

Summary and historical conclusions

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The importance of the necropolis at site *Skales*, situated about 1200m southeast of the modern village of Koukليا, is already well known from the British excavations of 1952 and later by the excavations of the Department of Antiquities in 1979 (see Karageorghis 1983, 1). The necropolis is in privately owned land and has suffered considerably as a result of levelling operations by mechanical means. The discovery of gold objects in the tombs attracted the attention of looters, who are active in this area to the present day.

More tombs have been excavated at *Skales* by archaeologists and looters than in any other part of the necropoleis of Palaepaphos, e.g. *Xylinos/Xerolimni*, *Plakes*, *Kaminia*, *Kato Alonia* etc (for a recent survey of the topography of the city site of Palaepaphos and its necropoleis see Raptou in Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 1–4 and Raptou forthcoming).

In my 1983 report on the excavations of tombs at *Skales* I pointed out that the earliest date we could give to this cemetery was Cypro-Geometric IA, in spite of the fact that several tombs yielded Proto-White Painted ware pottery and in the *dromoi* and chambers of some of the tombs sherds of Late Cypriote II were found (Karageorghis 1983, 370). The majority of the tombs published in the present volume date from the Cypro-Geometric I period and later, but there is one, Tomb 192, which is of pure Late Cypriote IIIB date. Thus we may state with certainty that the necropolis at *Skales*, like those at *Xylinos/Xerolimni*, started in Late Cypriote IIIB.

A surface survey of the rocky plateau above the slope which contained the tombs at *Skales* revealed traces of rubble walls and settlement material (e.g. stone querns), but erosion has destroyed most of the evidence which would allow us to link the cemetery with a settlement above it (see Karageorghis 1983, 1). The cemetery was used continuously from the Late Cypriote IIIB period down to the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the

rock offering ideal conditions for rock-cut chamber tombs. This formation of the ground may explain the consistent NE–SW orientation of the *dromoi* of the tombs, allowing a maximum depth of rock for the chamber (see Karageorghis 1983, 2).

The Late Cypriote IIIB tombs are characterised by the originality of their pottery and the gold objects which they contained (see below). Typologically this material bears a striking similarity with the contents of the tombs from the cemetery of *Alaas*, in the northeastern part of Cyprus, illustrating the *koene* character of the island's culture during the first half of the 11th century BC (see below). The same *koene* character continues during the early part of the Cypro-Geometric period, for which we have also cemeteries excavated elsewhere, e.g. at *Kourion-Kaloriziki*, *Lapithos-Kastros* and *Kition*. What is particular to the tombs at Palaepaphos is the abundance of bronze and iron weapons and, in two cases, of helmets in tombs of warriors and the frequent occurrence of bronze vessels of various sizes, illustrating the wealth and status of the warrior-aristocrats whom we associate with immigrants from the Aegean who started coming to the island from the 12th century BC. By the 11th century they must have been well established and have held a prominent position in society.

Similarly, contacts with the Aegean, particularly Eretria and Crete, were equally strong: Cypriote objects are found mainly in funerary contexts, as a result of long-distance contacts which started already in the 11th century BC and continued well into the Iron Age (cf. Catling 1995, 125–126; Prent 2014, 658–661). For the presence of Cypriots and Levantines in the Aegean during the Geometric period see Kourou 2015.

We do not suggest that all the 11th century BC tombs which have been excavated at Palaepaphos belong to immigrants from the Aegean. By the 11th century BC some of the cultural novelties which they introduced to the island must have been accepted by the local population, whose

contribution to the formation of the island's culture should not be considered negligible. We may even discern some influences from the Levant, especially in pottery forms, not only as imports but also as copies of Levantine shapes (see below). It will be interesting to consider also in this respect the burial customs, as revealed in the study by E. Raptou in **Chapter 1** of this volume. By the Cypro-Geometric II and III periods the strong Aegean elements in material culture, funerary architecture and burial customs started declining. The Cypriote cultural element regained its traditionally important place. Furthermore, the influence from the Levant became stronger, as a result of the presence of Phoenicians on the island.

