2019, 210-218.

77 Carstens only indicates this through a map: Carstens 2006, Fig. 2.

78 Inevitably, the rectangular dromos and the circular chamber were the easiest forms to carve out of rock: Wright 1992, 338-339.

and elsewhere[79]. Similarly, due to its size, T6 falls within the category of the so-called "lesser Royal tombs" of Salamis-*Cellarka*[80]. Ultimately, both these examples demonstrate that high status within the Solian community could also be reflected in the sepulchral architecture.

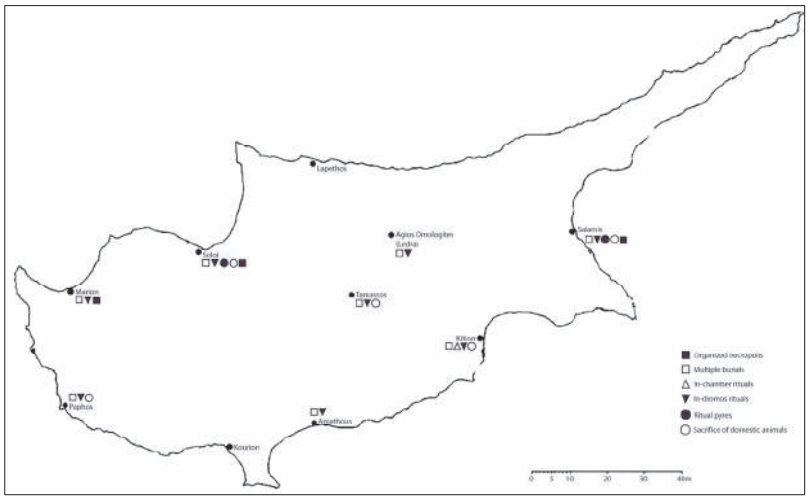


Fig. 15. *Map Showing the Cypro-Archaic Necropoleis with Characteristic Trends that are Evident in Each* (by the author)

Archaeological data relating to different burial practices and chamber furnishings are largely absent. As no other information is provided, interment is understood to be the sole practice at Soloi during the Cypro-Archaic period. However this does not create an extraordinary case. As is well established, interment was the principal burial practice for the whole of the Cypriot Iron Age[81].

No standard practices have been identified regarding the placement of artefacts during the furnishing of the chambers. They might be placed next to the deceased (T10) or towards the entrance, either on one side (M10) or on both (M12). However, a different picture emerges in terms of the way that the tombs were furnished (fig. 16). The earlier Cypro-Archaic record (CAI) reveals a more modest approach to tomb furnishing, in which smaller amounts and fewer varieties of artefacts were utilised. Apart from ceramics, which are understood to be evident in every burial, the only other grave goods are jewellery items found in just two burials. During CA II, both the amounts and varieties of artefacts flourishes. In addition to ceramics, the number of tombs with jewellery also increases. Imported ceramics, terracotta items, weapons and toilet accesories are found as grave goods for the first time. This phenomenon seems to exist island-wide as the entering of terracotta into the Cypriot funerary record seem to occur by the mid Cypro-Archaic especially within the southern centres[82]. For this period, four out of 14 tombs (28.5%) yielded jewellery; five contained imported ceramics (35.7%) and three included terracotta artefacts (21.4%). These amounts especially concerning jewellery and terracottae fit well into the overall picture as is evident from other contemporary necropoleis.[83] Toilet accesories are scantier, and were only found in two tombs; weapons are even less evident, and were included in just a single tomb.

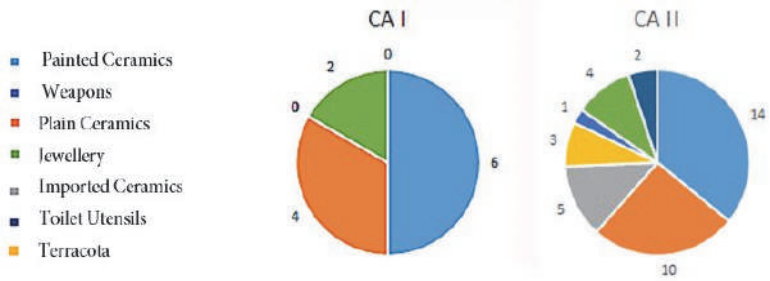
79 Carstens 2006, 136-142.

