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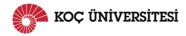
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An Elite Tomb from Soloi: New Evidence for the Funerary Archaeology of Cyprus

HAZAR KABA*

Abstract

This article focuses on a 4th century BC tomb from the necropolis of Soloi, an important ancient city in northwestern Cyprus. The tomb, together with five others, were revealed during a rescue excavation between 2005-2006. They supply us with evidence related to the Cypro-Classical period of Soloi. The specific tomb that will be evaluated is distinguished from its contemporaries, especially by its rich inventory of gold and silver jewelry and metal vessels. The tomb is characterized by three separate burial chambers that open to a rock-cut central courtyard (prodomos). It supplies us with valuable information related to the sociocultural structure, internal and external relations of Cypro-Classical Soloi as well as funerary beliefs and customs of its elite

The article firstly gives a detailed structural and comparative analysis conducted to reveal both the spatial and architectural characteristics of the tomb. This will be followed by a superficial, yet still informative, analysis of all the burials and their rich inventories. Last but not least, the burials and their inventories will be contextualized within the setting of the 4th century BC Cypriot and Greek burial customs.

Keywords: Soloi, Late Classical period, jewelry, metal vessels, burial customs, funerary rites

Öz

Bu çalışma kuzeybatı Kıbrıs'ta yer alan Soloi kentinin nekropolünden MÖ 4. yüzyıla tarihlenen bir mezar üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Kentin nekropolünde 2005-2006 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilmiş bir kurtarma kazısı kapsamında açığa çıkarılmış olan bahse konu mezar, beraber bulunduğu diğer beş çağdaşı ile Soloi'nin Klasik Dönemi için bilgi veren birkaç mezardan biridir. Mezar beraber bulunduğu diğer çağdaşlarından özellikle altın-gümüş takılar ve metal kaplar içeren zengin buluntuları nedeniyle ayrılmaktadır. Kayaya oyulmuş merkezi bir açıklığa (prodomos) bağlanan üç bağımsız odalı bu mezar yapısı, barındırdığı gömüler ile Soloi'nin Klasik Dönem'deki sosyokültürel yapısı, iç ve dış bağlantıları yanında soylu tabakasının ölü gömme adetleri hakkında da ilgi çekici bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Çalışma kapsamında, ilk olarak mezarın detaylı bir tanımı yapılarak hem mimari hem de konumsal önemi ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu değerlendirmeyi gömülerin ve zengin buluntu repertuvarlarının yüzeysel ancak yeterli bir incelemesi takip edecektir. Son olarak ise mezar ve içeriği MÖ 4. yüzyıl Kıbrıs ve Yunan ölü gömme adetleri bünyesinde anlamlandırılmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soloi, Geç Klasik Dönem, takılar, metal kaplar, ölü gömme adetleri, cenaze törenleri

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I wish to thank Emine Hilkat, former Director of the Morphou/Güzelyurt branch of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the TRNC, and Mehmet Şöföroğlu for giving the necessary permissions to study and publish the material from the necropolis of Soloi as well as their collaborative work on the subject since 2009. I also express my never-ending gratitude to Kadir Kaba for his caring and efficient work on the photographing of the finds and whose drawings were realized with much care by Nalan Kaba. Last but not least, I owe thanks to both anonymous reviewers who helped to improve the earlier draft of this article.

Introduction

Our archaeological knowledge of the funerary customs of ancient Cypriots is rather limited. This is more astonishing since the archaeology in Cyprus began with large-scale excavations in necropoleis. Travelogues and archaeologists of the 19th century opened many tombs with the hope of finding valuable and nice "objects". With the early 1920s, the funerary archaeology of Cyprus gradually developed thanks to the more systematic and scientific explorations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.² Their work and its results established the first and still recognized typology related to the sepulchral architecture of the island. However, the Swedes aimed to establish an island-wide chronology rather than putting specific effort into the study of the burial customs of ancient Cypriots. Since the 1950s in several necropoleis such as Salamis, Kourion, Kition, Paphos and elsewhere, excavations have been carried out mostly by Cypriot archaeologists.³ These excavations have provided rich finds from various periods, especially from the Cypriot Iron Age (1050-310 BC).⁴ The war in 1974 and the following partition of the island affected the balance in research. Excavations by Cypriot and foreign archaeological missions continued in the south without many setbacks, whereas archaeological fieldwork in the North came to a complete standstill. Funerary archaeology followed more or less a similar path on both sides, characterized mainly by rescue excavations.⁵

Despite the growing number of excavated tombs and their extensive publications, comparative analyses and synthetic studies on funerary customs of the Cypriot Iron Age are generally lacking. The few exceptions, unfortunately, were limited to unpublished dissertations. Nevertheless, some comparative studies on chronologically limited aspects of the funerary archaeology promise to shed new light on this matter.

Soloi, the city that forms the setting of this article, was one of the most prominent political powers of the Cypriot Iron Age.⁹ Its exploration by the University of Laval in Quebec came to a standstill following 1974.¹⁰ Since then, the only fieldwork within the site has occurred in the necropolis in the manner of rescue excavations that were mostly urged by new construction or by looting.¹¹ The excavated finds are carefully recorded, stored and partly exhibited in

A quick survey of the *memoires* of the first travelogues and archaeologists in Cyprus, such as Cesnola, Hogarth and Ohnefalsch-Richter, reveals how often they mention tombs and their excavations; see Cesnola 1877; Hogarth 1889; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.

² During their five years visit and work in Cyprus between 1927-1931 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition alone excavated more than 200 tombs.

For some selective bibliography on Cypriot necropoleis, see Karageorghis 1970, 1973, 1978; Parks 1997, 1998; Hadiisavvas 2012, 2014.

⁴ All dates and chronological identifications used in this article are based on the table from Gjerstad 1960.

⁵ For some important cases, especially from the south that exemplify this situation, see Flourentzos 2007, 2011.

⁶ For instance, none of the volumes on the necropolis of Salamis, with hundreds of pages on tomb architecture and inventories, has chapters on burial customs/rites longer than ten pages. This situation repeats itself in one of the last publications on the Phoenician-period necropolis of Kition by Hadjisavvas. His two-volume work (Hadjisavvas 2012, 2014) dedicates only fifteen pages to burial customs among a total of 450 pages.

⁷ Parks 1999; Janes 2008.

⁸ Blackwell 2010; Janes 2013.

⁹ For a short history of the city, see des Gagniers 1975, 211-14.

For pre-1974 excavations in the city and its necropolis, see des Gagniers et al. 1967; des Gagniers 1972, 46-48; 1975.

After 1974 the Morphou/Güzelyurt branch of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the TRNC conducted two large-scale rescue excavations within the necropolis of Soloi. The first excavation took place in 1991 and was directed by Mrs. Peyman Uzun. A total of 15 tombs dating from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic periods were

the museum of Güzelyurt/Morphou, but remained unpublished due to political concerns and scientific embargoes. One of those rescue excavations within the necropolis of the ancient city took place between late 2005 and early 2006. It brought to light six rock-cut chamber tombs from the Cypro-Classical Period (480-310 BC). One of these six tombs is significant in term of its size, multiple burials and rich inventories. Due to its undisturbed context, it is promising to shed light on the burial customs of Soloi, especially for the Classical Period. 12

This article will focus on this tomb named "SKK Mezar 4" by its excavators (hereafter Tomb 4), including its rich assemblages. Although certain publications appeared on some isolated artefacts or find groups from this tomb, ¹³ a holistic presentation of it was still pending. Firstly, I will present the location and architectural structure, then describe each burial and their inventories. Stylistic and iconographic analyses will be drawn to contextualize the individual items in the wider region to trace social and trading connections of Soloi. A synthesis of the tomb assemblage will lead to an interpretation and reconstruction of the burial customs and rituals of the Solian elite. By doing so, it aims to shed light on this overlooked chapter of Cypriot funerary archaeology within the limited scope of Classical Soloi.

Location

Tomb 4, together with the others, falls within the known limits of the necropolis of the ancient city. It is situated on the southeast side of the acropolis, known as *Pezoullia*. This location had been previously, and erroneously, been identified as the "nécropole romaine" of the city by the Canadian team.¹⁴

The landscape around Tomb 4 changed dramatically from the late 1970s to the early 1980s due to agricultural terracing. Particularly, the area around the tomb has been heavily disturbed. The tomb is situated at the edge of a ridge, which runs south to north on the hill where the acropolis once stood (fig. 1). Being first in the line of tombs, Tomb 4 is followed by the others numbered as 3, 6, 5, 1 and 2 towards the acropolis.

The location of Tomb 4 is prominent in comparison with the others in terms of its proximity to the citadel and easy accessibility from the plain. It may have had a tomb marker (*sema*) as usual at Cypriot tombs.¹⁵ Thus, either marked by a stele or a mound, Tomb 4 must have been visible to those walking around the plain through the burial grounds of the ancient city. The locality chosen for Tomb 4 is surely no coincidence. Its proximity to the acropolis where the royal house of Soloi probably stood, and its location on a ridge dominating the plain, are clear indications of its owner's privileged position.

excavated. The specific tomb for this article and the five others were excavated during the second long-lasting excavation between 2005-2006 under the directorship of Mrs. Emine Hilkat.