By the middle of the Cypro-Geometric period and during the Cypro-Achaic period, Palaepaphos lost the predominant position which it had held among the other city kingdoms of Cyprus. Although it was still prosperous, partly because of the fame of its sanctuary, it had to compete with the rising kingdoms of the eastern and southern parts of the island, particularly Salamis, Amathus and Kition, which developed close trade relations with the Levant and even with the Aegean (Salamis and Amathus). The presence of the Phoenicians at Kition and Amathus and their cultural influence on Salamis (cf. e.g. the wealth of the 'royal tombs' at Salamis) may be one of the reasons for this development of the south and southeastern parts of the island. This is particularly clear in the style of the late Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Achaic Palaepaphian pottery which, together with that of Kourion, shows signs of conservatism and repetition. The same may be said about the pottery of Ktima, northwest of Palaepaphos (Deshayes 1963). This cultural division of the island was not novel; we witness it already in the Bronze Age, probably for different reasons.

We will have a clearer picture of the Iron Age culture of Palaepaphos when all the tombs excavated in the necropolis at *Skales* have been published. The extraordinary wealth of the unpublished tombs, together with what has been published already, will place Palaepaphos firmly as one of the most prominent regions of Cyprus during the early Iron Age, a place which it probably held also during the Chalcolithic period. We look forward to the day when part of the early Iron Age settlement at Palaepaphos will be excavated.

3.1 The pottery

3.1.1 Imports

It is not surprising that no Greek pottery has been

found in the early Geometric period tombs of Palaepaphos. The immigrants who reached Cyprus during the 12th and 11th centuries BC had other priorities about what to carry with them and we know that actual trade between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean came to a halt. The fact that there is a close influence from the Aegean on Cypriote pottery of the 12th–11th centuries BC is due to the presence of people, among them no doubt potters, who continued their ceramic production in Cyprus. Actual Greek imports to Palaepaphos date to the 8th century BC and are rare (see Coldstream 1990).

It was not the same situation, however, with the Levantine coast, with which the Cypriots continued trading even during the 'Dark Ages'. Pottery from that region reached Cyprus in small numbers early in the 11th century BC (e.g. Karageorghis 1975a, 57 and n. 6) and particularly the area of Palaepaphos (Bikai 1983). There is now evidence that there were trade relations even in the 12th century BC (see Master *et al.* 2015, 235–243). This includes storage jars from the tombs at *Skales* as well as fine ware, namely jugs and flasks, which influenced local production (including lentoid flasks and jugs with a globular body) (e.g. Tombs 187/14–15, 197/10, 199/55). The tombs at Palaepaphos also yielded jugs with an oblong ovoid body with a pointed base (e.g. *Plakes* Tomb 146/29, 137, *Skales* Tomb 197/10).

Amphora Tomb 210/8 is quite unusual. While the basic shape does not differ from other neck-handled amphorae of the Cypro-Geometric period, its base with a pronounced pointed centre is uncommon. The fabric is also unlike that of any other Cypriote vases. Its clay is hard and grey and its surface, even the base, is covered with a red slip, now partly worn off. There are faint traces of black and red-orange decoration applied on the red slip. The grey inner surface is quite distinct, without slip. A northern Levant or Phoenician origin is probable.

