

ARC

ARCANE

II

Associated
Regional Chronologies
for the Ancient Near East
and the Eastern Mediterranean

Summary

During the 3rd millennium BC, Cyprus became deeply involved with the Ancient Near East and with other parts of the East Mediterranean for the first time since the island was colonised. This included the likely migration of peoples from the East Aegean and Anatolia, and changes that ushered in the Bronze Age. Archaeological data for this millennium, however, is scattered and studies tend to be divided on either side of the Bronze Age watershed. Written by well-known specialists, this volume presents the first detailed assessment of the chronological developments on the island across that divide. Richly illustrated, it provides an indispensable framework for the period and lays the foundations for more accurate evaluations of inter-regional connections.

Cyprus

Vol. II

Cyprus

Edgar Peltenburg (ed.)

with contributions by Diane Bolger, David Frankel, Vasiliki Kassianidou,
Priscilla Keswani, Carole McCartney, Demetra Papaconstantinou,
Charalambos Paraskeva & Jennifer M. Webb

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Table of Contents

Foreword	vii
<i>By Edgar Peltenburg</i>	
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
1. Introduction	1
<i>By Edgar Peltenburg, David Frankel and Jennifer M. Webb</i>	
1.1. Background and Aims	1
1.2. Methodology	2
1.3. Geography	4
1.4. Periodisation	6
1.5. The Data Available	9
1.6. ECY 1-2	11
1.7. ECY 3-5	12
2. Stratigraphy in a Non-tell Archaeological Environment	15
<i>By David Frankel, Priscilla Keswani, Demetra Papaconstantinou, Edgar Peltenburg and Jennifer M. Webb</i>	
2.1. Flat Site Stratigraphy	15
2.2. Informal Pottery Seriations	17
2.3. Key Site Sequences	17
2.4. Site Stratigraphies	18
2.5. Summary	38
3. Ceramics	39
<i>By Diane Bolger and Jennifer M. Webb</i>	
3.1. Overview of Early 3 rd Millennium Cypriot Pottery (ECY 1-2)	39
3.2. ECY 1-2 Ceramic Typology	41
3.3. Discussion of ECY 1-2 Ceramics	44
3.4. Overview of Late 3 rd Millennium Cypriot Pottery (ECY 3-5)	48
3.5. ECY 3-5 Ceramic Typology	50
3.6. Discussion of ECY 3-5 Ceramics	60
4. Settlement Planning and Architecture	129
<i>By Demetra Papaconstantinou</i>	
4.1. Introduction	129
4.2. Settlement Planning	130
4.3. Architecture	141
4.4. Discussion	158
5. Burial Practices in 3rd Millennium Cyprus: A Chronological Overview	161
<i>By Priscilla Keswani</i>	
5.1. Introduction	161
5.2. ECY 1	165
5.3. ECY 2	180
5.4. ECY 3	186
5.5. ECY 4	197
5.6. ECY 5	211
5.7. Conclusions	225

Table of Contents

6. Metals	231
<i>By Vasiliki Kassianidou</i>	
6.1. Introduction	231
6.2. Previous Work on the Subject	236
6.3. Characteristics and Shortcomings of the Available Documentation	237
6.4. Problems of Residuality	237
6.5. Cypriot Regional Variability	237
6.6. Summary of Material by Phases	238
6.7. Concluding Remarks	242
6.8. List of ARCANÉ ECY Metal Object Classes	242
7. Figurines and Other Objects	251
<i>By Edgar Peltenburg and Jennifer M. Webb</i>	
7.1. Figurines	251
7.2. Pendants	257
7.3. Beads	265
7.4. Glyptic	269
7.5. Conical and Grooved Stones	270
7.6. Spindle Whorls	270
7.7. Loomweights	276
7.8. Hobs	277
8. Lithic Artefacts	299
<i>By Carole McCartney</i>	
8.1. Introduction	299
8.2. Background Research in the Technology of Ground Stone	299
8.3. Benchmark Sample Comparison	300
8.4. Ground Stone	304
8.5. Chipped Stone	310
9. Radiocarbon	313
<i>By Edgar Peltenburg, David Frankel and Charalambos Paraskeva</i>	
9.1. Introduction	313
9.2. Methodology	313
9.3. Dates from Sites with Benchmark Inventories	320
9.4. Dates from Additional Sites	330
9.5. Dating the ECY 1-ECY 5 Periods	332
9.6. Conclusions	338
10. Conclusions	339
<i>By Edgar Peltenburg</i>	
10.1. The Cypriot ECY Sequence: A Synthesis	339
10.2. Correlated Site Stratigraphies of the 3 rd Millennium	348
General Bibliography	349
Index of Site Names	371



Foreword

Edgar Peltenburg

The Cyprus Region was included within the framework of the ARCANE project upon submission of the research proposal to the European Science Foundation in 2004. The Team Leader, Edgar Peltenburg, accepted that role in 2004.