¹² This tomb, its context and importance for the Cypriot archaeology was evaluated within the doctoral study of the author together with other Classical tombs from Soloi. For the unpublished PhD thesis of the author, see Kaba 2015a.

¹³ Kaba 2015b, 2015c, 2016.

¹⁴ des Gagniers 1975, 217, fig. 1.

For Cypriot examples that were marked by stelai, see Calvet 1993, 131. Another way of marking Cypriot tombs was by means of erecting mounds on them as indicated by Carstens 2006, 159-60.

Tomb Architecture

Tomb 4 is entirely hewn into the bedrock, as is characteristic for most Cypriot tombs. Its roof lies approximately 1 m below the surface, whereas the floor level goes as deep as 3 m. The integrity of the tomb had been already profoundly affected due to agricultural terracing when it was first discovered. The roof of one of the chambers collapsed, while the second one was partially shrunken. However, the preserved architectural structure of the tomb still allows for a reconstruction of its plan as well as its typological classification.

Tomb 4 belongs to a well-known Cypriot chamber tomb type with a stepped dromos (fig. 2). The architectural design of the tomb with three separate chambers can be classified as a multi-chamber rock-cut tomb. All chambers are provided with a doorway (*stomion*) to a central courtyard (*prodomos*), which is accessible through a stepped dromos. ¹⁶ The dromos has a total length of 4 m, a width ranging from 1.50 to 2 m, and leads from the surface level to the *prodomos*. The *prodomos* at a depth of three meters from the surface measures 2 x 2 m. It serves as an open courtyard which leads to three separate burial chambers (fig. 3).

Excavators labeled the chambers in their excavation records as 4A, being the first followed by 4B and 4C. Chamber 4A is positioned on the southeast, while 4B lies opposite with a northwest orientation. Chamber 4C is situated between and accessible straight ahead from the dromos. The tomb is oriented in a central axis from southeast to northwest starting from the beginning of the dromos to the end of 4C. A second axial line stretches from northeast to southwest between Chambers 4A and 4B.

All three chambers are similarly designed but differ in size. Chamber 4A was found in a partially damaged condition as its roof completely collapsed. A slightly arched *stomion*, with a width of 1.25 m and a height of 0.60 m, leads to the chamber. The *stomion* was sealed by means of big stone slabs bonded by a muddy mortar preserved in its lowest row. The rectangular burial chamber has a flat floor and, as understood from the remaining portions, an arched roof. The relatively large dimensions of the burial chamber with a length of 4.60 m, a width of 3 m, and a height of 1.70 m can be regarded as a reflection of the social importance of its owners.

Chamber 4B differs slightly from Chamber 4A. This chamber was found in a better state of preservation since only one-third of its roof had collapsed. Its *stomion*, with a height of 0.90 m and a width of 1 m, is topped by a curved enlargement with a width of 0.80 m. This widening gives the entrance a dome-like shape. A combination of small slabs and some spolia was used to seal the entrance. Some of these spolia are decorated with mouldings. A question arises whether these spolia were brought from elsewhere or stem from an earlier tomb. However, due to rescue character of the excavations, we lack detailed observations which could provide an explanation. The chamber of 4B has also a rectangular shape, but is slightly smaller than 4A measuring 4.20 x 2.60 m. The chamber floor is lower than the level of the *prodomos* with a difference of 0.15 m. The arched roof stands 1.60 m high from the floor of the chamber.

Chamber 4C is situated directly opposite of the dromos and better preserved in comparison with the other two chambers. Its *stomion* also reflects the dome-like shape which was evident in the entrance of the 4B. The *stomion* of 4C has a square form measuring 0.90 x 0.90 m. It can be observed from the remaining stone slabs that the entrance of this chamber was closed in the same way as the others. The chamber floor is again slightly lower than the level of *prodomos*

¹⁶ Carstens 2006, 139, 149, 167.

with a difference of 0.15 m. The rectangular chamber measures 3.80×2 m. The well-preserved arched roof is the highest of all three chambers with a height of 1.80 m at its midpoint.

The layout of Tomb 4 finds close comparisons from nearby¹⁷ or distant¹⁸ localities on the island. Especially the structure of its *dromos* and burial chambers are common at rock-cut Cypriot tombs.¹⁹ However, despite this general consistency, it is difficult to assign Tomb 4 to a previously defined type. Neverthless, a tomb complex from the Classical necropolis of Kition (Tombs 59, 60) shows a similar architectural layout to Tomb 4.²⁰ This tomb complex, similarly identified as a family tomb, yields two separate burial chambers opening to the same dromos.²¹ Despite the lack of a *prodomos*, the Kitian tomb is the sole example which resembles Tomb 4 of Soloi.

Nevertheless, Tomb 4 is not unique without any source of inspiration in Cyprus. A detailed comparative analysis of the development of tomb types from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic Periods is needed to trace the architectural traits. There is no doubt that with its layout and size, Tomb 4 follows the well-known monumental built tombs in both the Cypro-Archaic and Classical Periods.²² The *prodomos* is a characteristic trait of Cypro-Archaic built tombs, as best evidenced at two monumental tombs from Tamassos (Tombs 5, 11).²³ This analogy can be multiplied with another built tomb in the Cypro-Archaic era from Trachonas.²⁴ The integration of the *prodomos* with the architecture of the tomb seems to be popular solely within the built tombs in the Cypro-Archaic Period with some exceptions from the necropolis of Salamis. The Cellarka burial ground from the necropolis of Salamis has some rock-cut Cypro-Classical exemplars, each with a prodomos. However, according to Anne-Marie Carstens, the workmanship of the *prodomoi* from the *Cellarka* tombs are rather simple compared to the prodomoi of the built exemplars.²⁵ Hence, we may assume that the utilization of a prodomos was first developed on the built tombs within Cypriot sepulchral architecture. Alongside the Cellarka tombs, Tomb 4 from Soloi presents a rare example of a rock-cut Classical tomb with a prodomos. Its prodomos, however, shows better workmanship and quality which is nearly equivalent to the built tombs of the Cypro-Archaic era.

The position of two additional burial chambers to the sides of the central axis is another trait in the design of Tomb 4 which can be paralleled with the so-called two-axial tomb typology of Hellenistic Cyprus. ²⁶ Hellenistic two-axial tombs, however, develop around a central chamber but not a *prodomos*, as is the case at Tomb 4.

Resulting from this, Tomb 4 involves the *prodomos* of the Archaic built tombs and the two-axial layout of Hellenistic tombs, although this combination is not otherwise attested. It is hence a hitherto unique example as the latest representative of a *prodomos* tomb and a Late

 $^{^{17}}$ For exemplars originating from nearby Marion, see Gjerstad et al. 1937, figs. 167.8, 172.4, 179.3 and 6, 182.5.

 $^{^{18}}$ For exemplars originating from Tsambres and Aphendrika in Karpas, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937, figs. 14, 28.

For the dromos see especially Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 142.1. For chambers see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937, fig. 27; Gjerstad et al. 1937, figs. 167.8, 172.4, 179.3 and 6, 182.5; Gjerstad 1948, 45.

²⁰ Hadjisavvas 2012, 193-98, fig. 115.

²¹ Hadjisavvas 2012, 195.

²² Gjerstad 1948, 47; Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461-66; Carstens 2006, 136-42. For the mention of a built tomb from Soloi which was unfortunately destroyed, see Westholm 1941, 49.

²³ Buchholz 1974, 578-98; 1973, 328.

²⁴ Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461-66, fig. 182.5-6.

²⁵ Carstens 2006, 142-43; Raptou 2019, 211-12.

²⁶ Carstens 2006, 149-50.

Classical forerunner for two-axial tombs of the Hellenistic Period.²⁷ At this point, the scholarly opinion on the origin of the two-axial tomb type deriving from the cross-shaped chamber tombs needs to be revisited.²⁸ It is reasonable to put forward that tombs similar to Tomb 4 probably inspired the model of two-axial tomb typology. Thus, by the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, Cypriots possibly turned the *prodomos* of such tombs like our example into the roofed chambers to form the two-axial typology. As Tomb 4 is the sole example of its kind, it is yet not possible to determine the role of Soloi and the northwestern part of the island in this aspect.²⁹

To sum up, for the time being we can only state that Tomb 4 forges a sure link between the sepulchral architecture of the Cypro-Archaic and Hellenistic Periods. It does not just carry on the architectural traits of monumental tomb architecture of the Cypro-Archaic era, but also provides a source of inspiration for the two-axial types of the following Hellenistic Period.

Burials and Assemblages

While the tomb chambers have yielded only a few human and animal bones, a total of 190 artefacts were found both in the *prodomos* and in the burial chambers of 4A and 4B. Since Chamber 4C was looted, it did not contain more than some scattered pottery sherds.