3.1.2 Local pottery

(i). *Late Cypriote IIIB (Proto-White Painted ware)*

Among all the tombs excavated and published so far from the region of Palaepaphos there are only three which fall one hundred percent within the limits of this period (ca. 1125–1050 BC): *Xylinos* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967b), *Xylinos* Tomb 186 (Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 19–28) and *Skales* Tomb 192. They did not yield the large number of offerings found in some Cypro-Geometric tombs and were only used for one burial. Their pottery is of imaginative shapes and not repetitive. The vast majority is painted and in some cases they include an imported Levantine flask (*Xylinos* Tomb 9/17;

Skales Tomb 192/8). They usually contain gold jewellery, like *Xylinos* Tomb 186 and *Skales* Tomb 192. *Xylinos* Tomb 9 had been entered by looters before our excavation in 1966. All three yielded mostly small vessels, including small stirrup jars. Generally speaking, the quality and shapes of vases recall those of *Alaas*, in the eastern part of the island, an indication that in the early 11th century BC there was a kind of *koene* style throughout Cyprus. For further remarks see Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 114.

(ii). *Cypro-Geometric (White Painted I ware)*

When we published the ceramic material from the 1979 excavations at *Skales* we made some general remarks about the pottery types (Karageorghis 1983, 372) and also when we published the material from *Xylinos* Tomb 186 and *Plakes* (Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 114–116). Further remarks are made in the discussion of the contents of each of the new *Skales* tombs. Below we will make some additional remarks about some ceramic types; for the pictorial style in Proto-White Painted ware and Cypro-Geometric I we refer to two articles (Karageorghis and Raptou 2015 and Karageorghis 2016 respectively) and to remarks on individual vases in the context of each tomb group. The new *Skales* and the *Plakes* tombs contained some large neck-handled amphorae, the shape of which, especially the handles, show clear influences from bronze neck-handled amphorae which were popular in Cyprus during the 12th and 11th centuries BC and were used to receive the incinerated remains of the dead, cf. *Plakes* Tombs 142/4 and 191/15; the latter is decorated with two highly stylised birds and a bull within a panel on either side of the neck of the crater.

There must have been a workshop at Palaepaphos during the Cypro-Geometric I period, which specialised in the pictorial decoration round the neck of large neck-handled amphorae. In most cases there is only one pictorial motif within a panel on one side of the neck, but in the case of *Skales* Tomb 191/15 there is a bull and a bird, each in a separate panel on one side and a bird on the other side. The pictorial motifs are given prominence, but stylistically they fit the geometric character of the rest of the decoration (cf. Iacovou 1988, 62–63, where her nos 12 and 13 are considered to belong to an advanced stage of Cypro-Geometric I; but the decoration of *Skales* Tombs 191/15, 210/18 and 235/4 should also be considered, accordingly, to the same period, i.e. late Cypro-Geometric I. We doubt whether the shape of these three craters, with their pronounced metallic characteristics, justifies such a late date).

The belly-handled amphorae continued to dominate among the large closed vessels: some are decorated with finely drawn geometric motifs recalling embroideries, rivalling some of the finest Proto-White Painted ware examples; one, exceptionally, is also decorated with a pictorial motif, a fish (see Karageorghis 2016, forthcoming).

High-stemmed kylikes with solid ridged stems (Submycenaean type) but also occasionally with hollow ridged stems (Subminoan type) have steadily increased in numbers in the new *Skales* Tombs 190 and 191; cf. also Tomb 149.

The same may be said about the dishes and shallow bowls, obviously used in feasting where eating took place with a large number of people. Speaking of feasting, drinking cups and small bowls remained very popular, e.g. in *Skales* Tombs 185 and 188. It is in these shapes and also the Black Slip I Bucchero ware jugs that we may observe strong repetition, for the same reason, i.e. to serve a large number of feasters (e.g. Tomb 189).

The cups and footed bowls, especially the small ones with two bands around the body, still present a problem for an accurate typological classification, which we pointed out in our discussion of the numerous examples found at *Plakes*, e.g. Tomb 142 (Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 38). This may be due to the short period of time assigned to Cypro-Geometric II, but also to the fact that shapes which were functional and frequently used in everyday life may have continued being produced without much change in their form and decoration for a long period of time. For the typology of the cups and small bowls see Georgiadou 2012b, 90–91 (Cypro-Geometric I).