80 Blackwell 2010, 155-159.

81 Janes 2013, 151.

82 Janes 2013, 152-153.

83 Janes 2013, 164.



	CA I	CA II
Painted Ceramics	T4, T6, T10, T13, T1882, T3	T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T12, T14, T15, T1870, T1884, T1893, M6, M10, M12
Plain Ceramics	T4, T6, M10, T3	T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T12, T1870, M6, M10, M12
Imported Ceramics	-	T12, T14, T1870, T1884, M6
Terracotta	-	T1870, M6, M10
Weapons	-	T6
Jewellery	T10, T13	T6, T9, T1870, T1893
Toilet Utensils	-	T6, T9

Fig. 16. *Chart and Graphics Showing the Distribution of Tomb Assemblages in Soloi between* CA I&II (by the author)

This flourishing of grave goods seems standard, and is evident on a pan-island scale due to the wealth and prosperity experienced on Cyprus during the Cypro-Archaic II[84]. However, regional differences do exist (fig. 17). For instance, Marion and Kition reflect the picture seen at Soloi by supplying a similar inventory of grave goods. Yet both these assemblages show slight differences from that of Soloi, in that they contain considerably more jewellery. The popularity of Egyptian-style jewellery, specifically amulets, evidenced in the Soloi assemblage, seems to be reflected in the grave goods of Amathous and Kition, especially during Cypro-Archaic II[85]. Salamis and Amathous, despite following the overall pattern in regard to ceramics, are marked by their richer inventories of lamps and terracotta items[86]. However, Salamis has revealed a smaller quantity of jewellery than Amathous, Marion and Kition. Marion and Salamis, interestingly, both had markedly high quantitites of weapons deposited in their tombs. An understanding of the significance of these variations is only possible, however, if they are examined in far more detail at the level of each individual polity.

	Ceramics	Lamps	Terracotta	Weapons	Jewellery	Metal Vessels
Soloi	205	-	3	Few*	Few	None
Marion	505	6	2	Abundant	Abundant	Few
Salamis	465	29	46	Abundant	Few	Few
Kition	151	7	8	Abundant	Abundant	Few
*Few refers to numbers less than 50, abundant to more than 50.						

Fig. 17. *Table Showing the Distribution of Certain Artefacts among Cypro-Archaic Necropoleis* (by the author)

84 Karageorghis 2002, 195-216.

85 For Amathous especially, see Laffineur 1986, 89-124; Clerc 1991, 141. For Kition, see Clerc 2014, 57-127.

86 For specific mention of the abundance of terracottas from the Salaminian burials, see Karageorghis 1970a, 230.

Within this picture, a particular focus should be applied to ceramics, as they form an important component of the tomb inventories and supply us with sound data. Particularly noticeable is the dominance of local wares compared to imported (98% to 2%) in the Solian assemblages (fig. 18)[87]. Within the local wares, painted examples dominate over plain, 83% of the assemblage.

	LOCAL				IMPORTED	
	Plain	Painted	Open	Closed	Open	Closed
Soloi	35	166	57	144	3	1
Marion	126	374	135	370	2	3
Salamis	264	172	83	382	9	20
Kition	137	12	48	101	2	-

Fig. 18. *Table Showing the Distributions and Variations of the Local and Imported Ceramics from the Major Cypro-Archaic Necropoleis* (by the author)

The Solian ceramic assemblage contains a range of forms, including jugs, juglets, bowls and plates, as well as amphoriskoi, vases, hydriae and even phiale. From a typological viewpoint, closed forms are more common than open (at nearly 3 to 1). Among the open forms, bowls/cups are the most numerous, followed by plates. As for the closed forms, jugs and juglets dominate the assemblage at 46.6%.

