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A Funerary Deposit from Early Bronze Age Cyprus*

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Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age

The Early Bronze Age in Cyprus (ca. 2400–2000 B.C.E.) is marked by major innovations in technology, economy, and material culture. These include the first systematic exploitation of the island's copper resources, the introduction of cattle and donkeys, multi-roomed houses and new agricultural technologies, ceramic wares, and a wide range of everyday technologies and practices. Anatolia is widely viewed as the source of these innovations, and it is likely that some population movement from southwest Anatolia and/or Cilicia to Cyprus took place at this time.¹

Early Bronze Age communities made use of agriculturally productive areas and the copper-rich foothills of the Troodos Mountains. As the population increased, cultural patterns became distinctive at the regional level, and pottery vessels began to display local differences. Increases in population are also likely to have promoted the distribution of raw materials, with kinship through intermarriage probably serving as the primary mechanism linking villages. By around 2000 B.C.E., more common forms, predominantly of north coast origin, replaced these regional ceramic styles. At this time, there is also an increased presence of metal goods in north coast cemeteries and some imported objects, suggesting that the northern region played a significant role in initiating the external contacts that were to play such an important part in the island's

development in the later phases of the Bronze Age. Evidence for ritual practice is surprisingly elusive. No cult buildings have come to light. Several terracotta models, however, have been identified as depictions of open-air sanctuaries (Fig. 1),² although the nature of the activities shown is far from obvious, and interpretations range from funerary³ to entirely secular.⁴ Burial in rock-cut chamber tombs in cemeteries located some distance from the settlements was the norm. Tombs were broadly similar across the island, with oval burial chambers entered through a narrow passage (*stomion*) from a larger entrance shaft (*dromos*). Large numbers of grave goods accompanied the dead. Funerary celebrations became more elaborate over time, suggesting that mortuary rituals were important occasions for competition and the negotiation of social identity.⁵



Fig. 1. "Shrine model" from Kotchati (or possibly Marki), Cyprus. Ca. 2000 B.C.E., terracotta. Image © Cyprus Museum.

The Excavations at Karmi

The excavations at the cemeteries of Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* in northern Cyprus, which form the focus of this article, were carried out by James R. Stewart (Fig. 2) between 27 February and 14 April 1961.⁶ Stewart, then Professor of Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, had previously excavated several major Bronze Age cemeteries in Cyprus. In 1961, he was, however, seriously ill, and he died less than a year later, on 6 February 1962,

at the age of forty-eight.⁷ The finds, including some skeletal remains, were brought to Australia in 1961, with the exception of those from *Lapatsa* Tomb 1 and *Palealona* Tombs 6 and 11, which were retained by the Cyprus Museum. Several tomb groups were later dispersed to museums in Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States, including the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. A brief report on *Palealona* Tomb 11B appeared posthumously in 1962.⁸ The great majority of the Karmi finds, however, remained unpublished at the time of Stewart's death.

Responsibility for the publication of the Karmi excavations fell initially to Stewart's widow, Mrs. D. E. (Eve) Stewart (Fig. 3), who supervised much of the fieldwork in 1961. She took over the laborious task of mending and documenting the pottery and other



Fig. 2. James Stewart (on donkey) at Karmi *Palealona*, 1961. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.



Fig. 3. Mrs. D. E. Stewart at Karmi *Lapatsa*, 1961. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

finds in 1962 and devoted the next forty-six years of her life to editing and preparing for publication parts of a voluminous *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age*, left unfinished when her husband died.⁹ Later, Professor J. Basil Hennessy, who succeeded Stewart at the University of Sydney in 1973, assumed responsibility for the publication of Karmi and other excavations undertaken by Stewart. He brought Dr. Kathryn Eriksson into the project and much work was completed on the

catalogues. In 2008, we were invited to assist in the complex work of putting together a comprehensive report on Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona*. This will appear in late 2009.¹⁰

The publication of excavations in which one has not been directly involved is always difficult. One of the greatest challenges in this case arises from the fact that the field notes were lost soon after Stewart returned to Australia. Fortunately, however, one of Stewart's students, Dr. Robert Merrillees, who worked at Karmi in 1961, kept a daily record of events and generously provided access to these and to his personal collection of 35 mm color slides. Meticulously drawn tomb plans and sections and a substantial number of black-and-white photographs taken of the excavations in progress have also helped considerably in our task.

Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona*

The ancient sites at Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* lie midway between major contemporary settlements at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (8 km to the northwest) and Bellapais *Vounous* (12 km to the east) in one of the most densely populated regions of the island during the Early and Middle Bronze Age periods (Fig. 4). Although the settlements associated with the cemeteries were probably relatively small, both the architecture and contents of the tombs are of considerable interest. The value of these assemblages is further increased by the fact that they derive from the northern half of Cyprus, which has been inaccessible to Greek Cypriot and foreign archaeologists since the Turkish invasion in 1974.