The Cyprus Regional Group was formed in 2005 and was essentially operational in 2006, the time of its first workshop gathering in Nicosia, Cyprus. It consisted of eight members from three European nations, and Australia and the United States of America. Members were responsible for data input in phase one and for the corresponding chapters of this monograph in phase two of the Cyprus group programme. They include Diane Bolger (Ceramics), David Frankel (Stratigraphy, Radiocarbon), Vasiliki Kassianidou (Metal), Priscilla Keswani (Stratigraphy, Burials and Funerary Practices), Carole McCartney (Lithics and Ground Stone objects), Demetra Papaconstantinou (Architecture and Planning, Stratigraphy, Bibliography), Edgar Peltenburg (Stratigraphy, Figurines and other objects, Radiocarbon), Jennifer M. Webb (Ceramics, Figurines and other objects, Stratigraphy). Charalambos Paraskeva joined the team in 2010 (Radiocarbon). Joanne Clarke and Stuart Swiny, respectively the directors of excavations at Kalavassos-*Pamboules* and Sotira-*Kaminoudhia*, provided valuable data.

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The initiative for this volume arose out of the widened interests of the ARCANE Project, prompted by the conditions of a grant award from the European Science Foundation. As a result, the leaders of the ARCANE Steering Committee, Marc Lebeau and Pierre de Miroshedji, invited the participation of a regional team from Cyprus. Throughout the team's deliberations, Marc Lebeau and Marie-Eve Sténuît have been unstinting in their helpful advice and prompts. Uwe Finkbeiner, another member of the Steering Committee, kindly facilitated participation by Cyprus team members at a number of plenary meetings. We are much indebted to Pavlos Flourentzos, former Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for acting as the team's representative on the Steering Committee, and for allowing the inclusion of unpublished material, and to Maria Hadjicosti, former Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for continuing to act as representative.

During the construction of the database phase, the team benefited enormously from Jean-Paul Thalmann's wise mentoring. We are especially grateful to him for taking the time to conduct practical sessions with members at the two workshops that were vital to the success of this part of the project. Vasiliki Kassianidou kindly arranged for premises to be made available at the University of Cyprus for our first workshop, and the former Director of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute in Nicosia, Tom Davis, was good enough to put its library at our disposal for the second one.

The team is deeply obliged to a number of people who helped to put together the information for the Cyprus part of the database. Theresa Hasbruck Amadon, Luke Aspland and Claire Herbert entered considerable elements of the data. Ferhan Sahal and Stephano Anastasio provided crucial technical assistance when it was most needed.

We are most grateful to Joanne Clarke and to Stuart Swiny, directors of projects in Cyprus, for providing raw data from their respective excavations for inclusion in this work. Georgos Georghiou of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus supplied high quality images of previously unpublished or poorly published material from Bellapais-*Vounous* for inclusion. Vassos Karageorghis kindly gave permission to reproduce images from his publication *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus I*. Luca Bombardieri provided information of unpublished radiocarbon dates from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. Many thanks to Hilary Meeks for copy-editing, to Elise Devidal for preparing illustrations and to Martin Sauvage who produced the map of Figure 1.1. The production of this volume is very much a team effort. The editor is deeply grateful for the tremendously stimulating co-operation and considerable effort that all members gave to the venture. Warm thanks also to Diane Bolger for valuable editorial assistance.

Diane Bolger would like to thank the Munro Committee (College of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh) for their award of a research grant during the initial phases of the project (2007); and the Moray Endowment Fund (College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine, University of Edinburgh) for the award of a grant during its final stages (2009).

Priscilla Keswani would like to thank Edgar Peltenburg for the invitation to participate in this project and for updating her about various aspects of the excavations at Souskiou-Laona. She is also grateful to David Frankel and Jennifer Webb for sharing copies of their recent publications with her.