The same problem has been encountered in the dating of Red Slip Burnished ware. In our discussion of this class of pottery from *Skales* in 1983 we proposed a date in Cypro-Geometric II–III (Karageorghis 1983, 369). The occurrence of a number of amphoriskoi with a conical-splaying foot in Red Slip Burnished ware in Tomb 199, together with others of White Painted I ware, raises the question of whether this fabric may have started earlier than Cypro-Geometric II–III. We should point out that this fabric appears also in bowls in tombs which have been dated to Cypro-Geometric III, e.g. *Plakes* Tomb 143/23, 28, 42 (Karageorghis and Raptou 2014, 46, type (xi)). Gjerstad classified amphoriskoi with a conical-splaying foot both to Cypro-Geometric I and II (Gjerstad 1948, figs X and XVII respectively; for the typology of amphoriskoi see also Georgiadou 2012a, 332, assigned to Cypro-Geometric I).

The Red-Slipped and Hand-burnished pottery started appearing in Iron Age I in the Levant,

which corresponds roughly to Cypro-Geometric I, and reaches its peak in places like Lachish levels V–IV (ca. 1000–800 BC). It appears in the form of bowls, jugs and juglets (Zimhoni 2004, 1704–1705). The Cypriots may have borrowed the technique from the Levant, but used it for shapes which were of Cypriote tradition. The horizontal grooves round the upper part of the body of bowls appear occasionally, (e.g. Zimhoni 2004, fig. 25.15, no. 7, 25.16, nos 5, 6). Red Slip Burnished ware appears to date to be a peculiarity of Palaepaphos (cf. Fourrier 2015, 119–120).

Drinking sets constitute a large portion of the funerary assemblages (amphorae, craters, filling jugs, drinking cups). Were these used for funerary feasts or intended as gifts to the dead? We agree with Steel who argues that at least the ceramic vessels found in tombs are intact, ‘implying that they were funerary offerings to the deceased rather than the debris of funerary feasts in their honor’ (Steel 2004, 175). This, however, may not be absolute.

3.2 Other material

3.2.1 Gold jewellery

Unlike some tombs at *Skales* (excavations of 1979), which yielded a fairly large number of gold objects, especially plaques of thin sheets of gold with embossed decoration (Tombs 67, 74, 75, 79) and also Tombs 145 and 146 at *Plakes*, the new tombs at *Skales* published in this volume yielded very few pieces of gold jewellery. These are Tombs 188 and 192, which may date to ca. 1100 BC. This may be accidental, since gold items are associated mainly with tombs of women. The frequency elsewhere in the cemeteries of Palaepaphos of certain standard gold ornaments, e.g. the thin sheets of gold probably forming parts of tiaras of embossed rosettes on small disc-shaped sheets of gold and the circular pendants (see comments on Tomb 192/25), may suggest that these types of jewellery were reserved for female members of families linked (as priestesses?) with the cult of the Great Goddess.

3.2.2 Bronze fibulae and finger-rings

The new tombs yielded a fairly large number of fibulae, all of bronze, and none of gold and silver, such as those known from the 1979 excavations. We assume that fibulae were used only by women, but couldn’t they be used also by young people of both sexes? There are also finger-rings of bronze of a simple type (convex outside), which are common in all cemeteries of Palaepaphos. Bronze

asymmetrical fibulae with decorative knobs were common in Cyprus from the early 11th century BC and throughout the Cypro-Geometric period; they are of Aegean origin (cf. Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 47–49).

3.2.3 Arms and armour

All cemeteries of Palaepaphos of the Cypro-Geometric period have yielded more or less similar weapons in tombs of warriors: bronze spear-heads of the ‘bayonette’ type, smaller ones in bronze and mainly in iron which may be characterised as javelins for hunting, iron swords and more frequently iron daggers. Bronze helmets are rare (one in *Plakes* Tomb 144 and the other in *Skales* Tomb 188).