The inventory of Tomb 4 ranges from ceramics, lamps, statuettes, metal vessels, jewelry, weapons and nails alongside other miscellaneous artefacts.³⁰ Thanks to the accurate documentation of the excavators, the finds can be securely assigned either to the *prodomos* or to the respective chambers. In the following, these find assemblages will be presented under the headings of find groups and their associated chambers. Rather than striving for completeness by cataloguing every find, this article will focus on datable and significant items.

Finds from the Prodomos

Excavations in the *prodomos* yielded only ceramic finds. Apart from two separate assemblages of storage vessels, the rest of the finds were all fragmentary. All ceramics were products of the local Cypriot ceramic industry.

Fragmentary ceramics found within the filling of the *prodomos* all belong to closed vessels used for storage and pouring purposes. Notably, no pottery with open forms such as plates or bowls are encountered. A rough estimation of the pottery fragments allows us to assign them to four main forms: the torpedo-shaped storage vessels, hydria, amphorae and juglets. It is not possible to reconstruct all the vessels due to their poor state of preservation. However, an inventory of three torpedo-shaped storage vessels, two amphorae, one hydria and five juglets could be identified from the present fragments. All vessels assigned to the Plain White Ware (referred to as PW hereafter) stem from the local Cypriot ceramic industry.³¹

²⁷ Carstens 2006, 149-50.

²⁸ Carstens 2006, 150.

²⁹ Carstens (2006, 150) believes that the two-axial tomb type must have originated somewhere in inland Cyprus since the sole representator and predecessor of this type were all found there. However, it is evident thanks to Tomb 4 that this interpretation is open to some update and discussion.

³⁰ Kaba 2015a, 73-100.

³¹ All references to ceramic forms, types and Ware Groups are based on the well-established terminology of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Especially for the types and grouping of ceramic vessels within this article, see Gjerstad 1948, figs. LVIII-LXXI and related entries.

Two amphorae from the upper level of the fill soil were found close to the entrance of 4A (fig. 4.1-2). Both examples are attested to PW VII ware. The first of these two (h: 68 cm) can be assigned to Type 5a by its stretched body, sharp shoulder and long neck (fig. 5a). The other amphora (h: 50 cm) reflects a different typology. Its characteristic base, ovoid body, soft shoulder-neck angle, and horizontal handles allow us to determine it as an exemplar of Type 1b (fig. 5b).

The second group of intact or nearly intact vessels was found on the floor (fig. 4.3-4). Located between the entrance of 4A and mid-portion of the *prodomos*, this second group consists of an amphora and a torpedo-shaped storage vessel. The amphora (h: 89 cm) was found just in front of the stone blocks used to seal the entrance of the chamber. Especially the relatively short neck, the bulbous body, and the flaring base are the diagnostics of Type 5c of the PW VII (fig. 5c). The torpedo-shaped vessel (h: 71 cm) was found in the middle of the *prodomos* lying on the ground. Its biconical body, soft neck-shoulder angle, and single circular handle associates it with Type 4b of the PW VI (fig. 5d).

Other fragmentary ceramics were encountered especially close to the level of the floor. As indicated previously, these pottery sherds stem from different forms of local Cypriot juglets belonging to the PW VI group.

Burials and Finds from Chamber 4A

Chamber 4A was richly furnished with various grave goods, which were mostly found in their *in situ* positions (fig. 6). Only some objects had shifted from their original positions due to the effect of a collapsing roof. The inventory of Chamber 4A comprises ceramics and lamps belonging to local Cypriot wares, one limestone and one terracotta statuette, eighteen pieces of gold and silver jewelry, a symposion set of sixteen metal vessels, two mirrors, two pigment rods, one metal candelabrum, three spearheads, a possible shield, two strigils, and some other miscellaneous finds. Copious remains of deteriorated wood accompanied by bronze nails point to the existence of wooden coffins, biers or *klinai* as well as boxes.

Towards the inner sides of the front portion of the chamber, a statuette was found at each corner. The ceramics together with lamps occupied the area close to the entrance, right after the *stomion*. Towards the left side of the *stomion* a diadem, two sets of bracelets, and a big mirror accompanied by two pigment rods are documented. All these artefacts were surrounded by nails and deteriorated wood, indicating that they were kept within wooden boxes. Approximately a half meter away from the entrance, in the middle of the chamber, a golden ivy wreath and a mouthpiece (*epistomion*) were found resting on the crushed cranial remains of their owner. Pieces from a necklace and a dress ornament were scattered around the wreath. The vessels forming a symposion set were piled respectfully in the center of the chamber, but closer to the eastern wall. From the location of the spearheads it can be reconstructed that three spears were laid adjacent to the eastern wall of the chamber. Candelabrum fragments were found scattered close to the western wall of the chamber towards its end.

Human remains found in small pieces and spread around can be assigned to an adult male, a female and an infant by the anthropological analyses.³² This diversity in age and sex points

³² The anthropological analysis of the human remains was conducted by anthropologist S. Hoşsöz (M.A.) from the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus. The author wishes to thank her for her collaborative work related to these human remains.

to a family kinship of the deceased. The male occupant of the tomb was in his 50s at the time of his death. The female, presumably his wife, was around her mid-30s, whereas the child was a girl around 2-4 years old. Thus, 4A can be assigned to a wealthy family which lived and died in Soloi in the Late Classical period. In addition to human remains, 4A also yielded some animal bones which belong, according to analyses, to a sheep deposited at the rear wall of the chamber.

Pottery

In comparison to the rich metal objects, Chamber 4A yielded a rather poor ceramic inventory. Four juglets, two jugs and four bowls were the only pottery finds (fig. 7). Most of these ceramic vessels were found fragmented, while only four are complete or nearly complete. The pottery finds will be carefully examined as they are significant to date the burial.

Two of the juglets belong to PW VI, while the other two can be attested to PW VII ware. The first of the PW VI juglets (preserved h: 12.5 cm) has been partially recovered; however, its mouth and handle are missing (fig. 7a). Its reddish-brown clay, concave neck and single spout suggest its assignment to Type 17. The second complete juglet also has only with fragments from its shoulder, neck, rim and handle (preserved h: 6 cm) (fig. 7b). It can be placed amongst the Type 6 examples of the same ware. For it shows the diagnostics of this group such as the globular body, ring-shaped mouth with ridges, and an elongated handle from neck to shoulder.

PW VII juglets are better preserved compared to the vessels of PW VI. The first example of this group (h: 11 cm) has a splaying rim, short and concave neck, a single handle from rim to shoulder, a bobbin-shaped body, and a base ring (fig. 7c). In the light of this typology, the first juglet of the PW VII ware can be placed amongst the examples of 9c Type. The second juglet (h: 11.4 cm) reflects traits similar to the example mentioned above. It varies, however, with its more elongated body (fig. 7d), which corresponds to Type 9b.

Two poorly preserved jugs, consisting only of fragments from the shoulder, neck, rim and handle, can be assigned to PW VI with traits of the Type 10 forms.

Bowls are the only examples representing the open forms. Apart from a single complete example, all bowls are fragmented. The complete bowl (fig. 7e) is typified with a shallow structure, curved sides and a plain rim (h: 3.5, d: 8 cm). It can be assigned to PW VI Type 1 forms. Other bowl fragments can be placed amongst the PW VI 4, PW VII 3 and PW VII 4 groups.

Statuettes

Two statuettes from the chamber show different iconographies as well as different material and production techniques. The first is a mold-made small-sized terracotta (h: 13.3 cm, w: 4 cm). Its surface is heavily worn (fig. 8a). It represents a female figure standing on a base while her left leg is extended forward slightly. No *contrapposto* is recognizable; the weight of the figure seems to be distributed evenly on both feet. Her left arm drops down along the side, while the right arm is folded against the chest. The clenched fist suggests that the right hand is holding an attribute which is hardly recognizable on the worn surface. But it could be either a flower or a bird. The figure wears an ankle-length chiton and a himation, whereas the latter covers also the head. The long hair is styled to a bun which appears through the headcover. Striking is the necklace with acorn pendants. The terracotta, which is unmodeled at the back,

is a modest reproduction of a Classical figure type which originates from the Ionian *vogelkore* (Kore holding bird) of the Archaic period.³³ Similar examples known from other sites on the island are dated to the late 5th and 4th centuries BC respectively.³⁴ Referred to as "Cypriote type korai" in the literature, these statuettes are identified as votary figures.³⁵

The second statuette sculptured from limestone attracts attention for its polychromy (h: 18.8 cm).³⁶ It represents a dressed female figure accompanied by a much smaller nude male figure both standing on a rectangular plinth (fig. 8b). The figure is depicted leaning against a pillar and holding an attribute that is lost. Her body weight rests on her left leg while the right leg is free so that her upper body is twisted off-axis of the lower body which corresponds to a fully developed *contrapposto*. The figure is clad in a pink-colored chiton and a richly pleated white himation with a broad pink border. A necklace with acorn pendants, similar to the one on the terracotta statuette, adorns the neckline of her garment. The head of the figure carries a *stephane*, whereas two bracelets adorn her wrists. All jewels are painted in yellow to indicate their gold fabric.