E. Peltenburg

Vasiliki Kassianidou would like to thank Professor Edgar Peltenburg for the invitation to join the Cyprus Group for the ARCANE project. The compilation of Chapter 6 would not have been possible without the input of all the other members of the project who identified the benchmark inventories to be included in the ARCANE database for Cyprus. The metal artefacts were entered in the database by Luke Aspland and Professor Peltenburg who also had the task of scientific validation of the data. Without their contribution it would have been impossible for her to write this chapter and for this Vasiliki is sincerely indebted to them.



Abbreviations

General

B	Building
BP	Black Polished ware
BrP	Brown Polished ware
BSC	Black Slip and Combed ware
BSS	Bell-shaped shaft tomb
C	Century
CPW	Coarse Painted ware
CW	Coarse ware
DM	Dark Monochrome ware
DP	Drab Polished ware
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cypriot (Bronze Age)
EChal	Early Chalcolithic
ERS	Early Red Slip ware
LAP	Lemba Archaeological Project
LC	Late Cypriot (Bronze Age)
LChal	Late Chalcolithic
LNeo	Late Neolithic
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MC	Middle Cypriot (Bronze Age)
MChal	Middle Chalcolithic
PreBA	Prehistoric Bronze Age
PRS	Philia Red Slip ware
RB/B	Red and Black Stroke-burnished ware
RMP	Red Monochrome Painted ware
RP	Red Polished ware
RPC	Red Polished Coarse ware
RPCP	Red Polished Coarse (Philia) ware
RPm	Red Polished Mottled ware
RPP	Red Polished Philia ware
RPSC	Red Polished South Coast ware
RW	Red-on-White Painted ware
RWL	Red-on-White Lattice Ware
SPS	Square pit-and-shaft tomb
SW	Spalled ware
T	Tomb
WP	White Painted ware
WPP	White Painted Philia ware

Abbreviations

Site labels

AP	Nicosia- <i>Ayia Paraskevi</i>
BV	Bellapais- <i>Vounous</i>
EP	Erimi- <i>Pamboula</i>
KAD	Kythrea- <i>Ayios Dhimitrianos</i>
KK	Kyra- <i>Kaminia</i>
KM	Kissonerga- <i>Mosphilia</i>
KMyl	Kissonerga- <i>Mylouthkia</i>
KP	Kalavastos- <i>Pamboules</i>
KPC	Kalavastos Panagia Church
LL	Lemba- <i>Lakkous</i>
LV	Lapithos- <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i>
MA	Marki- <i>Alonia</i>
MD	Marki- <i>Davari</i>
PK	Politiko- <i>Kokkinorotsos</i>
PKK	Pyla- <i>Kafkarokremmos</i>
PT	Psematismenos- <i>Trelloukkas</i>
PV	Philia- <i>Vasiliko</i>
SK	Sotira- <i>Kaminoudhia</i>
SL	Souskiou- <i>Laona</i>
SV	Souskiou- <i>Vathyrkakas</i>
VK	Vasilia- <i>Kafkallia/Kilistra</i>



4. Settlement Planning and Architecture

Demetra Papaconstantinou

4.1. Introduction

Despite their significance as a temporal indicator for cultural developments, architectural remains in prehistoric Cyprus have a limited role to play in the construction of a reliable relative chronology for the 3rd millennium, owing mostly to the constant shifting of settlements and the lack of deep stratigraphies.¹ Hence, chronological charts for the specific millennium are based primarily on pottery associations and the rare existence of ¹⁴C dates rather than large interconnected stratigraphic horizons. Even in the best circumstances architecture provides stratigraphic sequences that only occasionally can be correlated with each other.

There is an aspect in Cypriot architecture of the 3rd millennium, however, related to cultural characteristics, that can compensate for the lack of extensive stratigraphically related horizons. This has mostly to do with the depositional processes recovered in the field (the number of intact inventories inside the buildings), as well as the significant number of destruction layers related to living floors, which provide good primary contexts and create a very favourable environment for ¹⁴C samples.² In this respect, architectural remains in Cyprus can at least indirectly fulfil their role as significant temporal indicators and contribute to the discussions about chronology in the ARCANE project.