3.2.4 Bronze vessels

There were no obeloi, either of bronze or of iron, in the new tombs, unlike those from the old *Skales* and *Plakes* tombs. This is rather surprising, considering that roasting meat for ritual feasting is likely to have been the prerogative of all members of the aristocratic élite. Another item which is missing from the new *Skales* tombs is the bronze tripod stand.

The new tombs at *Skales* were rich in bronze vessels, like the old tombs at *Skales* and *Plakes*. Prominent among the large vessels are the cauldron Tomb 190/2 and the bronze amphoroid crater, for which see **Appendix III**.

Of particular importance is bowl no. 10 from Tomb 235, bearing the longest engraved inscription ever found in a purely Cypro-Geometric I context at Palaepaphos. It demonstrates that the script continued in use in Palaepaphos down to the 11th–10th centuries BC, a fact which we knew already from the 1979 excavations (Masson and Masson 1983). This is yet another argument for the importance of the city at the period of transition from the Late Cypriote to the Cypro-Geometric period, which is already amply illustrated by the wealth of its material culture (for further discussion see **Appendix V**).

We may also mention a sieve and bowls of various sizes with or without handles, all known also from other Palaepaphian cemeteries. Unique are the stemmed kylix Tomb 187/2 and the amphoriskos Tomb 203/1. All these bronze vessels are discussed within the context of each tomb group. It is true that the Geometric tombs at Palaepaphos, especially the early ones, have yielded more bronze vessels than any other tombs of the same period in Cyprus and may recall in this respect the bronze

vessels of Salamis Tomb 79 of the Cypro-Archaic I period and in some way *Kaloriziki* Tomb 40. The display of bronze vessels was no doubt a criterion of wealth and high status; some may have been used for receiving the incinerated remains of the dead, but also during feasting. Another object, also linked with high status, is the bronze scepter Tomb 188/34, the tomb which yielded the bronze helmet no. 9. There are two more bronze mace-heads from other tombs, still unpublished.

It is surprising that no bathtubs (in clay or limestone) have been found in the tombs published in this volume; there was one, however, of clay, from a tomb which will be published later.

3.2.5 Bronze lids of funerary urns used to contain the incinerated remains of the dead

Lids are common in Crete from the Protogeometric B period (ca. 840–810 BC) onwards, and are designed to cover cremation pithoi. There are various types, all in clay (conical, with knobs, and inverted rim); the domed lid corresponds to our bronze lids, provided at first with a horizontal handle at the rim and later with string-holes near the rim, to hang on a wall. Based on their resemblance to the bronze votive shields from the Idaean cave, Brock has proposed that they served some religious purpose (for a discussion and bibliography see Coldstream in Coldstream and Catling 1996, 327–328). Coldstream noted that such lids are also common in domestic contexts, suggesting that ‘a shield-like lid was thought to be no less protective of household goods than human ashes’ (Coldstream in Coldstream and Catling 1996, 327).

All three bronze lids from *Skales* are handleless and shield-like; one was found in Tomb 235 (no. 2), which contained only Cypro-Geometric I material; the second was found *in situ* covering a neck-handled pithoid amphora belonging to Pyre 2, no. 4, which also dates to Cypro-Geometric I. The third from *Skales*, Tomb 203, no. 79, was found with material dating from Cypro-Geometric I to Cypro-Geometric III. Although it is hazardous to suggest that such lids originated in Cyprus in bronze, the evidence to date indicates that our three bronze lids, which might be of Cypro-Geometric I date, were not inspired from abroad. For clay lids from Crete see also Rethemiotakis and Egglezou 2010, 115–119, who share Brock’s view that shield-like lids were not designed exclusively for funerary urns but used also in domestic and religious contexts.