The predominance of local wares over imported seems to be evident island-wide. While reflecting this trend, Salamis and Amathous are notable for having a higher proportion of imported vases then their contemporaries[88]. A further similarity between the various necropoleis is the dominance of closed forms over open. Variation between the assemblages occurs only in relation to the proportion of plain wares to painted. The Marion assemblage, like that of Soloi, contains more painted wares (74.8%) than plain. Amathous follows the same trend[89]. However, the reverse is seen in the assemblages of Salamis and Kition. Further exploration of the factors at play in this variation is required in order to understand the funerary complexity of Archaic Cyprus.

According to the *communis opinio*, the dominance of plain wares in Cypriote tombs is due to them forming the basic containers for the foods and liquids used during the funeral rites[90]. As noted by Sophocles Hadjisavvas in relation to the plain wares of Kition, the "*contents of the vessels were the valued commodity and not the vessels themselves.*"[91]. A consequence of such an opinion is that the painted vases are generally placed into the category of "tomb gifts"[92]. However, we have to accept that we do

87 This is to be expected as the Cypriot ceramic industry, together with other coroplastic arts, experienced a golden era during the Cypro-Archaic period: Karageorghis 2002, 179-182.

88 For some general remarks on imported pottery of the Cypro-Archaic period, see Gjerstad 1948, 317; Sørensen 1988, 20-21; Reyes 1994, 139-140. For Salamis, see Calvet & Yon 1977, 9-11. For Amathous, see Coldstream 1995.

89 Janes 2013, 163.

90 Hadjicosti 1993, 191; Janes 2013, 159-160; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43. For similar opinions within the general scope of funerary archaeology, see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 145-150; Garland 1985, 43-44.

91 Hadjisavvas 2014, 46.

92 Funerary archaeology is generally in a mixed state of mind regarding the reading of certain artefacts within the funerary record. Neverthless a general, although not always successfully applied terminology offers two groups: "tomb goods" and, as in our case, "tomb gifts". For an in-depth analysis and interpretation of this matter, see Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 7-9.

not know for certain what prompted ancient Cypriots to place particular artefacts (particular ceramics in this instance) into the burials[93]. That said, vases with their mouths sealed were clearly intended to accompany the dead in the afterlife as containers of liquids for being consumed in the life beyond[94]. Unfortunately, the intention is not always so apparent and probably varied, due to a whole range of factors.

If we accept the opinion offered above, then nearly all the vases from the Solian tombs should be recorded as tomb gifts. However, did being decorated necessarily make a vase more precious than a plain one, or render it a tomb gift that was not to be used during funeral rites? It appears not, as many studies demonstrate the opposite[95]. Additionally, none of the assemblages of painted vases from Solian burials reflects an organised collection. Consumption-oriented forms (plates or bowls) are always fewer than pitchers or pouring vessels. For instance, the tomb owner could have only two plates from which to "eat", some containers for storing his wine, three or four pitchers for the pouring of wine but no cups with which to drink it. Consequently, what emerges is an inconsistent and illogical assemblage for use by the deceased in the afterlife.

However, a more comprehensible picture emerges when the ceramics are analysed within the scope of funerary rites, and it becomes clear that an analysis of function rather than form is more effective. As is well known, a particular repertoire of vessels with specific functions would have been required to fulfil the funeral rites. If food was offered, then certain open forms (bowls and plates) were vital for its consumption[96]. Other open forms (bowls and especially cups) were also needed, for consuming and/or pouring liquids. Importantly, a variety of closed forms (amphorae, hydria and storage jars) was essential for carrying ritual liquids (wine, water, etc.). Additional closed forms (amphoriskoi and jars), on the other hand, were functional for the distribution of such liquids. Jugs and juglets are known to have been used either as serving vessels or containers for oil or scents. Since all the vases were merely mediums for the practising of rites each did not need to be attested to a single person. Thus the open forms, always represented by fewer examples, could easily have been handed around those participating in the rites for the repetition of the practice. Libations could have been poured from jugs and juglets, making the scarcity of open forms perfectly understandable. Evidently, an assemblage of vessels that was not fit for pragmatic personal use could be completely practicable within the setting of shared funerary rites.