Of even greater chronological value is the transition from circular to rectilinear forms which in the literature is related to important social transformations.³ Architecture in the mid-3rd millennium presents one of the most conspicuous manifestations of cultural change. That transition, which is also accompanied by changes in most of the other types of the material culture, represents the passage from Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age period on the island, from ECY 1-2 to ECY 3-5. It seems to demarcate two quite distinct cultural traditions.⁴ Furthermore, the appearance of rectilinear forms creates a sharp contrast with the long tradition of curvilinear architecture that was used on the island for several millennia, from the aceramic Neolithic, by well established communities.⁵

Having acknowledged the importance of these dramatic changes in architectural forms, however, it should be noted that there is no evidence for a full-blown urban environment during the 3rd millennium, and it is therefore very hard to compare developments on the island with those of other areas in the Near East. This quite distinctive difference in the “scale” of events has been the reason why there is a different research agenda in Cypriot archaeology for this particular period. Discussions evolve more around issues of social differentiation rather than urbanisation *per se*, and research is mostly concerned with the investigation of the emergence of hierarchical societies, as well as the factors that seem to have influenced their formation.⁶

Setting aside these rather “intrinsic” characteristics of the architectural evidence, the information available for the 3rd millennium of Cyprus is also restricted by a number of disparities related to the history of research on the island and the uneven distribution of the data.⁷ Chalcolithic sites of the first half of the millennium (ECY 1-ECY 2), are concentrated in the S/SW of the island, while most EBA sites (ECY 3 to ECY 5) are found in the N/NE. In addition, most Chalcolithic material comes from settlements, while the EBA record is represented primarily by cemeteries.

Systematic research in the last three decades has sought to correct many of these inconsistencies, but it has not been entirely successful since no substantial EBA settlement evidence has been recovered in the W part of the island to date, and the two recently excavated settlements of this period (Marki-Alonia and Sotira-Kaminoudhia) are located in the centre and the S of the island, respectively.⁸

¹ See Chapter 1.

² See Chapter 9.

³ Flannery 1972; 2002.

⁴ Frankel 2005.

⁵ Steel 2004: 45-52; for the history of curvilinear architecture on the island, see Peltenburg 2004.

⁶ Peltenburg 1993; Knapp 1993; Manning 1993.

⁷ See Chapter 1.

⁸ Frankel & Webb 2006a; Swiny et al. 2003.

Table 4.1: 3rd millennium settlement sites in Cyprus: characteristics of the sample included in the ARCANE database.

Code	Name	Size (ha)	Excavated area in m ²	No. units	Primary inventories	Units with full plan	Units with <i>in situ</i> material	¹⁴ C data	ECY Periods
Paphos District									
CY004	Kissonerga- <i>Mosphilia</i>	12	1126 (0.9%)	7	7	4	6*	√	1-2
CY008	Lemba- <i>Lakkous</i>	3	1030 (3.45%)	6	6	2	6	√	1-2
CY015	Souskiou- <i>Laona</i>	2.3	1200 (5.2%)	2	2	1	2*	√	1-1/2
Southern Chalk Plateaus									
CY002	Erimi- <i>Pamboula</i>	16	150 (0.09%)	5	5	1	5	-	1
CY003	Kalavastos- <i>Pamboules</i>	20	40 (0.02%)	1	1	1	1	-	2
CY014	Sotira- <i>Kaminoudhia</i>	2	1800 (9%)	4	4	4	4	√	5
Central Lowlands									
CY009	Marki- <i>Alonia</i>	6	2000 (3.3%)	8	7	7	6	√	3-5

As a result, of the 93 total inventories in the Cyprus ARCANE database only 32 are derived from settlements; of those 32 inventories, 21 belong to five settlements of the Chalcolithic period (ECY 1-2) and 11 to two settlements of the EBA (ECY 3-5) (see Table 4.1).

The fact that most excavations of 3rd millennium sites were conducted fairly recently is an asset for the quality of the sample put together for the ARCANE project, since refined documentation and excavation practices have made it possible to extract the most out of a rather fragmented and distributionally uneven record. While it is still not possible to reconstruct a complete and coherent picture of the way architecture developed on the island in the 3rd millennium, it is at least possible to include in the ARCANE database a good, representative sample of the evidence that has been recovered so far and to recognise the first discernible patterns regarding planning and architectural forms.