A very close parallel to the bronze lid Tomb 203/79 of a funerary urn, with traces of cloth inside and found inside an amphora, comes from a 10th century BC cremation burial in the *herōon* of

Lefkandi (Popham in Popham *et al.* 1993, 19–20). The lid was a bowl, which covered the *stomion* of a bronze neck-handled amphora of Cypriote type, in which the cremated remains of the dead were placed, having been wrapped in a fabric: ‘traces of thin weave were found ... where the bowl had sat’ (Popham in Popham *et al.* 1993, 20). In *Kaloriziki* Tomb 40 the bronze funerary amphora no. 11 had as a lid a bronze strainer, from which the handles had been removed (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 38–40). Near the bronze funerary urn from Lefkandi were placed a sword, a razor and a spear-head of iron, together with a whetstone, recalling conditions observed in the burial of *Skales* Tomb 235, which also yielded a bronze lid (no. 2 of funerary urn no. 6); cf. also the amphora with lid from *Skales* Pyre 2.

A good illustration of how the bronze lids were used to cover the mouths of funerary amphorae or pithoi comes from Eleutherna in Crete. Under a tumulus of earth were buried the incinerated bones of the dead which were placed from funerary pyres dating to the Proto-Geometric B period (end of the 9th century BC). The dead body was burnt on a pyre and the bones were then washed and wrapped in cloth and placed in a funerary urn, which was either of clay or bronze. The mouth of the urn, usually an amphora, was covered with a lid of clay or bronze. These lids were usually shallow bowls. Small offerings were placed inside the urn, together with the incinerated remains.

A fairly large number of cups were placed upside down round the funerary urn, on the pyre; it is perhaps with the liquid inside these cups that the pyre was quenched, but it is also possible that they were used during a ritual feast associated with the burial. A mound of earth covered the funerary urn and the space covered by the pyre. The excavator, N. Stampolidis, described in detail the whole procedure and the finds on the pyres (Stampolidis 1994; 1995, 289–308; 1996, 90–91, 138, 141, fig. 192; 2001).

Stampolidis pointed out the ‘Homeric’ character of the cremation burials at Eleutherna, quoting mainly two passages from the Homeric *Iliad*, one relating to the burial of Patroclus and the other to the burial of Hector. We give them below in translation by A.T. Murray (Loeb Classical Library):

Iliad xxiii. 250–254, burial of Patroclus:

First they quenched with flaming wine the pyre so far as the flame had come upon it, and the ash had settled deep; and with weeping they gathered up the white bones of their gentle comrade into a golden urn and wrapped them in a double layer of fat and placing the urn in the hut they covered it with a soft linen cloth.

Iliad xxiv. 791–797, burial of Hector:

First they quenched with flaming wine all the pyre so far as the fire's might had come upon it and thereafter his brethren and his comrades gathered the white bones, mourning, and big tears flowed over down their cheeks. The bones they took and placed in a golden urn, covering them over with soft purple robes, and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave.

One of the bronze shallow bowls which covered the funerary urn at Eleutherna had on its inner surface traces of a white cloth, obviously the cloth in which the incinerated bones were wrapped, corresponding perfectly to the Homeric descriptions. We observed earlier an even better Homeric custom, not noticed by Stampolidis, in the burial of a warrior at Palaepaphos-*Liomylia*, south of the village of Kouklia, published in 1967 (Karageorghis 1967a, 235–238). The incinerated remains of the dead were placed in a bronze cauldron with a shield-like bronze lid with a loop handle in the middle. On the upper part outside the cauldron we observed the remains of fine cloth on the surface of the bronze vase together with a thick substance which was spread with the fingers. The close-up photo published on p. 238, fig. 23 leaves no doubt that the substance was fat, which was mixed with soil or sand. This is an accurate illustration, dating to the Cypro-Archaic I period (ca. 750–600 BC), of the Homeric description.