But where does the imported wares stand within this picture that emerges from Soloi? Despite their relevantly scarce numbers they should also be incorporated into the analysis to complete the picture. Their representation at Soloi is mostly in the open form of drinking vessels. The Chian amphora and the Corinthian aryballos are the only examples of closed forms among the imported ceramics.

A similar picture emerges from the other necropoleis, where the predominance of closed forms is

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93 This is stressed well for Iron Age Cyprus by Janes 2013, 164. For some additional bibliography see Garland 1985, 119; Morris 1992, 106.

94 For such cases from Cyprus, see Hadjicosti 1993, 195; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43. For a select bibliography on this opinion, see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 146-151; Garland 1985, 110-115.

95 For studies showing that ceramic vessels, whether plain or painted, were generally low-cost items see Johnston 1979, 33; Gill 1991.

96 For cases originating from Cyprus, where open forms have been found with food inside, see Karageorghis 1970a, 232; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43.

also evident within the imported wares (fig. 18). Marion and Salamis seem mostly to have relied on East Greek wares, and additional Attic amphorae exist in the Salamian assemblage. Amathous holds an exceptional place within this picture, as "Greek" pottery is noted as plentiful, together with other imported wares characterised by a wide diversity[97]. Kition, on the other hand, seems to depend more on Canaanite imports, especially in terms of storage vessels[98]. The existence of open forms within the class of imported wares is evident at the contemporary necropoleis, with a preference for bowls, skyphoi and sometimes kylikes.

The differences in form preferences and especially in their proportions might point to a different role having been played by these imported vases within the ceramic repertoire. Generally accepted as luxury items or as mediums of cultural emulation[99], imported wares such as bowls or kylikes could have been the personal belongings of the deceased. This idea is strengthened by the fact that imported bowls and kylikes are represented by just a single specimen, or maximum by two, in each burial context[100]. On the other hand, the presence of imported amphorae of various origins (Chian, Ionian, Attic, etc.) in the assemblages is presumably a consequence of the use of imported wine during the rituals[101]. At this point there is no doubt that those containers and their ingredients must have been accepted by the Cypriotes as the more "exotic" mediums for ritual libations.

The contextualisation of Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon would be incomplete without an analysis and interpretation of the funerary rites. While they should always be approached with a certain level of caution to prevent "naive direct interpretations"[102], an understanding of funerary beliefs and a reconstruction of funerary rites is essential for such contextualisation. The Cypro-Archaic tombs of Soloi tend to present an adequate amount of data, open to interpretation, despite limited archaeological recording and publishing. Nonetheless, some matters are easier to interpret than others.

Constant reuse of the Soloi tombs is recognised not just for the Cypro-Archaic but for the whole of the Cypriot mortuary horizon (fig. 15). Although there are some exceptions[103], this phenomenon is generally related to family tombs[104]. The existence of multiple burials in Cypro-Archaic Soloi indicates that each tomb was perceived as a space where lineal bonds and identities could be connected forever through place-sharing with ancestors[105]. Thus the reuse of tombs in Cypro-Archaic Soloi, and elsewhere, was a means of continuously reinforcing family and kinship identities.

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97 Karageorghis 1987.

98 Hadjisavvas 2014, 44-45.

99 Blackwell 2010, 157. On the selection and use of imported Greek pottery in Archaic Cypriot society, see Rupp 2005.

100 For tombs that exemplify this see Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 320, Tomb 50, 400, Tomb 74, 434, Tomb 89; Karageorghis 1970a, 44, Tomb 21, 74, Tomb 42, 131, Tomb 85.

101 For other examples from Cyprus, see Gjerstad 1977, 36-38, 53. For a revised list of find-spots of especially Chian amphorae see Hadjicsoti 1993, 185.