On the base of iconographic features like rich garments and jewelry and importantly the accompanying male figure most probably representing Eros, the female figure can be identified as a representation of Aphrodite. A close terracotta parallel from nearby Marion is dated to late 4th century BC and interpreted as the representation of Aphrodite with her son.³⁷ Another iconographical counterpart from Marion is equally sculptured of limestone and decorated with polychrome painting.³⁸ These analogies show that this type of Aphrodite was popular in the 4th century BC in northwestern Cyprus.³⁹ Despite its strong local traits evident in disproportions and coarse modeling, this statuette, like the other examples mentioned above, must be copied from a well-known statue of its time.⁴⁰

Metal Vessels

Metal vessels forming a symposion set comprise one of the most remarkable parts of the assemblage. We may suggest that the symposium equipment belonged to the male occupant of the tomb. The set consists of seventeen vessels produced from various kinds of metal. Two plates, one salt cellar, three basins, a partially fragmented situla, three oinochoai, two amphorae, three Achaemenid-type cups, a hemispherical bowl, and a kyathos constitute the set. Especially the three Achaemenid drinking cups are considerable for being made of silver, whereas the hemispherical bowl also has gold gilding. A silver kyathos also falls within the group of utensils made from precious metal.

³³ Işık 2000. Such statuettes of female figures bearing offerings are generally interpreted as representations of votaries. For Cypriot exemplars with such traits, see Ulbrich 2008, 49-63, pls. 6-7. Also more recently Ulbrich 2012, 186-90.

³⁴ Vandenabeele 2007, 221.

³⁵ Hermary 2000, 91-101, nos. 596, 599; Vandenabeele 2007, 221, fig. 15.

³⁶ For the publication of this statuette, see Kaba 2015b.

³⁷ Serwint 1993.

³⁸ Childs 1999, 228, fig. 5.1.

³⁹ This popularity can be enlarged towards southeast Cyprus thanks to parallels from the vicinity of Salamis: Monloup 1994, 51, no. 85, figs. 10, 57, 91-92, 120; Karageorghis 1973, 144, no. 106, pl. CLXXI:106; 151 no. 254, pl. CLXXII:254.

⁴⁰ The leaning posture and high pillar also bring to mind the lost statue of "Aphrodite in the Gardens" of Alcmenes as another candidate for the source of inspiration. In this case, the nude figure would represent not Eros but Hermaphrodite as described by Pausanias (1.19.2).

Two bronze plates, the salt cellar, and the drinking cups show formal affinities with well-known pottery types from Persian-period Asia Minor and Attica. Two of the three oinochai correspond to Type IIB trefoil oinochoe and the chous type. However, unlike their ceramic counterparts, they yield elaborately decorated handles. The Type IIB oinochoe has a handle that ends with an ivy leaf attachment attested to workshops of the Peloponnese. The handle of the chous-type oinochoe ends with a well-executed lion head on its upper finial, while the lower one is shaped as a Dionysos head. The lion head decorating the upper finial is unparalleled within the periphery of Greek toreutics, whereas the Dionysos head finds itself a single parallel. The third oinochoe reflects a type well known in metal. This type with its carinated body, trefoil mouth and handle elaborately decorated with an acanthus shoot is widespread and known by the name *epichysis oinochoe*. The example from 4A is the first representative from Cyprus so far. Oinochoai from 4A parallels the finds especially from the inventories of elite burials from the 4th century BC in Macedonia and Thrace.

Another specimen attested for the first time in Cyprus is a heavily fragmented situla. ⁴⁵ Its partially preserved cast body decoration, a splendid vegetative motif emerging from an acanthus shoot, can be paralleled with the well-known mid-4th century BC exemplars of the so-called Vratsa Group. ⁴⁶ The vessel itself once again finds its parallels in Macedonia and Thrace. ⁴⁷

Amongst the vessels, the amphorae with two sets of handles, of which the vertical ones are decorated with the heads of Silenoi, are of particular interest (fig. 9a). These amphorae exemplify a very rare form mostly assigned to Athenian toreuts.⁴⁸ In the literature only three silver examples of such amphorae are known: two originate from the so-called "Tomb of Philip" in Vergina (mid-4th century BC)⁴⁹ and the other from a private collection in Bulgaria (mid-5th century BC).⁵⁰ These exemplars, especially the one from Bulgaria, provide the best parallels to the 4A specimens. According to *communis opinio*, this vessel type was used to serve particularly rare wines or aromatized water during symposia.⁵¹ Thus, the presence of this rare vessel type otherwise attested in a Macedonian "Royal Tomb" points to the elite character of the burial in 4A.

The hemispherical silver bowl also represents a rare toreutic vessel type for Cyprus (fig. 9b). With its elaborate workmanship and design, this piece must have been either a prestigious

⁴¹ Kottaridi 2011, 118; Sparkes et al. 1970, 136.

For the typology on bronze exemplars, see Weber 1983, 92-95, 105-15, 122-23. On the Peloponnesian origin of this type, see Sideris 2016, 128.

⁴³ Weber 1983, 346, no. II.E.5, pl. XIII

⁴⁴ For the best-known or recent exemplars, see the selective bibliography as Andronicos 1984, 209, fig. 172; Delemen 2004, 81-86, figs. 74-78; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 35, pls. 4, 39; Teleaga 2008, 446, pls. 117, 119.2, 197.6; Sideris 2016, 241-44, cat. nos. 96-98.

⁴⁵ Kaba 2015a, 212-15, cat. no. Mk2, pls. 86-87.

⁴⁶ For the classification of metal situlae, see Shefton 1994; Barr-Sharrar 2000. For the most up-to-date classification, however, one must look at Sideris (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ For Thracian exemplars, see Detev 1971, 43-45, figs. 9-10; Teleaga 2008, 449, no. 997, pls. 80, 176.9; Torbov 2005, 82, 101, no 72, pl. 12.3. For Macedonian exemplars, see Rhomiopoulou 1989, 195-98, pls. 45-46a; Shefton 1994, 586, fig. 2.1.

⁴⁸ Sideris 2016, 118-19.

⁴⁹ Andronicos 1984, 153; Zimi 2011, 43-44, 188-89, nos. 17-18.

⁵⁰ Sideris 2016, 118-19.

⁵¹ Andronicos 1984, 146; Sideris 2016, 120.

gift or a luxurious object in the symposium set.⁵² The design with a fluted body and the cast base decoration corresponds to metal vessels known as Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired toreutics.⁵³ The gilded ivy branch around the rim, on the other hand, reflects a Greek decoration convention that is common on toreutics between the mid-5th and mid-4th centuries BC.⁵⁴ Workshops from Western Anatolia, a region known to have close relations with the island since the Archaic Period, are the leading candidates for the places of production for such vessels richly decorated both with oriental and Greek elements.⁵⁵

Jewelry

Gold and silver jewelry form the largest group from the inventory of 4A. They include a complete wreath, a diadem, a mouthpiece (*epistomion*), spiral, netted or hoop earrings, a pendulum necklace, armbands and bracelets ending with snake or Achaemenid-style ibex finials.⁵⁶ Nearly all the earrings, the necklace, armbands and the bracelets are attested in various Cypriot burial contexts.⁵⁷

However, a rare specimen in this aspect is the golden ivy wreath - the first of its kind to be found on the island (fig. 10a). It is excellently preserved apart from some broken or lost ivy leaves. Its design with equally distributed ivy leaves and two fruits (*korymboi*) in the center can be paralleled with similar wreaths from the mid 4th century BC burials of Pappa Tumulus⁵⁸ and Nea Apollonia.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the different technique that was utilized in forming the circumference of the 4A exemplar and stylistic rendering of the stems of its *korymboi* differs from Macedonian parallels.⁶⁰ Another exemplar originating from Thrace resembles the Soloi piece, especially in the use of ivy leaves around a golden circumference. However, the Thracian wreath reflects a different technique with the forming of its circumference and, most importantly, lacks the *korymboi*.⁶¹ Similar wreaths produced in different techniques point to the possible existence of several workshops which may have manufactured them using a Macedonian prototype as a model probably.

Another important and unique piece of jewelry is a pair of gold earrings produced by the so-called netting technique. These earrings belong to a rarely exemplified type of Achaemenid jewelry.⁶² A more elaborate parallel was found in a hidden "treasure" from the palace of Pasargadae and dated to the destruction of the palace around 336 BC.⁶³

 $^{^{52}\,}$ For such vessels given as gifts, see Zournatzi 2000; Sideris 2015, 80-84.

⁵³ For parallels with similar shape and body decoration, see Oliver 1977, 7; Pfrommer 1987, 248, pl. 48c, d. For similars to the cast base decoration additionally see Treister 2007, 71, fig. 2.4; 84, fig. 10.1; 86, fig. 12; 93, fig. 17.2; Treister 2010, 229, fig. 3.

⁵⁴ For 5th century BC exemplars especially, see Sideris 2016, 118, no. 51; 134, no. 58; 149, no. 62; 168, no. 66; 173, no. 67; 177, no. 68. For 4th century exemplars see Treister 2009.