In the same article we referred to a similar funerary urn of bronze, with traces of a lid, found in Salamis Tomb I excavated by Dikaios. The incinerated remains of the dead (a woman) were wrapped in cloth which left its traces inside the urn; there was also a necklace with beads of gold and rock-crystal, not unlike a necklace found at Eleutherna in association with a pyre (Stampolidis 1994, 119–120). The lid which covered the funerary urn of Eleutherna was a *phiale*, which preserved inside it traces of white cloth (Stampolidis 1996, 140–142, fig. 192; see also Richardson 1993, 199–200, with a bibliography).

With this lengthy commentary on the bronze lids we wish to illustrate the 'Homeric' character of burials of warriors at *Skales*, even before Homer, and compare similar later burials in Crete and Archaic Cyprus. Palaepaphos and Salamis preserved for centuries some of the 'Homeric' character of their funerary customs even in the cosmopolitan milieu of the 8th–7th centuries BC.

3.2.6 Whetstones

The large number of whetstones found in Cypro-Geometric tombs at Palaepaphos may indicate the

importance of metallic weapons among the tomb gifts (daggers, swords, knives, spears) for the male population. The same may be said for other regions in Cyprus, e.g. at Kourion and Kition. In the Aegean numerous such objects have been found in Subminoan and Submycenaean tombs (Catling 1996, 537; Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2013, 161–162). Catling pointed out the relationship between whetstones and weapons in burials of warriors. It is interesting to note that a whetstone was found in *Kaloriziki* Tomb 40 in an amphora containing the incinerated remains of a woman (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 45). It is not surprising that a woman, too, needed a whetstone to sharpen her knife. Both in Cyprus (*Kaloriziki* and Palaepaphos) and the Aegean (*Lefkandi-Toumba*) every time a whetstone accompanies a cremation it is put in an urn. We may mention that in both pyres which we publish in this volume, Pyre 1 and Pyre 2, a whetstone was found in each amphora which contained cremated remains. Catling also pointed out the typological similarity between the whetstones of Cyprus and those of the Aegean (Catling 1996, 537).

The excavations at *Skales* in 1979 yielded twelve whetstones of various shapes and stone types, predominantly of schist and elongated rectangular in shape (Elliott 1983, 426). There were three from the tombs at *Plakes* and eleven from the tombs at *Skales* published in this volume. It is interesting to note that in some cases oblong-shaped pebbles were used as whetstones, by flattening and smoothing only one face (e.g. *Plakes* Tomb 146/137). In most cases there are red stains of iron rust on the smooth sides and occasionally on the narrow sides. Iron knives or weapons were found in such cases in the same tombs. Schist, according to our geologist Yiannakis Panagides, may have been imported from an Aegean island, whereas serpentine and other stones are local. Schist was used for heavy sharpening, serpentine and chalk for polishing.

We may assume that it was a widespread custom, both in Cyprus and the Aegean, to bury warriors with their arms and also with iron knives, which accompanied most male individuals; these were considered indispensable, not only for personal defence, but for a variety of activities in everyday life. They replaced bronze weapons in the 10th–9th centuries BC, which demanded expensive materials (copper and tin); iron technology was much cheaper and the raw material was obtainable from easily accessible sources (Maddin 2011 with earlier references; Bunimowitz and Lederman 2012). Iron was also more effective and more durable, especially after hardening by carburisation.

The preference for iron over bronze for the

manufacture of tools and weapons from the beginning of the Iron Age may be the main reason for the dramatic increase of these items in tombs. This new ‘democratic metal’ helped to create lighter tools and weapons which were easy to resharpen (Broodbank 2013, 451), hence the equally dramatic increase of whetstones in early Iron Age tombs.

3.3 Burial customs

Interesting burial customs have been revealed in the tombs which are described in this volume. Incineration, which has hitherto been considered as a rather rare custom, now appears to be more frequent at *Skales*, indicating yet another influence from the Aegean during the early part of the Geometric period. A detailed discussion of the burial customs appears in **Chapter 1.3**.