102 Morris 1992, 104. Especially with the example of *Macaulay's Motel of the Mysteries*, Morris (1992, 105 Fig. 53) outlines the potential for false interpretations if the archaeological information from a burial is read too literally.

103 Karageorghis 1970a, 233.

104 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 457; Hadjicosti 1993, 190; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43.

105 For similar interpretations from the Cypriote mortuary world, see Janes 2013, 151, 159. For a general approach to the subject see, Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 12.

Among the "implementers" of funerary rites, ceramics are understood to occupy a primary role, as is evidenced by their vast quantities within funerary contexts. However, the analysis of assemblages from each necropolis reveals that no standard was applied regarding the composition of burial sets. Thus it is not possible to speak of a regional trend with regards to this matter. Evidently each community, or even each family within a community must have utilised different types of vessels according to their wealth, beliefs or even taste.

Nevertheless, with their dominant numbers, the evidence of jugs and juglets shows that libations (*choai* or *loibai*)[106] formed an important part of funeral rites. Within this scope, the ring vase and the bull-head shaped rhyton from M10 are clearly significant as they are purely ritual-oriented pouring vessels. The same is also true for the Corinthian aryballos which would have contained scented perfume or oil obtained to be used during the funerary rituals.

Libation-oriented rituals employing ceramic vessels are understood to have been popular, not just in Archaic Cyprus but across the whole ancient Greek world[107]. For Cyprus, the dominance of closed forms, the evidence of empty storage vessels found in the dromoi[108] and the placing of vases on the steps of the dromoi[109] offers clear evidence for this pan-island custom.

The smaller number of plates from Soloi indicates food-oriented rituals were less popular. Their existence, on the other hand, cannot be totally rejected. The discovery of plates in other necropoleis, sometimes bearing unconsumed food, points to their symbolic placement within the tomb for the dead[110]. In some cases, plates are known to have been placed into a tomb with pebbles on them, as "symbolic" food[111]. The poor state of the documentation of such finds from Soloi limits our ability to determine the existence there of similar customs. Confirmation of the practice of communal ceremonial feasts, like those evidenced in Salamis by the existence of hundreds of open forms[112], is out of the question for Soloi.

Interesting evidence that might be related to ceramic-based rituals comprises the topping of an amphora with a plate in M6. This way of leaving vases in a tomb can be interpreted as the "sealing" of the ceremonies practised with such vessels. This is also replicated in Salamis[113], and there is a single example of the placement of bowls on top of each other in Mari[114]. Nevertheless, the scarcity of data related to this phenomenon prevents it being interpreted as solely ceremonial; these items may have been arranged in these ways for practical purposes during the placing of the objects within the tomb.

The evidence indicates that terracotta artefacts played an important role, through symbolism, in funerary rites. However, a lack of knowledge regarding the typology of the examples from Soloi limits our understanding. The bird-shaped figurines (from T1870 and M6), known also to be popular at

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106 For these terms see Garland 1985, 168.

107 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 145; Vlachou 2012, 366.

108 Karageorghis 1966, 355; Gagniers *et al.* 1967, 52-53; Karageorghis 1968, 330.

109 For such a case from Salamis, see Janes 2013, 163.

110 Karageorghis 1970a, 232; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43.

111 Hadjicosti 1997, 262, LIII:10, 11.

112 Janes 2013, 159-161.

113 Karageorghis 1970a, 232.

114 Hadjicosti 1997, 258.

Salamis[115], were presumably deposited in the chambers to symbolise the "flight of the soul to the afterlife"[116]. The grotesque mask from M10 is particularly important as it exemplifies a very rare example of the funerary-oriented use of such artefacts[117]. Its small size indicates that it was not meant to be worn[118]. Two holes bored into it indicate that it was hung up, perhaps on the wall of the chamber, within the scope of apotropaic beliefs[119].