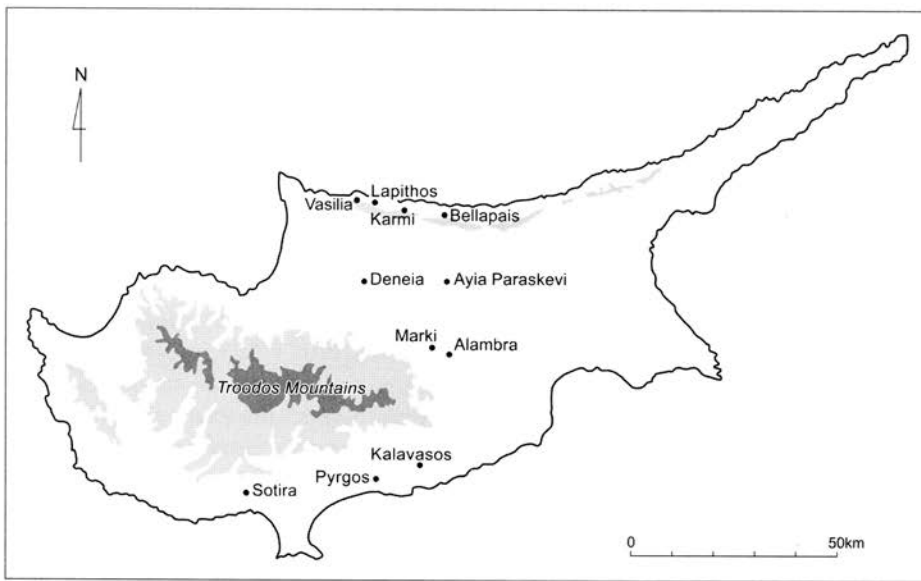


Fig. 4. Map of Cyprus showing location of important Early and Middle Bronze Age sites.

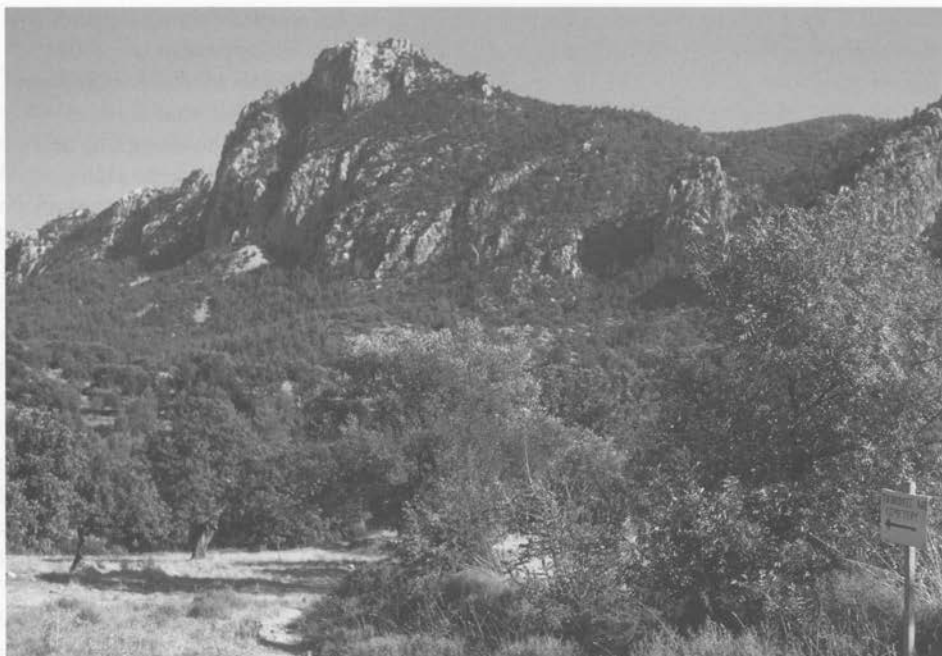


Fig. 5. View of *Lapatsa*. Photo: D. Frankel.

In a letter home, Stewart described the *Lapatsa* cemetery (Fig. 5) as:

situated some 2,000 feet up in the mountains with a magnificent view over the sea. It is a hillside which has been extensively terraced with stone walls and it is heavily wooded with olives, carobs and pine trees. The wind up in the trees makes a noise like the sea but on quiet days there is nothing except the braying of donkeys and the sound of the woodsman's axe. It is really rather lovely, and, while we are sheltered on the eastern side by the slope of the ground, we get an extensive view on the west right along the mountains towards Kornos . . . The nearest village is called Karmi and is about two miles away but we have a little church dedicated to Ayia Marina just below us and a spring of water where there is a buried dragon. Karmi is a delightful village, miserably poor but extremely picturesque and full of cats. At the moment the almond blossom is out and all the wild flowers . . . We are just beneath the Castle of St Hilarion which rises up another 1,000 ft on top of a sharp pinnacle of rock.¹¹