Treister 2007, 99-101; Boardman 2000, 186. This possibility is even suggested for many pure Achamenid forms in metal; see Filow 1934, 202; Pfrommer 1990, 205, 208.

⁵⁶ For a detailed evaluation of the jewelry from Tomb 4, see Kaba 2016.

⁵⁷ Karageorghis 2000, 239, no. 388; Caubet et al. 1992, 163, no. 201; Williams and Ogden 1994, 237, no. 171; Rehm 1992, 370, pl. 25 A.77.

⁵⁸ Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011, no. 1.

⁵⁹ Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011, no. 2.

⁶⁰ For a comparison of techniques of these wreaths, see Kaba 2016, 226.

⁶¹ Marazov 2011, 182-83, cat. no. 138.

⁶² Kaba 2016, 227.

⁶³ Stronach 1978, 177, 201, no. 1, fig. 85.1.

Utensils of Daily Life

The inventory of 4A consists of various items related to the daily life of the deceased. Two bronze mirrors of varying size and shape, two pigment rods, and a strigil are the equipment of body care, while a splendid candelabrum must have fulfilled the need for lighting. As scholarship has shown, no proper rules existed related to belongings, especially strigils and mirrors, among gender groups in antiquity. Neverthless, both mirrors and pigment rods possibly belonged to the deceased female and her child, whereas the strigil belonged to the male, as attested from the contexts of other Cypro-Classical tombs.⁶⁴

The candelabrum attracts attention due to its unique form and rich decoration. Although severely damaged by the collapsed roof, it could be reconstructed as complete as possible (fig. 11). As a decorative household element, it shows a multipart rich structure. It rises from an iron stand which has three legs ending in animal paws. Bronze appliques in the shape of palmettos decorate the joints of the three legs. The body of the candelabrum was joined to the stand by a bronze connecting piece in the shape of a Cypro-Ionic capital. Fising from this capital, a column decorated with lateral sections supports a circular plate upon which a nude athlete stands. This youth notably shows Polykleitan traits. From the head of the youth, another column rises to carry a second and smaller circular plate.

Considering the stylistic features of the Cypro-Ionic capital and the Polykleitan youth, the candelabrum can be dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.⁶⁷ Hence, it is older than many other items in the tomb assemblage.⁶⁸ It was possibly a valuable family heirloom. Although numerous metal candelabra decorated with figures in various iconographies are known,⁶⁹ none of them provide a close parallel to the 4A exemplar.⁷⁰

Burials and Assemblages from Chamber 4B

4B was found in largely disturbed conditions because of the collapsed roof. Its inventory includes mainly jewelry accompanied by local ceramics and lamps, as was the case in 4A. In comparison with 4A, the variety of artefacts from 4B is, however, less rich. Noteworthy is the absence of metal vessels as well as utensils of daily life. Besides, 4B differs from both other burial chambers due to use of a terracotta sarcophagus. 4B produced a scattered context in which all artefacts were found dispersed around the chamber. Consequently, it is difficult to reconstruct the exact placement of the artefacts, as was the case in 4A. An exception is an amphora that was found leaning on the northern wall of the chamber.

⁶⁴ For an detailed examination of the connection of mirrors and strigils, especially within the funerary context of Athens, see Houby-Nielsen 1997. For similar Cypriot cases with mirrors and strigils, see Gjerstad et al. 1937, 308, no. 46a-b, 317, no. 25, pls. CII and CV; Gjerstad et al. 1935, 222, no. 21, pl. XL; 272, no. 53, pl. XLIX; 295, no. 32, pl. LV; 315, no. 24, pl. LIX; 336, no. 20, pl. LXI; Karageorghis 1989, 804, fig. 48; Chavane 1990, 12-13, pl. XXI.79.

 $^{^{65}\;}$ Karageorghis 1962, 346, fig. 23.c; Karageorghis 2000, 234, no. 371.

⁶⁶ Borbein 1999, 66.

⁶⁷ Karageorghis 2000, 234; Kranz 1978, 211, 231, 239.

⁶⁸ This list of older items can be increased by amphorae and many others. For a detailed analysis on this trait of Tomb 4, see Kaba 2015a, 476-79.

⁶⁹ Hostetter 1986

 $^{^{70}}$ For a similarly dressed female figurine adorning a candelabrum again from Cyprus, see Tatton-Brown 1989, 133.

The chest-like sarcophagus with a flat lid (fig. 12) can be assigned to a rare type for Cyprus⁷¹ where sarcophagi are generally characterized with gabled lids.⁷² The 4B specimen rather recalls the wooden coffins that were originally placed within the stone sarcophagi.⁷³

Anthropological analyses on the human remains showed that this terracotta sarcophagus contained a middle-aged female and a girl aged 7-8. It was hence primarily a female burial which explains the notable lack of weapons or rich inventory of precious metal vessels among the assemblage, as was the case in 4A. Nevertheless, the gold jewelry in quality and quantity is not inferior to that in the assemblage of 4A. Chamber 4B also yielded the bones of a sheep found, as in 4A, close to the rear wall of the chamber. These may have been left behind from sacrificial rituals or meat offerings.

Pottery

The pottery from 4B is constituted of relatively well-preserved but extremely fragmented vessels. The well-preserved exemplars are an amphora, six juglets and a single bowl, all belonging to the local Plain White Ware (fig. 13). The fragments, on the other hand, can be identified as bowls of PW as well as cooking pots and storage vessels. However, their state of preservation makes it difficult to determine their exact typology. As far as quantifiable, the pottery goods in the assemblage of 4B do not show the same rich variety of jewelry.

The amphora (h: 45 cm), with its bulbous body, two horizontal handles, mouth profile and ring base allow a determination as Type 1a forms of PW VI (fig. 14a). Of the six juglets, five fall within the PW VI group, whereas only a single specimen can be assigned to the PW VII group. One of the juglets with its cylindrical body and rounded base (h: 18 cm), belongs to PW VI of Type 5a (fig. 14b). Four other juglets with similar traits, especially visible within their body and rims, are examples of the PW VI group of Type 5b (fig. 14c-f). The last juglet (h: 15 cm), which differs from the others especially by its bulging body and prominent base, belongs to Type 1 of the PW VII group (fig. 14g). The only bowl from 4B (h: 3.5 cm, d: 18 cm) is heavily fragmented. Its body profile, base and rim allow its assignment to Type 8 of the PW VII group (fig. 14h).

Jewelry

The jewelry can be assigned either to an adult female or a child by their size. The jewelry of the adult woman includes a wreath which was found heavily damaged, as well as three pairs of boat-shaped earrings, two necklaces, two pendants, four finger rings, and a set of dress ornaments. The child-sized jewelry pieces consist of only three pairs of earrings and a necklace. All jewelry from 4B belongs to types known from other Cypriot burial contexts. The boat-shaped earrings seem to have been particularly popular in Cyprus since they are frequently represented in burials.⁷⁴

Among the jewelry from 4B, the intaglio gold ring attracts attention by its figurative decoration which is rarely attested on Cypriot jewelry. It depicts a female figure kneeling and

Another exemplar from Karaolovounos in d'Anayia is the other specimen known to the author. For this terracotta sarcophagus, see Karageorghis 1972, 1022-24, fig. 30.

For typical plain Cypriot sarcophagi with gabled lids, see Hermary 1987, 63-66, figs. 1-3; Yon and Callot 1987; Hadjisavvas 2014, 53-54.

⁷³ For an extremely well-preserved exemplar of such biers, see Yon and Callot 1987, fig. 7.

⁷⁴ Kaba 2016.

playing knucklebones (*astragaloi*) (fig. 14). She is clad with a chiton which slides over her left shoulder and uncovers her left breast. This motif is well attested in vase painting and on coins starting from the second half of the 4th century BC as well as in coroplastic and plastic arts of later eras.⁷⁵

Burials and Assemblages from Chamber 4C

Since 4C was looted, it did not contain more than some pottery sherds, fragments of clay lamps, and some metal objects. ⁷⁶ Judging by the definable pottery sherds, this chamber must have been used approximately at the same time as the other two. A fragment from a strigil suggests that at least one of the deceased was a male.

Dating

The date of the individual burial chambers and the tomb itself can be ascertained from the typological and stylistic examination of the finds. It would be, however, misleading to date the burials considering only the metal vessels and jewelry, since they could be handed down to the next generations as family heirlooms.⁷⁷ In the case of jewelry produced and used only for funerary purposes, such as the *epistomion* and dress ornaments, we may, however, suggest a contemporaneity between them and the date of the burial.

On the contrary the ceramics from the chambers and the *prodomos* are more reliable for dating. The pottery assemblages from 4A and 4B do not involve the ordinary variety of table and cooking ware, but are restricted to liquid containers and small bowls (fig. 15a). This may suggest that they do not stem from the household of the deceased, but were acquired prior to the funeral. Consequently, the ceramic repertories of 4A and 4B provide more reliable data on dating, whereas 4C must be kept out of this consideration as it unfortunately lacks a secure context.