The Egyptian-style amulets found in T6 and another depicting Anubis, the Egyptian god of the dead[120], are also significant within this setting. They point to a belief in the protection of the tomb and, of course, of the deceased from evil intentions through apotropaic symbolism[121]. Similar employment of such items is traceable island-wide, and is particularly popular around Kition and Amathous[122]. They are related to the increase of Egyptian influence on the island during Cypro-Archaic II and demonstrate how cultures beyond the island affected the Cypriot *modus sepulturae*[123].

The lighting of funeral pyres in the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi is evident from a single example from the dromos of T6. Unfortunately, no detailed information related to the contents of this pyre is available. However, judging by similar examples from both Cyprus and elsewhere, the pyre at Soloi was highly likely to have contained broken vases, figurines and even food remains[124].

Funeral pyres outside the chambers are known to have occured mainly at *Cellarka* with fewer numbers by the end of the Cypro-Archaic period[125]. A contemporary in-chamber pyre is evident at Kition only[126]. Thus, the pyre at Soloi is particularly significant within this case in which exemplars are scarce. An in-depth interpretation of the pyre at Kition is not yet available. The pyres of *Cellarka* are generally thought to be related to the cultural ties of Salamis with the mainland Greece and were thought to be in connection with the Mycenaean and later Attic funerary customs[127]. Neverthless more data and new studies with different perspectives are required before this theory can be confirmed not for Salamis only but also for other similar cases from Soloi and Kition[128].

Funerary-oriented animal sacrifices are also evident in light of the two animals found *in situ* in the

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115 Karageorghis 1970, 230, note 8.

116 For an in-depth discussion of this metaphor with references, see Dissinger 2017, 39-42; 56, 59-61; 256.

117 Other known examples all originate from Amathous: Culican 1975, 64, Fig. 19; Hermary 1996, 18f; Hermary 2000, 79, no. 509, pl. 32.

118 For the general use of masks in ancient Cypriot rituals see Averett 2015, 23-25.

119 For grotesque male masks and their relation to apotropaic beliefs see Averett 2015, 25.

120 Kees 1952, 40-45.

121 Clerc 2014, 130-131; Hadjisavvas 2014, 43.

122 See note 85.

123 On the effects of Egyptian influence on Cypriot burial customs, with a specific focus on Salamis, see Blackwell 2010, 158-159, and on Assyrian influence, see 144, 146-147, 159-160. For a general overview of the subject, see Carstens 2006, 165-166.

124 Hadjioannou 1970, 306-312.

125 They are more popular in Cypro-Classical burials. Karageorghis 1970a, 225-230; Raptou 2019, 221-222.

126 Hadjisavvas 2014, 43.

127 Karageorghis 1970a, 225, note 3; Raptou 2019, 221. It seems that connecting funerary customs of Cypriots to Mycenaean (so called Homeric) traditions was a popular case for early Cypriot archaeologists.

128 For the most recent work on funerary pyres from *Cellarka* see Raptou 2019, 220-223.

dromos of T12. The animals sacrificed in T12, an ox and a goat, came from breeding stock, rather than being the customary preferred horse as the symbol of high status[129]. To the knowledge of the author, other evidence of the sacrifice of breeding animals is limited to a single case from Tamassos[130]. A single ox head from the dromos of a tomb at *Cellarka* has also been interpreted as a sacrifice, but this is by no means certain, due to a lack of proper osteological evidence[131]. As expressed before, the sacrifice of horses is generally related to the elite, and the burials to which they are attached are accepted as "princely burials"[132]. Much has been written about the sacrifice of horses related to princely chariot burials, but not much ink has spilled regarding the sacrifice of breeding stock within the scope of Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. It is well known that sacrifices meant for consumption were unexceptionally boned and split[133], but the animals from T12 were left as they died. This indicates that their sacrifice was intended to enable them to accompany the dead into the afterlife[134]. Thus the animal sacrifices from Soloi are different than the ones evident in the princely burials by the status of the animals related to the ritual but are similar in the way they were sacrificed to attend their owners in the afterlife.