The excavations were, however, not without their frustrations. In other letters home, Stewart describes how his team was “faced with collapsed chambers, completely full of debris . . . to add to our misery, the *dromoi* proved excessively difficult to sort out as there is practically no differentiation between the so-called rock and the fill of the *dromos*.”¹² Nevertheless, work continued at *Lapatsa*, and Stewart became more optimistic. A

fortnight later, he was able to write “we have got a few lovely things” and, although he “thought at first that the results of the excavations would be negligible,” he now began to believe they would “find them not so useless as had appeared to be the case at first.”¹³

In total, Stewart excavated fourteen tomb chambers at *Lapatsa* that produced skeletal remains from at least nineteen burials. He then moved operations to the *Palealona* cemetery, located in a gently sloping field two miles west of *Lapatsa* and 300 m to the northeast of the modern village. Here, the tombs were more closely spaced, often underlying or intersecting each other, over an excavated area of approximately 525 square meters. Twenty-eight chambers were identified. They are for the most part more deeply cut and better preserved than the tombs at *Lapatsa*. There are also more multi-chambered tombs at *Palealona*, and carved *dromoi* facades, burial niches, and “cupboards” occur at *Palealona* but not at *Lapatsa*. The total number of individual burials identified in the *Palealona* tombs is some two dozen, but in many cases, no record survives of either the presence or absence of skeletal material. Periodic flooding, roof-collapse, and looting had also affected the survival and distribution of bones and pottery.

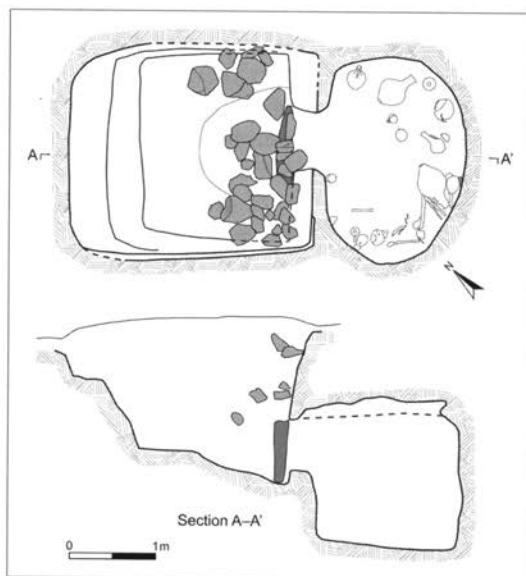


Fig. 6. Plan and section of Karmi *Lapatsa* Tomb 5.

At both *Lapatsa* and *Palealona*, tombs typically have rectangular *dromoi* (entrance shafts), measuring on average about 2 m wide and 2 to 3 m long, cut into the soft limestone with sloping floors to a depth of 1 to 2 m (Fig. 6). At the deepest end, a small oval or rectangular doorway (*stomion*) was cut, leading into a low oval chamber, about three square meters in area. The topography determined tomb orientation, with the *dromoi* cut parallel to the hill slope in each instance. Given the time it must have taken to make a tomb, it can be assumed that they were cut well before their first use and that the construction of a tomb was an important activity, signaling status, identity, and belonging.

Most tombs were used for a number of successive burials. It is rarely possible, however, to determine how often or at what intervals a chamber was opened for reuse, as older corpses were frequently disturbed or removed along with some or all of their grave goods. It seems that, despite their importance in the inter-generational reinforcement of social memory, older burials were seldom treated with respect. Both the dry bones and the grave goods were frequently pushed aside or removed to make room for new occupants. As discussed below, the pottery vessels from *Lapatsa* Deposit 13 in the Museum of Art and Archaeology appear to represent some such activity: whether the

human bones were also removed and re-deposited remains unknown. In many cases, the remnant presence of earlier vessels in the chambers suggests a long history of use and reuse. Several tombs at *Palealona*, indeed, appear to have been in use for at least 300 years.

The large quantities of pottery vessels found in Cypriot Bronze Age tombs have traditionally been viewed as personal possessions of the dead and hence as evidence of a belief in a physical afterlife. It is possible to suggest, alternatively, that most grave goods are residues of mortuary feasts held in or near the tomb at the time of burial, and that tombs and cemeteries were loci for intense social interaction, as well as providing a significant impetus for the manipulation of material culture.¹⁴ The regular presence of animal bones in the chambers is also suggestive of feasting. Indeed, funerals are likely to have been significant occasions of social display, reflecting the status of the deceased as well as that of the mourners.



Fig. 7. Carvings in the dromos of *Palealona* Tomb 6, showing human figure on the right hand side wall. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

Carvings surrounding the entrances to several tombs at the nearby sites of Bellapais *Vounous* and Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* have the appearance of door frames—suggesting that tombs were viewed symbolically as “houses” for the dead.¹⁵ There are no such examples at *Lapatsa* or *Palealona*, although several *dromoi* have carvings on their sidewalls. Of greatest interest are those in *Palealona* Tomb 6, where vertical relief panels are found on both sidewalls and on the end

wall above the entrance itself. On the right-hand wall there is in addition a unique bas-relief human figure, about 1.16 m in height (Fig. 7). It appears to depict a nude female but is poorly preserved, and there has been considerable debate regarding both its sex and its significance.¹⁶ Nothing like it is yet known from other Cypriot sites. The relief panels, however, recall the vertical uprights on the “shrine-models” noted above (Fig. 1), reinforcing the view that tombs were the site of ritual activity during and perhaps after funerals.