The ceramic inventory of 4A comprises of a high amount of PW VI forms that constitute 60% of the whole pottery inventory with six exemplars. Other ceramics of PW VII forms fill the remaining 40% with four exemplars. This ratio of 60% PW VI and 40% PW VII is sufficient to date the chamber of 4A around the Cypro-Classical IIA (hereafter CC IIA), according to Einar Gjerstad's chronological framework (fig. 15b).⁷⁸ This date can be narrowed by the ivy wreath, the latest dated metal vessels from the symposion set, and the limestone statuette, all which point towards the mid-4th century BC. The candelabrum, some of the metal vessels, and some jewelry that pre-date the burial can be best interpreted as family heirlooms since there are no indications for a prior use of the tomb.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ For its representations on ceramic, painting, plastic and coroplastic arts, see Dörig 1959. For its depiction on the coins of Tarsos and its connection with 4B exemplar additionally, see Kaba 2016, 231.

⁷⁶ The stomion of 4C was already stripped of its covering slabs with only its lowest row intact at the time of discovery.

For the presence of objects with heirloom character from the chambers of Tomb 4, see Kaba 2015c, 476, 478 with notes 957, 515.

⁷⁸ Gjerstad 1948, 203.

⁷⁹ Such similar cases concerning the luxurious utensils of daily life or especially metal vases exist with many other elite burials. A well-known example of such cases is the tripod from Tomb II in Aigai. In the case of Aigai the tripod predates the single contexted burial in the chamber by nearly eighty years (Themelis 2000, 503). For an detailed evaluation of this and similar cases, see especially Sideris 2000, 28-29.

The ceramic inventory of 4B shows a more or less similar picture as in 4A, whereas some differences appear in ratios. The PW VI forms numbering 6 comprise 75% of the whole inventory, with PW VII forms constituting only 25% with two exemplars. The considerable domination of the PW VI group dates the burial in 4B earlier than the one in 4A. Consequently, a date falling to the very beginning of CC IIA, more precisely into the early years of the 4th century BC, seems to be reasonable. If this dating is accepted, Chamber 4B must have been sealed nearly fifty years earlier than 4A.

Ceramic assemblages from the *prodomos* also provide interesting results. The vessels found on the floor and belonging to PW VI and VII forms appear in close ratios (fig. 15a). Based on this result, the use of the *prodomos* can be assigned to a period spanning the whole of CC IIA (ca. 400-350 BC).

Two pottery assemblages from the *prodomos* can also be dated on a secure basis. The first assemblage is comprised of two vessels which belong to PW VI and VII respectively (fig. 15a). The appearance of both of these pottery types together is a clear indication of the period CC IIA (fig. 15b). The findspot of the first assemblage close to the *stomion* of 4A shows that it is contemporary with the burial from this chamber. This contemporaneity with 4A allows narrowing the date of the first assemblage towards the end of CC IIA, more precisely into the mid-4th century BC.

The second assemblage, on the other hand, is dominated by PW VII vessels that fall into CC IIB (ca. 350-310 BC) (fig. 15a). On this basis, it is consequent to assume that the second assemblage postdates all burials from Tomb 4 (fig. 15b). Thus, this assemblage must have been placed in the *prodomos* after the last burial in 4A took place around the mid-4th century BC. However, it is not possible to determine on secure grounds if this placement occurred right after the last burial in 4A, around 350 BC, or later towards 310 BC.

This tentative chronology allows us to suggest a scenario. Chamber 4B was most probably sealed at the beginning of the 4th century BC. A generation later, another branch of the same family might have been entombed within 4A. On the other hand, 4C can only be integrated into this scenario through a different perspective. Since Chamber 4C receives the dromos *en face*, it must have been the first chamber to be hewn and utilized.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the lack of a well-preserved context from 4C prevents us from further developing this suggestion for determining the exact date of the burials made in it. However, with caution it can be still put forward that 4C most likely predated both other burials.

Grave Goods and Funerary Practices

The chronological analyses point to a long period of use of the tomb that lasted nearly seventy-five years. ⁸¹ This long sequence complicates the reconstruction of funerary practices. Additionally, it makes a detailed and critical approach of this matter very vital. An interpretation of what may have happened before and after the funeral, and how the grave goods were involved during those processes, can be only hypothetical. But as Ian Morris stated, caution should be exercised regarding "naive direct interpretations". ⁸²

 $^{^{80}}$ For this general rule of Cypriot Iron Age tombs, see Carstens 2006, 127-28.

⁸¹ However, we must keep in mind that this time span is merely absolute since the dating of 4C relies solely on logical assumptions supported by unorthodox information.

Morris 1992, 104. Using especially the example in David Macaulay's Motel of the Mysteries, Morris (1992, 105, fig. 53) warns of the possibility of false interpretation if the archaeological information from the burial is read too literally.

The two chambers of Tomb 4 were found intact, apart from the disturbance due to the collapsed roof. They do allow valuable observations as a first step for a reconstruction of what may have happened prior to the sealing of the tomb. As previously noted, the archaeological context of 4B was partially disturbed. Therefore, more focus should be given to 4A in which nearly all the finds were found and recorded in their *in situ* locations.

As suggested by Fredrik Fahlander,⁸³ it is helpful to divide the tomb inventory into "grave goods" and "grave gifts",⁸⁴ although such a division cannot be conclusive. And some objects can be assigned to both groups in different contexts. In the case of 4A and 4B, an examination of the positions and the character of the artefacts generally suggests that those which were either on or close to the bodies of the deceased can be considered as personal belongings. Rings, bracelets, earrings and other jewelry were worn in the daily life of the deceased prior to their deposition in the tomb. This can be, however, excluded for the golden ivy wreath, the *epistomion* (fig. 10b) and the dress ornaments due to their fragile fabric and impractical design for daily use. Metal wreaths imitating certain plants were used as the jewelry of daily life, of religious ceremonies, or of social occasions as well as valuable gifts.⁸⁵ But they had more solid fabric. The funerary wreaths made of thin gold sheets were probably symbolic substitutes for the real ones. Their presence in burial contexts is generally related to two reasons: status objects indicating the high rank of the deceased or apotropaic objects related to the funerary rites.⁸⁶ The dress ornaments are extremely fragile and easy to lose due to their fastening by very thin thread, so were merely funerary adornments.

The gold *epistomion* is a well-known Cypriot funerary object⁸⁷ whose meaning is highly disputed. According to *communis opinio*, it is rather unlikely that these items were ever used as jewelry while the individual was alive. The main reason behind this is how it was fastened by two straps around the head and over the mouth.⁸⁸ *Epistomia* from Thrace are generally inscribed with Orphic texts written to secure passage to the other world and to introduce the dead to Persephone.⁸⁹ The 4A example is not inscribed but decorated with an imprint of a mouth, thus falls within the group of so-called "silent *epistomia*".⁹⁰ This type is either attested as pseudo-*oboloi* or, as best expressed by Yannis Tzifopoulos, as "...unincised tokens of initiates for passage and transfer to a special place of the underworld".⁹¹ The *epistomion* from 4A with its unincised structure fits well to fulfil the meaning and the function perfectly described by Tzifopoulos.

⁸³ Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, 7-8. However, as also stated within the same pages, different meanings can be given to similar objects in different burials.

However, this division does not belong to Fahlander himself. It is rather a widely accepted method of classification within the concept of death and burial; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 100-2; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, 7. For further recent research on the grouping of jewelry as grave goods and grave gifts in Cypriot burials of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, see Summerer and Kaba (forthcoming).

For the use of wreaths by the aristocracy in symposia, see Polyb. XV, 31.8. For their role within the cult of the Hellenistic kings, see Robert 1949, 5-29. For their use as wedding gifts, see Eur., Med. 984; Xen., Cyr. VIII.5.18-19, as rewards of contests see Pl., Ion 530 D; Diog. Laert., VII.11.

⁸⁶ Tsigarida 2010, 313-14. For a scene from an Attic louthrophoros depicting the use of head adornments during funerary rites, see Morris 1987, 51.

⁸⁷ For the background of mouth-pieces from Cyprus, see Graziadio 2013.

⁸⁸ Tweten 2015, 27.

⁸⁹ Graf and Johnston 2013, 46.

⁹⁰ This implication is born out from the fact that they were not inscribed. For brief information on this matter, see Tweten 2015, 23.

⁹¹ Tzifopoulos 2013, 174.

The vast amount of remains of wood found together with nails suggests that the bodies were carried to the grave by biers or laid in coffins or on *klinai* made of wood. In the burial in 4B, on the other hand, a terracotta sarcophagus was used. Splinters of wood found in association with nails and fittings could also point to the use of wooden boxes which may have received precious grave goods.

It is difficult to distinguish the items from secondary residual depositions and from the objects given to the dead as parting gifts in the belief he or she would need them in the afterworld. For instance, lamps found in both chambers could have served a practical use by illuminating the trail of the funeral during the *ekphora* as well as during the entombment within the dark chamber. But it is also possible that they had an eschatological meaning. On the other hand, pottery finds from the chambers consisting of mainly storage and pouring vessels were most probably the residues of funerary libations. But they could have been also intentionally deposited in the belief of nourishing the dead. Thus all these objects, after fulfilling their purpose, must have been deposited in the chamber either as residues of rituals or as parting gifts.