The setting of the funerary rites in Soloi is enigmatic. To date, we have no data related to in-chamber rites. Nevertheless, the vases deposited in certain chambers indicate the practise of similar rituals within each of these spaces. In contrast, there is abundant evidence related to in-dromos rites. Notably, the deposition of ceramics (T7, 12 and 13) and the sacrifice of animals (T12) are proof of in-dromos rites. Thus the dromos can be understood as an area of display in which the wealth and power of the deceased was shared with the living one last time. According to some studies, dromos rites also provided the opportunity for participants to negotiate their own status through various actions, such as gift giving to the dead[135]. Unfortunately Soloi does not supply us with any evidence related to this phenomenon. On the other had, the rites conducted in T6 must have been witnessed by a significant audience, as its large dromos indicates the high status of its owner(s)[136].

Benches (*parastades*) cut along the sidewalls of the dromoi are notable features of the tombs[137]. These additions normally stand higher than the floor of the chamber entrance (at a minimum 1 m in general), and thus they appear impractical when the dromos was totally empty. However, the existence of ceramic deposits and pyres within the fills of the dromoi indicate that rituals must have taken

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129 Sacrifices of horses in dromoi are evident especially at Salamis (Karageorghis 1967a, 117-9), but also occured at Tamassos (Karageorghis 1969, 27), Paphos (Karageorghis 1967c) and Kition (Hadjisavvas 2014, 3-4, figs 7, 8 & 10). Sacrificed mules, generally thought to have been harnessed to a cart that carried the body in *ekphora*, are also known from Salamis (Karageorghis 1970a, 232).

130 Buchholz 1978, 191-195.

131 Karageorghis 1970a, 232.

132 Carstens 2005.

133 Ekroth 2007, 250-256.

134 The same practice was also applied to certain artefacts by bending, breaking and even burning them: Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 215-216; Fossey 1985; Alexandridou 2013.

135 Janes 2008, 313.

136 See footnote 80.

137 Strangely they have escaped the attention of scholarly work on Cypriot sepulchral architecture: Carstens 2006.

place at a time when the dromos was not completely filled[138]. Thus, the *parastades* that were impractical when the dromos was empty could be used as benches either to sit on or to place ceramics on during the rites that must have taken place after the sealing of the tomb and the partial filling of the dromos[139].

The placement of five vases in upside-down positions in the dromos of T13 must have occurred at the end of such rituals. This custom of the placement of vases in upside-down positions, especially within the chamber, is seen also at Kition[140]. This custom might have been related to the finalising of the rites or to something else that is still beyond our understanding. An interesting clue to understanding this can be found on the jug from T6 that bears a male name inscribed in Cypro-syllabic. The name on the vase is inscribed upside down and can only be read properly when the vase is overturned. This has been explained as the result of the inscriber having to hold the vase upside down in order to be able to write on it easily[141]. This suggestion seems not to be correct as then the owner has to use this vessel throughout his lifetime with his name standing on it in an upside down position. However, it may be that the upside-down writing of its owner's name on this specific jug is related to the overturning of such vases at the end of funerary rites. When overturned, the name would become "readable" to indicate its owner's right to it in the afterlife.

As seen through the analysis and following interpretations realised in this part of the paper much still needs to be understood more precisely about the funerary record of Cypro-Archaic Soloi. Still the emerging picture is interesting and rather informative with a capacity to bring some new understandings to previously neglected matters concerning the Cypriot *modus sepulturae.*

Concluding Remarks

The approach of ancient Cypriots to death, the funerary rites and the intentions behind many aspects of their funerary behavior are difficult to fully understand. Each piece of funerary evidence is of vital importance and ignorance of some of it paves the way for misleading interpretations. Unfortunately, in the case of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon, researchers have been ignorant of Soloi, since evidence from this site has not previously been integrated into studies. The aim of this paper has been to redress this situation but only as far as the present data allows.