3.4 Problems of immigration

In our 1983 publication of the results of the first excavations at the cemetery of Palaepaphos-*Skales* we proposed that the historical implications of the introduction of cremation in Cyprus, as well as the new chamber tombs with a long *dromos* and much of the material culture at the end of Late Cypriote IIIB, were the result of the settlement in the island of immigrants from the Aegean (Karageorghis 1983, 7, 370). This is a view which is not universally accepted (see e.g. Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 89, n. 281) and such a phenomenon seems to some scholars archaeologically ‘invisible’. The recent republication of what survives of the archaeological material from Kourion-*Kaloriziki* Tomb 40 by Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus (2015) and the assessment of burial customs (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 82–88) seem to suggest that such a settlement of Aegean immigrants may not be so invisible. The authors state that the male buried in Tomb 40 was the leader, a βασιλεύς, of a community which settled at Kourion around 1100 BC, that burial customs unique in Cyprus at this time were introduced, and that Tomb 40 may indicate the arrival of new settlers, probably Greeks of Dorian descent (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015, 88–91). Kourion and Palaepaphos may contribute further to the clarification of the much discussed ‘historical’ events at the very end of the Late Bronze Age and the transition to the Iron Age in Cyprus. Many more tomb groups excavated at Palaepaphos-*Skales* in recent years still wait to be published. We know that some of them contain

material of unique archaeological and ‘historical’ importance.

3.5 Problems of chronology

The chronology of archaeological periods, both in Cyprus and elsewhere, is an issue which often generates controversy, especially when the periods in question are linked with ‘historical’ events. Quite often, preconceived ideas about the chronology of such periods have a bearing on typological questions regarding the pottery associated with these events and *vice-versa*. The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is one such period. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition dated the end of the Late Bronze Age to ca. 1050 BC and the duration of Cypro-Geometric I to ca. 1050–950 BC and of Cypro-Geometric II to ca. 950–850 BC (Gjerstad 1948, 427). This conventional chronology was followed by archaeologists and historians for about sixty years. In 1999 Coldstream suggested a shorter period for Cypro-Geometric II (ca. 950–900 BC) (Coldstream 1999). Such fluctuations in chronologies inevitably affect the typology of objects, especially pottery. This would not have been very serious, had it not been the cause of perturbances in dating ‘historical’ events. The period of transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is linked with important historical events in Cyprus, namely the initial stages of the Hellenisation of the island, the introduction of the Greek language to Cyprus and the formation of the various kingdoms (Iacovou 1999a, 1999b).

In an excavation report like the one we present in this volume we will not attempt to enter a detailed discussion about chronology. We refer the reader to a long article by Gilboa and Sharon, where pottery typologies and chronologies are considered and where Cypriote issues are discussed in detail (Gilboa and Sharon 2003, particularly 64–66).

Although for convenience we may provisionally accept Coldstream’s chronology for Cypro-Geometric II, we cannot say that we fully endorse it. A period of forty years is simply too short to allow the full development of a ceramic style, especially one which presents such a variety of shapes and decorative motifs. There are times when we wonder whether we have, in fact, a Cypro-Geometric II typology at all and if this is not a late development of Cypro-Geometric I.

The fact that most of the tombs were excavated in a hurry, as explained in **Chapter 1.1**, renders any discussion of the precise stratification inside the tomb chambers impossible. Not having been involved with the actual excavation, we have

avoided any detailed treatment of chronology based on the succession of burials in the tombs, confining discussion mainly to the typological classification of the objects. We refer the reader to the excavation report and the plans of the tombs, though conscious of the fact that both are inadequate.

It is to be hoped that more settlements with good stratigraphy for the period ca. 1100–850 BC

will be excavated (Kition Floors 1–3 are hardly ideal or sufficient), which will allow a more precise typological classification of the pottery and lead to more reliable chronological conclusions. It is also to be hoped that the situation in the archaeology of neighbouring countries will become more stable and secure and help scholars dealing with problems of the same period in Cyprus.