As noted previously, due to the collapsed roof, all skeletons were largely destroyed so the locations of the bodies can be hardly reconstructed. In the disturbed context of 4B, the terracotta sarcophagus could be reconstructed by the fragments scattered around the chamber. There is, however, no information which could indicate its original placement. The human remains of 4A consist of a few cranial fragments and some teeth. Although the placement of the bodies remains uncertain, one of the burials may have been situated in the middle and northeastern front portion of the chamber where a few well-preserved artefact groups were found in clusters. A big mirror together with pigment rods, two sets of bracelets, and the diadem were located at the northeastern corner close to the stomion with a regular distance among them. The way that those artefacts were placed in the chamber indicates that they formed three different artefact groups. These groups were likewise associated with wood splinters and nails, which show that they were kept in wooden boxes. An interesting observation is the empty place between the find spots of the symposion set and the spearheads where a body easily could fit. Besides, this space yielded all the teeth which according to anthropological analyses belonged to a male adult. This evidence points to the placement of the male occupant along the eastern wall in between the spears and the symposion set.

We may suppose that the golden wreath found together with the gold *epistomion*, fragments of a necklace, and a dress ornament were worn by the female occupant. Consequently, she must have been laid at the right side of the male occupant with her head towards the *stomion*, and separated from the deceased male by the symposion set. The position of the girl - the third member of the family - is impossible to determine due to the lack of indicative data.

As stated above, both burials contained remains of a sheep found always at the rear wall of the chambers. Sheep bones in the chambers must have come from sacrifices or even intentionally deposited in the belief that the dead would need meat in his/her afterlife. Their full anatomic completeness and lack of chopping marks prove the correctness of these suppostions. ⁹⁴

On the obligation to carry out the procession and the burial before the sunrise, see Mirto 2012, 83 and additionally Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 144. For the role of the lamps within the procession and burial additionally, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211.

⁹³ The apprearence of multiple lamps in some Cypriot graves, especially in the Hellenistic period, is a particular phenomenon which could not be satisfactorly explained yet. For a recent study on this, see Şöföroğlu and Summerer 2016.

⁹⁴ On the sacrificial or consumption-oriented sacrifices which were occasionally boned and splitted, see Ekroth 2007, 250-56.

An overall study of the find assemblages show that the burial ritual was not only limited to the deposition of the bodies with their personal belongings and parting gifts left in the chambers, but they also included some post-funeral depositions. Amphorae, hydria, storage vessels and various jugs found in the *prodomos* may have been used for libations for the post-funerary nourishment of the dead (*choai*). The fact that the lower part of these vessels is frequently missing suggests that they could have been shattered in consequence of a ritual breakage.

The existence of two assemblages of vessels with different positions and levels within the *prodomos* points to another interesting use related to the rituals. The pottery group found on the floor of the *prodomos* just in front of the *stomion* of 4A was undoubtedly left there after the sealing of this very chamber. The second assemblage found on a higher level than the entrances to the chambers must have been placed there sometime after the sealing of all the burial chambers.⁹⁷ This observation is further confirmed by the dating of the second pottery assemblage to a period (ca. 350-310 BC) later than all other finds from the *prodomos* as well as from the tomb chambers.

During this last deposition, the filling of the dromos and the *prodomos* must have been partially excavated, presumably for creating an area within the limits of the tomb for libation ceremonies. 98 Vessels left behind from these post-funerary visits belong to PW VII, which are later in date around 350-310 BC (fig. 15b). Consequently, we may suggest that they are from a visit or visits after a certain time had passed since the last funeral.

Concluding Remarks

This article has aimed at a general presentation of Tomb 4 from the necropolis of Soloi including its architecture and inventory. An in-depth typological analysis of individual object groups has been avoided since it would go beyond its scope. On the other hand, the focus rested on the chronology of the burials as well as on the archaeological context.

Tomb 4 follows the long-rooted custom of Cypriot chamber tombs, but also shows some new treatments. The combination of a *prodomos* with a two-axial layout is otherwise not attested in Cyprus. The rich inventory includes various object groups which provide valuable data for some considerations on social, cultural and political life in Soloi during the late Cypro-Classical Period. The quantity and quality of the finds point to the elite class of the deceased, who could invest vast amounts of wealth as their contemporaries did in Macedonia, Thracia and Anatolia. The symposion set and the jewelry, including both Greek and Achaemenid elements, suit well the multicultural character of the island. 99 Some unique jewels and metal vessels point to the possible exchange of gifts between different political media or trade of

⁹⁵ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 145.

⁹⁶ For specific works on this rite, see Fossey 1985 and Grinsell 1961. For a well-documented utilization of such rites from Metaponto especially, see Carter 1998, 121.

 $^{^{97}\,}$ Concerning the visits to the grave after the burial had taken place, see Mirto 2012, 90-91.

Opprior dromoi of varying sizes were generally preferred as areas for libation or sacrificial ceremonies together with funerary banquets that took place mostly after burying the dead. For a collective and detailed information on this issue, one must look to Carstens 2006, 160-63. Again, according to Carstens (2006, 167), some of these ceremonies (referred to as tomb cult) took place after a certain length of time following the sealing of the tomb.

Similar find groups of combined multicultural elements is a widely known situation in Cyprus, also being found in many other contexts than tombs. A second similar find group from the 4th century BC, apart from the Soloi example, is a hidden cache of vessels, jewelry and coins found under the ruins of Vouni Palace. For this so called "Vouni Treasure", see Gjerstad et al. 1937, 238-49; Zournatzi 2010.

luxurious goods. In line with this interpretation, we may assume that the Solian elite played a role as agents of political and trade connections with other regions of the Mediterranean and Aegean.

The mostly Attic-inspired metal vessels and the statuette of Aphrodite confirm the previously expressed connection between Soloi and Athens. The ivy wreath, otherwise not attested in Cyprus, paves a new path for scholarly discussions on connections of the island with the Kingdom of Macedon which was hitherto based on limited data from the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The new evidence from Tomb 4, however, establishes now that the elite of both geographical areas were culturally aware of each other well before the time of Alexander the Great. The state of the time of Alexander the Great.

The relatively well-preserved and documented context of Tomb 4 also contributes to our understanding of the burial customs and beliefs of the Solian elite. As understood from the material evidence, the members of the Solian elite utilized long-established funerary customs within the Cypriot community. The inventories of 4A and 4B generally follow the pan-island patterns of the Cypro-Classical period, with the exception with the jewelry and metal vessels. The deposition of jewelry, a luxurious symposion set, a candelabrum, weapons and many other objects from the chambers reflect the desire of bringing the symbols of high status into the afterlife as well. Especially the context of 4A allows several interpretations of how the funerary rituals could have been performed involving the artefacts before their deposition. Ceramic assemblages from the *prodomos*, on the other hand, are some of the rare find groups that shed light on post-funeral visits and related rituals.

This study has aimed to highlight the potential of the extant data gained from Tomb 4. It is hoped that future studies and scholarly discussions on this tomb will enrich our knowledge of the funerary archaeology of Cyprus.¹⁰³

Some locally produced grave stelai from the necropolis of Soloi with strong Attic influences has also been accepted as proof of a cultural relationship between Soloi and Athens by many archaeologists (Tatton-Brown 1986, 446; Vermeule 1976, 49).

¹⁰¹ Hadjisavvas 1997.

¹⁰² For a ceramic-based approach, which is unfortunately not a widely shared interpretation for the connections of two geographical areas, one must definitely see Trakatelli 2013.

Publications related to the material are still ongoing together with conservation and restoration works. These results will be shared with the world of archaeology in a forthcoming monograph.

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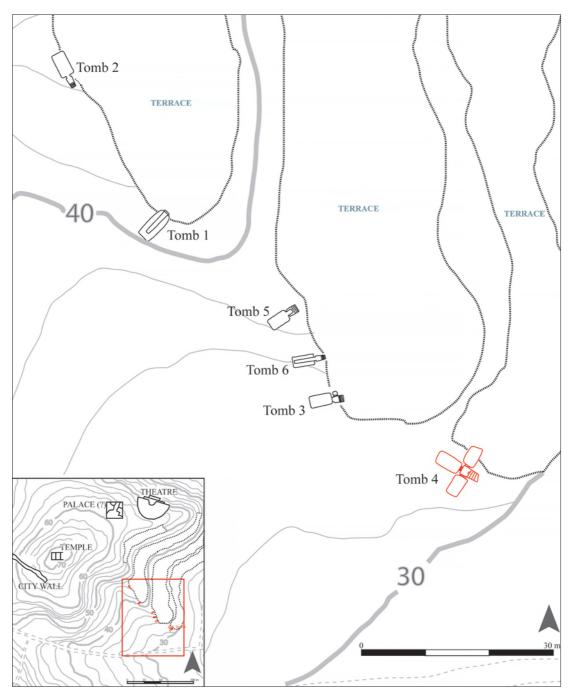


FIG. 1 The location of Tomb 4 within the necropolis of Soloi (Author).