The analysis of the Cypro-Archaic necropolis of Soloi has revealed a rather organised burial ground that is highly likely to have been divided into irregular plots that housed single or multiple tombs. Despite the existence of a largely monotype tomb architecture, the cultural materials deposited in the tombs are assorted and plentiful, and indicate a certain level of wealth within the Solian community. The practice of funerary rites is also understood to be diverse. Funerals were shaped within strong ancestral bonds, as witnessed by the multiple burials. Furthermore, the evidence indicates the practice of rites that were attended by many people and this points to the existence of socio-centred and multi-shared ceremonies. Thus we are now able to speak of a necropolis in which a variety of tangible and intangible richness flourished and was shared.

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138 Carstens 2006, 162-163, 167.

139 Such funerary rites in relation to the sealing of the burial are well attested in the record of the Greek death and burial: Mirto 2012, 90-91.

140 Cannavò *et al.* 2018, 160, Fig. 119. For similar cases from Classical burials, see 82, Fig. 31, 83, Fig. 34.

141 Karageorghis 1966, 355.

Contextualising this micro-setting within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon reveals no extraordinary but still interesting results. The tomb types, the dominance of local wares, the existence of multiple burials and the use of dromoi as areas of both wealth display and the narration of social bonds are features that Soloi shared with other locations in a pan-island sphere. They demonstrate how Soloi, in no small measure, was concretely bonded into the setting of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. This bond was the outcome of the dynamic relations that Soloi shared with the other Cypriot Iron Age polities. Ultimately, these relations led to the adoption of common funerary customs.

Nevertheless, these pan-island traits did not emerge solely from intra-island relations. It is understood that extra-island relations also played a role in the setting of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. The short-lived existence of Egyptian amulets within the funerary context and the practice of funeral pyres clearly demonstrate the Solians were quick to respond to foreign interactions and to emulate foreign ideas and material culture within their funerary contexts.

The evidence from Soloi also reveals certain regional variations. The sacrifice of domestic animals within the dromos is evident at Soloi, and also at Kition and possibly Salamis. Another regional variation is evident within the sepulchral architecture in regard to benches that were cut along the dromoi (*parastades*). When Cypro-Archaic era is considered, Salamis and Marion are the sole evidence suppliers for such tomb modifications apart from Soloi. Unfortunately, it is not possible to place these regional variations within a pattern. Thus it is not possible at present to attach concrete meanings to the social complexity of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon when regional variations are into consideration.

This paper primarily aimed to contextualise the necropolis of Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon. However, it should be noted that much more can be achieved, as more evidence still awaits recovery from this necropolis, as from others. Nonetheless, it is striking to see how neglected evidence, like that from Soloi, can introduce more breadth into the state of our knowledge. In this sense, certain views were brought to previously neglected matters such as the role of ceramics within the funerary rites, certain aspects related to their way of positioning within the dromos/chamber and funerary pyres. The contextualising of Soloi within the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon also extends our understanding of the significant similarities in funerary customs and behaviour that existed across the different island communities. Additionally, it contributes to our understanding of the existence of regional variation, which is accepted as "natural"[142] within the setting of the Cypriot Iron Age. Thus we see that the Solians were highly connected to the other Cypriot communities and occupied a notable place within the knowledge- and material-exchange networks of the island. Solians were also connected to neighbouring cultures (Greece, Islands, Ionia and Egypt) through an active network that inevitably enriched their funerary world with external concepts concerning funerary belief and material culture.

While this paper does not illuminate solutions to previously identified problems, it does offer new understandings and wider perspectives on previously limited matters such as animal sacrifices in dromoi, ritual pyres and the adoption of intra- and extra-island traits within the mortuary world of Archaic Cypriots. By doing so, it places another piece into a still incomplete jigsaw. This has been achieved despite the absence of consistent quantitative and informative data, and shows how much can be gained through the analysis of previously neglected evidence. Ultimately, it allowed for a better understanding of the Cypro-Archaic mortuary horizon and paved the way for further similar studies.

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[142] Janes 2013, 164-165.

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