After the body and grave goods were placed in the chamber and any ceremonies in the *dromos* completed, the doorway was blocked with a large limestone slab. In some cases, a packing of smaller rocks was then placed against the slab, filling in the lower part of the *dromos*. Whether the rest of the entrance shaft was filled with soil remains an open question. The packing stones and slab were removed and replaced during each subsequent use of the tomb.

Not all tombs, however, were reused. One significant example of a single burial, dating to the Middle Bronze Age, was found in Chamber B of *Palealona* Tomb 11 (Fig. 8). This

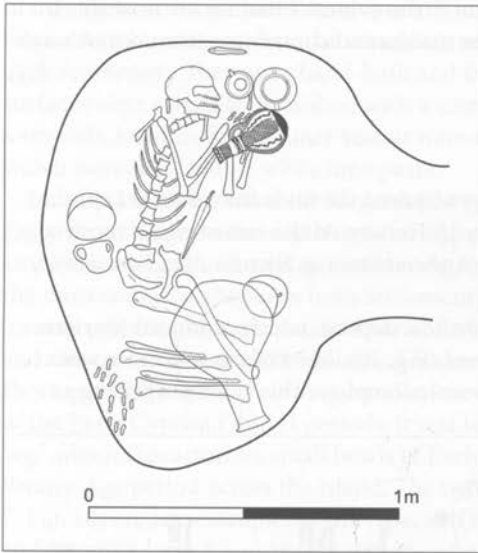


Fig. 8. Plan of *Palealona* Tomb 11B (the “Tomb of the Seafarer”).

was the articulated remains of a man who, despite a severe congenital back problem, survived to the relatively old age of fifty to sixty years. The corpse had been laid on its left side, the skull facing toward the entrance. The knees were drawn up with the feet against the wall and the arms bent with the hands drawn up to the face. Around the body were seven pottery vessels. These included examples of White Painted ware, characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age, as well as the more common Red Polished ware. Most unusually, there was also a fine decorated cup of Kamares ware—an import from Middle Minoan Crete, dating to the early second millennium B.C.E. (Fig. 9). Such imports are extremely rare in Cyprus,

which appears to have been almost entirely isolated from the outside world at this time. In addition, a bronze knife was found near the skull, a bronze spearhead near the abdomen, and a paste bead under the upper part of the skull.

Stewart dubbed *Palealona* Chamber 11B “the Tomb of the Seafarer,” suggesting that “the man . . . walked down to the sea at Lapithos and took service with one of the vessels trading between the Syrian ports and the Aegean.”¹⁷ Whether this is appropriate or not, the Kamares ware cup provides an important chronological reference point, linking the first phase of the Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus with the Middle Minoan II period in Crete. Stewart considered it to be “the most important discovery since the 1890’s, since it is so definite and the repercussions so wide spread.”¹⁸

The significance of the Karmi cemeteries lies not only in these very important finds but also in the different perspective they provide on the material culture and ritual behavior associated with death and burial during the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus. Although recent work at settlements and cemeteries in the center and south of the island has changed the nature of both evidence and approach,¹⁹ the north coast still retains its importance as the epicenter of our understanding of the sequence of developments at this time—largely as a result of Stewart’s research on pottery from Bellapais



Fig. 9. Middle Minoan Kamares ware cup from Karmi *Palealona* Tomb 11B. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

Vounous and elsewhere in the northern region.²⁰ The evidence that we are now able to put together from Karmi fits into these earlier studies and contributes toward new ways of interpreting social and ritual behavior.

Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 13

In 1973, the Museum of Art and Archaeology acquired the finds from Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 13 through an exchange with Sydney University. At the same time, it received Tombs 14 and 14A from the Cypriot Bronze Age cemetery at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, excavated by Stewart in 1955.²¹

Lapatsa Deposit 13 was not a tomb but a shallow deposit, which produced fourteen vessels, a spindle whorl, and some human bone (Fig. 10). Most of the pots were worn and broken, and some of the larger vessels were incomplete. This is not surprising as