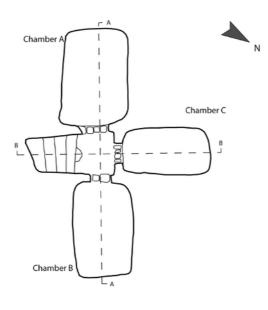
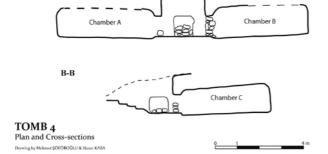


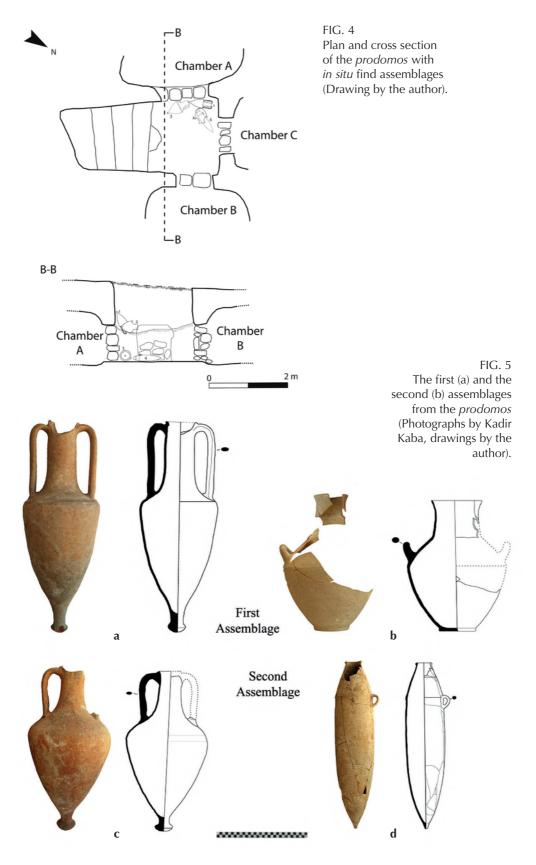
FIG. 2 Plan and cross sections of Tomb 4 (Drawing by Mehmet Şöföroğlu and author).



A-A

FIG. 3 View of the *prodomos* with entrances of 4B and 4C visible in the background (Courtesy of Department of Antiquities and Museums, TRNC).





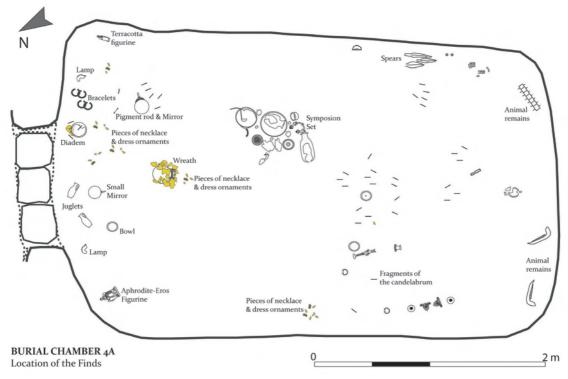


FIG. 6 Drawing of Chamber 4A showing the location of the finds (Author).



FIG. 7 Plain White Ware vessels from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by Nalan Kaba).



FIG. 8 Terracotta (a) and limetone (b) statuettes from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba).

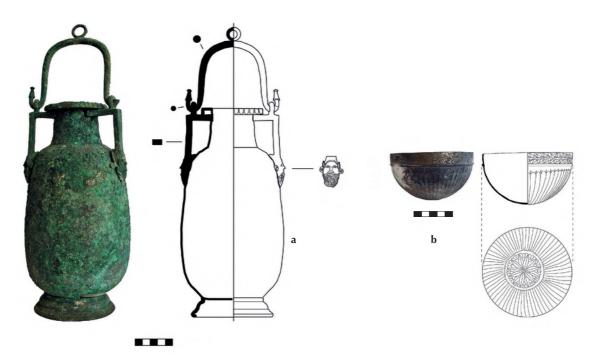
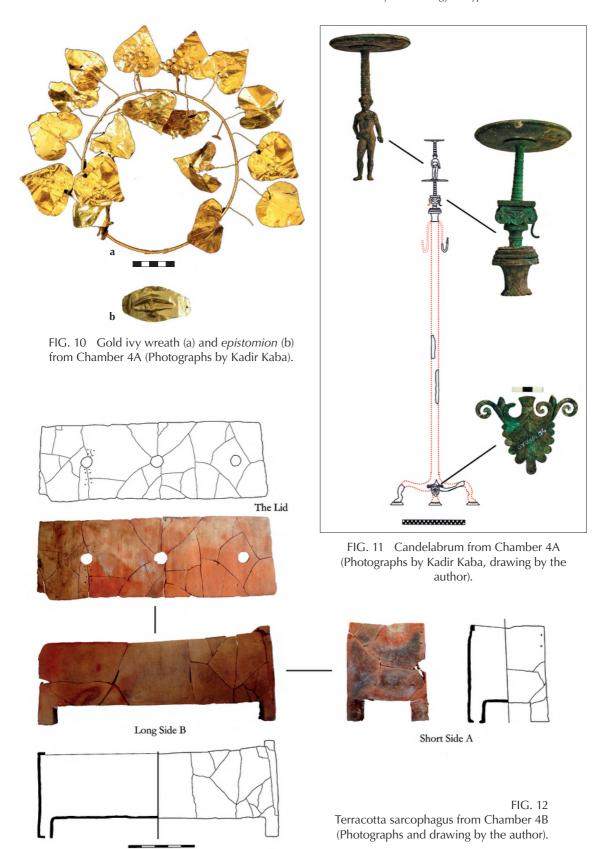


FIG. 9 Bronze amphora (a) and the hemispherical bowl (b) from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by the author).



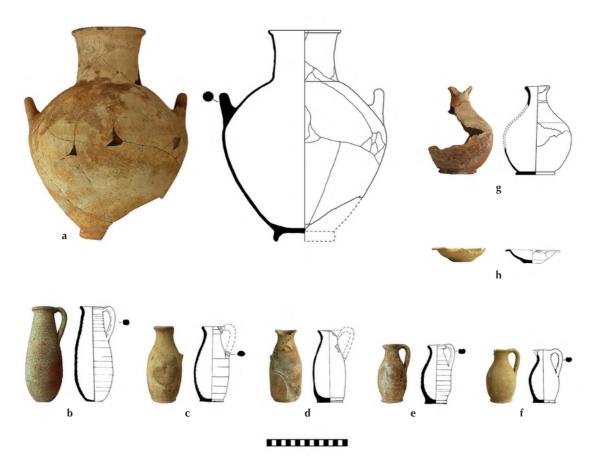


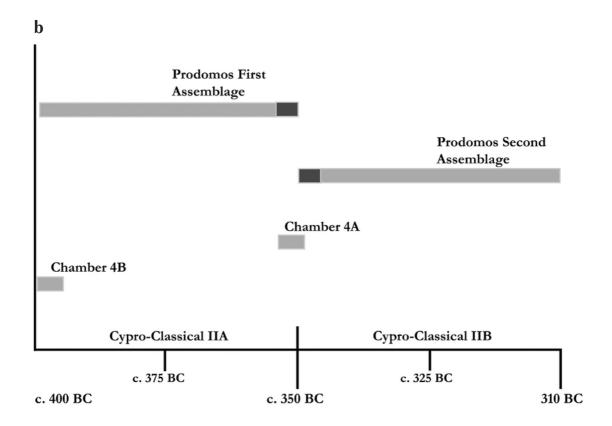
FIG. 13 Plain White Ware vessels from Chamber 4B (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by Nalan Kaba).



FIG. 14 Intaglio ring from Chamber 4B (Photograph by K. Kaba).

a

	Plain White VI		Plain White VII			-	
	Open forms	Closed forms	Total number/ratio	Open forms	Closed forms	Total number/ratio	Date
Prodomos	T.	1 hydria, 1 jug,	2/%50	4	1 torpedo shaped storage vessel, 1 amphora	2/%50	CC IIA
Prodomos First Assemblage	ı,	1 amphora	1 / %50		1 amphora	1 / %50	CC IIA
Prodomos Second Assemblage	75	(-)	-	P	amphora, 1 torpedo shaped storage vessel,	2/%100	CCIIB
Chamber 4A	2 bowls	2 juglets, 2 jugs	6 / %60	2 bowls	2 juglets	4 / %40	End of CC IIA
Chamber 4B	¥	1 amphora, 5 juglets	6 / %75	1 bowl	1 juglet	2 / %25	Beginning of CC IIA



^{*} Dark indications on the chronological bars of the prodomos assemblages highlights their narrowed final date

FIG. 15 Table showing the distribution, ratios and dates (a) and the chart showing the chronological disperse (b) of the ceramic inventories from Tomb 4 (Author).