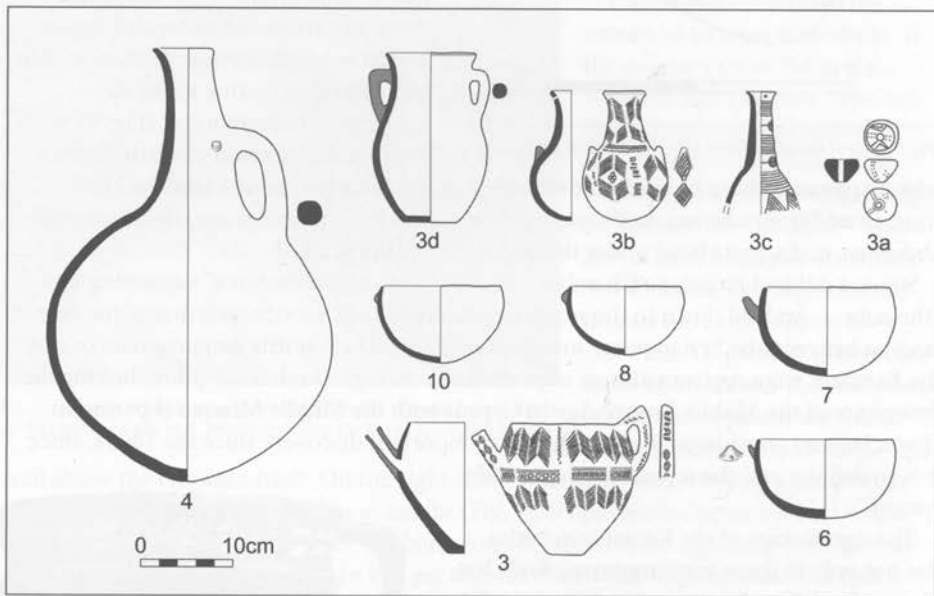


Fig. 10. Drawings of items from Lapatsa Deposit 13. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. nos. 73.215.1-3, 5-10, 12.

they were found in a context of secondary deposition and may even have been left for a period exposed to the elements. An outline on the site plan shows an oval 1.6 x 2.5 m at the northern end of the excavated area, while a note in Merrillees's personal diary indicates that it was nothing more than "a shallow opening in the ground with badly broken pottery and a few bones."²² Unfortunately, no photographs, plans, or notes were kept of it, and the bone was neither collected nor described.

All the pottery is of Red Polished ware, the most common ceramic fabric across the island for some 700 years in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. During this long period

of use, there were continual developments and many varieties of shape, decoration, and fabric. As the name implies, the vessels are reddish in color, ranging from a bright red to dark red-brown. They were hand-built and fired in bonfires or simple kilns. The slipped surfaces were carefully burnished with a sherd or pebble before firing in order to create a smooth, lustrous finish. Finer vessels were decorated with incised geometric patterns, which were filled with a white lime paste.

In form and decoration, the Deposit 13 vessels are typical of the earlier phases of the Early Bronze Age on the north coast of Cyprus. There are four jugs, two flasks, a small amphora, a large bowl, two spouted bowls, and four small bowls. Jugs and bowls are the most common shapes in both settlement and funerary deposits. They take different forms, indicating some functional variability, but for the most part base, handle, neck, and rim types represent chronological and regional variations. On the north coast, a short, generally upward curving handle, known as a “horn lug,” is typical of small bowls of the Early Cypriot I and II periods; it was later replaced by a smaller, rounded “knob lug,” which characterizes small bowls of Early Cypriot III and the subsequent Middle Bronze Age period across the island. The two horn-lug bowls in Deposit 13 (nos. 6 and 7, Fig. 10) are late examples of the type, and the two knob-lug bowls with black tops and interiors (nos. 8 and 10, Fig. 10) are relatively early forms. All four bowls may be classified as Red Polished II ware and could have been made at about the same time, toward the end of Early Cypriot I or the beginning of Early Cypriot II (ca. 2150 B.C.E.).

The small spouted bowl, no. 3, and flask, no. 3b (Figs. 10 and 11), are decorated with very fine incision. Basil Hennessy has suggested that they are the work of a single potter, whom he named the “Stewart Artist No. 2.”²³ They may be closely compared with vessels of similar form from the nearby cemetery at Bellapais *Vounous*.²⁴ Numerous other ear-lug pots, jugs, juglets, flasks, and bowls, and clay models of horns, brushes, daggers, sheaths, and spindles from *Vounous* are decorated in a similar distinctive manner, which Stewart referred to as a “panel style”²⁵ and Hennessy as “zonal.”²⁶ Tempting as it is to



Fig. 11. Lapatsa Deposit 13, nos. 3 and 3b. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. nos. 73.215.10 and 73.215.3. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

identify individual artists in this way, it is more likely that these items represent a north coast regional style rather than the work of a single potter. Related vessels from Karmi include a flask in the Cyprus Museum (CM 1938/11-3/1[14]) and an ear-lug pot from *Lapatsa* Tomb 15 (no. 22), now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum in Florida (S.N. 74.28).²⁷ Hennessy dates the style to the latter part of Early Cypriot I and the earlier phase of Early Cypriot II, ca. 2150 B.C.E.

The truncated biconical shape of the spindle whorl, no. 3a (Fig. 10), is typical of the Early Cypriot I and II periods.²⁸ The finely impressed dotted as well as incised decoration on the upper terminal is found also on stratified whorls of similar date from Marki.²⁹ The size and weight of this whorl suggest that it was used for spinning flax rather than wool, which would have required a heavier whorl. As with other items, whorls found in tombs frequently show signs of previous use. Because of a common assumption that spinning would have been women's work, the presence of whorls is often taken to indicate that associated burials were of women, even where the sex of the deceased cannot be independently established.

The contents of *Lapatsa* Deposit 13 are of late Early Cypriot I and Early Cypriot II types, and the date of the deposit should probably be placed early within the Early Cypriot II period, around 2150 B.C.E. A similar collection of material, although of somewhat later date, is provided by *Lapatsa* Deposit 3, now in the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney. This was found close to the surface to the northwest of the main group of tombs on the first day of the excavations and described by Stewart as “a deposit of pottery which was very badly broken but contained one of the most beautiful R[ed] P[olished] askoi I have ever seen, and this, strangely enough, was perfectly intact.”³⁰ He suggested that the pottery had been thrown out from a tomb that was being cleared for reuse. Photographs (Fig. 12) show the vessels extending over an area of about 2 by 2 m, giving the impression of a shallow spread rather than a tightly contained deposit.

Such deposits have not been reported from other cemeteries but may not be as rare as the current record suggests. The normal approach to cemetery excavation is to



Fig. 12. Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 3. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

concentrate on the tombs themselves, targeting places where there is some indication, such as softer fill, of a tomb *dromos*. The spaces between tombs have seldom, if ever, been systematically examined. Residues of activities that might have taken place at ground level around tombs therefore do not form part of our understanding of what went on in these ritually charged places. The material found in *Lapatsa* Deposits 3 and 13 appears in each case to have been deliberately placed on a single occasion. As Stewart himself believed, they probably represent episodes of removal from a tomb of older grave goods at the time of a subsequent funeral. They offer a rare glimpse into activities not otherwise recognized in the more common focus on primary burials, closed tomb-groups, and specific acts of interment. Cemetery, funerary, and associated rituals and maintenance practices can thus be viewed in a wider perspective.

Appendix: Catalogue of Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 13

The contents of Deposit 13 are listed below by the numbers given to them at the time of excavation. All dimensions are in centimeters.

1. RP I or II jug. Body fragments only. Lustrous, dark red-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brown. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.11a and b.

- 2a. RP I or II large bowl. Two-thirds preserved. Small flat base. Highly lustrous, orange-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired orange-buff with a grey core. H. 17.5–19.0; max. D. ca. 37.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.14.

- 2b. RP I or II jug. Worn body fragments only. Highly lustrous, orange-brown to red-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired orange-buff with a grey core. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc no. 73.215.15.

3. RP II tubular-spouted bowl. Deep body with curved sides, flat base. Incurved, thinning rounded rim. Uptilted, cylindrical tubular spout at mid-body. High vertical handle, pointed at the apex, rising from rim and upper body. Incised decoration: at mid-body, short horizontal bands comprised of three zigzag lines bordered above and below by four horizontal lines; above, on each side of vessel, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands with two parallel, vertical rows of dashes between; below, on each side, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands; on spout, vertical rows of dashed lozenges, on surface of handle, three-line, disconnected zigzag above vertical row of dashed lozenges; on sides of handle, three groups of double, vertical dashed lines. Highly lustrous, orange-brown slip. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-buff. Mended. H. 16.2; H. to rim 14.7; D. body 19.7. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.10 (Figs. 10 and 11).

3a. Spindle whorl. Truncated biconical with curved carination and straight sides. Broad, flat terminal. Incised decoration: on terminal, double chevrons alternating with double dashed lines; on body, vertical rows of double dashed lines. Thin, red-brown slip with black mottling. H. 2.4; D. 3.7. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.1 (Fig. 10).

3b. RP I black-topped ear-lug flask. Globular body, round base. Very broad neck tapering to round horizontal mouth with flaring rim. Opposed perforations below rim. Ear lug on each shoulder. Incised decoration: on neck, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands; at neck base, on either side, two horizontal lines above a horizontal row of oppositely angled dashes; on body, on either side, two groups of multiple chevrons arranged in a diamond with groups of dashes at the center; in between, short horizontal rows of angled dashes arranged vertically; below lugs, two lozenges, arranged vertically, the upper one filled with angled dashes, the lower one hatched. Slightly lustrous, brown slip, black over upper body and neck extending inside rim. Very finely mixed clay with small inclusions, fired grayish-buff. Areas of rim and neck missing. H. 13.9; D. rim 4.6; D. body 9.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.3 (Figs. 10 and 11).

3c. RP I flask. Only neck and upper body preserved. Tall narrow neck tapering to round horizontal mouth with flaring rim. Incised decoration: on upper neck, seven horizontal lines; on mid-neck, eight horizontal lines; in between and on lower neck, three-line concentric circles split by a horizontal line; on shoulder, eight horizontal lines; on mid-body, horizontal row of hatched lozenges to break. Highly lustrous, red to orange-brown slip, black over upper body and neck and extending below rim on interior. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired grey. Pres. H. 11.9; D. rim 3.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.2 (Fig. 10).

3d. RP II small amphora. Ovoid body, flat base. Medium concave neck. Round horizontal mouth with flattened rim in same contour as neck. Two opposed vertical handles from mid-neck to shoulder, round in section. Matt, dark red slip, extending inside neck. Finely mixed clay with small inclusions, fired grayish-buff. Mended. H. 18.3; D. rim 9.9; D. body 12.5. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.5 (Fig. 10).

4. RP II jug. Swollen ovoid body, small flat base. Short concave neck. Cutaway mouth cut horizontally at the top with splaying rim. Vertical handle, circular in section, from base of mouth to shoulder. Relief knob to either side of top of handle. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip extending below rim on interior. Very finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 46.9; D. body 31.4. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.12 (Fig. 10).

5. RP II jug. Ovoid body, small flat base. Round mouth. Highly lustrous, dark orange-red slip extending below rim on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired dark orange-red. Mended. H. 44.0; D. rim 8.5; D. body 29.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.13.
6. RP II black-topped horn-lug bowl. Relatively wide, shallow body, round base. Incurved, thinning, rounded rim. Small horn lug on upper body, widening toward base. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip, black over upper body and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-brown to grey. Mended. H. 8.6; D. rim 14.6; max. D. 16.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.9 (Fig. 10).
7. RP II black-topped horn-lug bowl. Deep body, round base. Incurved, thinning, rounded rim. Plain horn lug on upper body. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip, black over upper body and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired gray to buff. Mended. H. 9.7; D. rim 13.4; max. D. 16.4. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.7 (Fig. 10).
8. RP II black-topped knob-lug bowl. Hemispherical body, round base. Plain knob lug just below rim. Lustrous, red-brown slip, black over rim and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 7.4; D. rim 12.0; max. D. 13.3. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.8 (Fig. 10).
9. RP II horn-lug bowl. Body not preserved opposite handle. Deep, hemispherical body, round base. Pierced horn lug on body. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-buff. H. 11.0; D. rim 15.3. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.4.
10. RP II black-topped knob-lug bowl. Hemispherical body, round base. Knob lug below rim, partially pierced. Lustrous, red-brown slip, black over rim and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 8.3; D. rim 12.9; max. D 14.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.6 (Fig. 10).

Notes

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1. Jennifer Webb and David Frankel, "Characterizing the Philia Facies. Material Culture, Chronology, and the Origin of the Bronze Age in Cyprus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999) pp. 3–43; David Frankel, "Migration and Ethnicity in Prehistoric Cyprus: Technology as *Habitus*," *European Journal of Archaeology* 3 (2000) pp. 167–187; A. Bernard Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus. Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity* (Oxford, 2008) pp. 104–110, 126–128.
2. Porphyrios Dikaios, "The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931–1932," *Archaeologia* 88 (1940) p. 118; Paul Åström, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* II, Lund, 1966) pp. 14–15; Vassos Karageorghis, "Two Religious Documents of the Early Cypriote Bronze Age," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1970) pp. 10–13.
3. David Frankel and Angela Tamvaki, "Cypriote Shrine Models and Decorated Tombs," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1973) pp. 39–44.
4. Desmond Morris, *The Art of Ancient Cyprus* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 281–283.
5. See especially Priscilla Keswani, *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus* (*Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 9, London, 2004) pp. 37–83.
6. Site names in Cyprus are based on local toponyms within the lands of each village; in this case, the fields known as *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* are located in the area of Karmi Village. By a common archaeological convention, toponyms are normally italicized. Archaeologists sometimes use the full name and sometimes only either the toponym or village name, where there is no possibility of confusion with other sites.
7. For accounts of Stewart's life, see Alexander Cambitoglou, "Professor James Stewart. Obituary Notice," *Opuscula Atheniensi* IV (1962) pp. 205–206; Robert Merrillees, "Professor James R. Stewart: a biographical lecture," in Colin Hope and Jenny Zimmer, eds., *Catalogue of Ancient Middle Eastern Pottery from Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt in the Faculty of Art Gallery RMIT June 1983 and Essays in Australian Contributions to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Melbourne, 1983) pp. 33–51; idem, "The Ordeal of Shaving in a Frozen Lake, Professor J. R. Stewart and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition," in "The Fantastic Years on Cyprus." *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition and Its Members* (Jonsered, 1994) pp. 38–55; idem, "Stewart, James Rivers Barrington (1913–1962)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 16 (Melbourne, 2002) pp. 308–309; <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A160375b.htm> (24 August 2009).
8. James Stewart, "The Tomb of the Seafarer at Karmi," *Opuscula Atheniensi* IV (1962) pp. 197–204.
9. James Stewart, *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part I* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* III:1, Göteborg, 1988); idem, *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age, Part II* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* III:2, Jonsered, 1992); idem, *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part III:1* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* III:3, Jonsered, 1999).
10. The volume, entitled *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Karmi Palealona and Lapatsa in Cyprus. Excavations by J. R. B Stewart*, will appear in the series *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, published by Paul Åströms Förlag, Sävedalen, Sweden.

11. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 16 March 1961.
12. Letter from James Stewart to Miss Noreen Waterford, 4 March 1961. *Dromos* (singular) (*dromoi* plural) refers to the open entrance shaft that provided access to the tomb chamber from the surface.
13. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 16 March 1961.
14. See Jennifer Webb and David Frankel, "Fine Ware Ceramics, Consumption and Commensality: Mechanisms of Horizontal and Vertical Integration in Early Bronze Age Cyprus," in Louise Hitchcock, Robert Laffineur, and Janice Crowley, eds., *Dais. The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25–29 March 2008 (Aegaeum 29. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège, Liège, 2008)* pp. 287–295. For similar arguments in reference to Early Bronze Age Crete, see Yannis Hamilakis, "Eating the Dead: Mortuary Feasting and the Politics of Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age Societies," in Keith Branigan, ed., *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield, 1998) pp. 115–132; idem, "Tombs for the Living," *Antiquity* 314 (2007) pp. 1090–1093.
15. James Stewart, "Decorated Tomb Façades, Cyprus," *Antiquity* 13 (1939) pp. 461–463.
16. Frankel and Tamvaki, "Cypriot Shrine Models"; Robert Merrillees, "Representation of the Human Form in Prehistoric Cyprus," *Opuscula Atheniensia* XIII (1980) pp. 173, 176; idem, "A Stone Anthropomorphic Bas Relief from Middle Bronze Age Cyprus," in Frieda Vandenberg and Robert Laffineur, eds., *Cypriote Stone Sculpture. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Cypriote Studies Brussels-Liège, 17–19 May 1993* (Brussels-Liège, 1994) pp. 37–42.
17. Stewart, "Tomb of the Seafarer," p. 204.
18. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 27 April 1961.
19. See Frankel and Webb, *Marki*; Stuart Swiny, George (Rip) Rapp, and Ellen Herscher, *Sotira Kaminoudhia: An Early Bronze Age Site in Cyprus (American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports, no. 8. CAARI Monograph Series 4, Boston, 2003)*; Coleman et al., *Alambra*; Maria Rosaria Belgiorno, *Pyrgos Mavroraki: Advanced Technology in Bronze Age Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2004); Ian Todd, ed., *Vasilikos Valley Project 1: The Bronze Age Cemetery in Kalavassos Village (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:1, Göteborg, 1986)*; idem, ed., *Vasilikos Valley Project 11: Kalavassos Village Tombs 52–79 (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:11, Sävedalen, 2007)*; Jennifer Webb and David Frankel, *Eight Middle Bronze Age Tomb Groups from Dhenia in the University of New England Museum of Antiquities (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:21, Jonsered, 2001)*; David Frankel and Jennifer Webb, *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Deneia in Cyprus (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXXV, Sävedalen, 2007)* with associated LUNA Insight digital archive <http://library.latrobe.edu.au/record=b2234894> (24 August 2009).
20. Eleanor Stewart and James Stewart, *Vounous 1937–38. Field Report of the Excavations Sponsored by the British School at Athens (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom XIV, Lund, 1950)*; James Stewart, "The Early Cypriote Bronze Age," in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. IV, part IA (Lund, 1962). See also J. Basil Hennessy, Kathryn Eriksson, and Ina Kehrberg, *Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia. Excavations by J. R. B. Stewart (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXXII, Göteborg, 1988)*.
21. See *Muse* 8 (1974) pp. 6–7; Paul Åström, Jane Biers, and others, *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 2. The Cypriote Collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:2, Göteborg, 1979)* p. 4, n. 2; Hennessy et al., *Ayia Paraskevi*, pp. 21–22.

22. Entry on 8 March 1961. Unfortunately, we do not know whether these were human or animal bones.
23. J. Basil Hennessy, "Cypriot artists of the Early and Middle Bronze Age," in Judy Birmingham, ed., *The Cypriot Bronze Age. Some Recent Australian Contributions to the Prehistory of Cyprus (Australian Studies in Archaeology I, Sydney, 1973)* p. 14 and n. 17.
24. Stewart, *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts*, part II, figs. 6.3, 7.2.
25. *Ibid.*, part I, p. 67.
26. Hennessy, "Cypriot artists."
27. The Ringling Museum vessel is illustrated in M. Sendova, V. Zhelyaskov, M. Scalera, and M. Ramsey, "Micro-Raman spectroscopic study of pottery fragments from the Lapatsa Tomb, Cyprus, ca 2500 BC," *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 36 (2005) pl. 1 (back center).
28. Lindy Crewe, *Spindle Whorls. A Study of Form, Function, and Decoration in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book 149, Jonsered, 1998)* p. 78, Type IIIc4, fig. A2.1.
29. Frankel and Webb, *Marki*, p. 164, sub group 3, Text Table 5.5, fig. 5.8.
30. Letter to Miss Noreen Waterford, 4 March 1961.

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