Despite the significant contribution that certain architectural characteristics, such as differences in construction techniques, spatial arrangements and fixtures, can provide as chronological type fossils for each period (see Table 4.2), it should be stressed that these should always be regarded as provisional patterns “open to being tested” with new evidence. Certain developments, such as the transition from curvilinear to rectilinear architecture or the transition from monocellular free-standing structures to multicellular, adjacent ones have a clear chronological value for indicating the presence of the Bronze Age on the island. But smaller scale differences in the variability of fixtures, spatial arrangements within structures, the use of open spaces, and even the appearance of rectilinear architecture prior to its widespread use, are issues that should be subject to careful investigation given the patchy nature of the evidence.⁹

4.2. Settlement Planning

With no official buildings and no clear distinction between public and residential units and massive construction works of the kind seen in the neighbouring Near East, it is not possible to discuss city planning in the 3rd millennium in Cyprus. Settlement planning, the term used in this chapter, is therefore considered more appropriate, since it fits the scale and diversity of the built environment at this time.

Throughout the 3rd millennium there are two slightly different settlement patterns, one for the Chalcolithic period (ECY 1-2), and one for the EBA (ECY 3-5), which are distinguished primarily by the presence or absence of intramural burials. The first pattern consists of clusters of settlements of variable sizes with intramural burials,¹⁰ while in the second almost all burials are extramural and each settlement is associated with a series of cemeteries.¹¹ The case of Souskiou-*Laona* (ECY 1, ECY 1/2) is an exception to this pattern since, although it contains intramural burials like other ECY 1 settlements, it is also related to cemeteries. The existence of several cemeteries at Souskiou verify the special character of the occupation in this region.¹²

⁹ See discussion on innovation in Wright 1992: 52-53.

¹⁰ Lemba cluster, Erimi cluster, Kalavastos cluster. See Peltenburg 1985a; Dikaios 1938.

¹¹ Best seen at the sites of Marki-*Alonia* and Sotira-*Kaminoudhia*.

¹² Peltenburg 2006.

In the Chalcolithic period (ECY 1-2), the overall, accessible settlement plan is that of a flat site with dispersed free-standing buildings separated by paths and open areas. In the EBA period (ECY 3-5) it consists of rectilinear compounds with adjacent rooms divided by narrow streets. The adopted building plan (circular or rectilinear) is significant for the way settlements were organised, since rectilinear forms provided a more canonical and efficient way to divide space, and they probably necessitated different socio-economic relations every time settlements were rearranged.

The diversity in the size of the settlements, especially during the first half of the millennium (Chalcolithic period, ECY 1-2), as well as the limited exposure of the sites, makes it hard to reconstruct the prehistoric landscape both at an intra-site and inter-regional level. Reconstruction is also problematic since in many cases buildings are undifferentiated in their construction and use, lack the standardisation of urban centres, and often change location (Fig. 2.2). Because of all these reasons, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact size of the habitation horizon at any given time and to identify patterns of functional differentiation in the settlements of the 3rd millennium.

For these and other related reasons, the following account can present only the general characteristics of the settlements, focusing on how certain segments of the sites developed during specific periods. Despite the restrictions of the sample for intra-site variability and the role of settlements at an inter-regional level, diversity in planning and socio-cultural transformation are still very visible in the record of the 3rd millennium. They furnish significant insights into the history of the island. The sites will be grouped into the two main cultural phases that characterise Cypriot prehistory of the 3rd millennium: ECY 1-2 for the Chalcolithic period and ECY 3-5 for the Early Bronze Age.

4.2.1 ECY 1-2

Settlement evidence from the first half of the 3rd millennium is found mostly in the W and SW of the island. It consists of flat, dispersed sites with free-standing monocellular buildings. Of the five most significant sites included in the ARCANE database, only two, *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* and *Lemba-Lakkous* provide evidence for settlement planning.

Kissonerga-Mosphilia (CY004, Paphos Region) is the largest, longest lived, and, in terms of archaeological evidence, the most significant settlement of the first half of the 3rd millennium. The site covers 12ha, and the excavation, which consists of two areas (the Main Area and an Upper Terrace), has revealed some 1600m² of a densely built habitation which in time shifted to the W. The foundation of the site occurred in the Neolithic period (late 7th millennium), but there are no traces of architecture at that time.¹³

The earliest evidence for systematic habitation on the site (*Kissonerga* Period 2) is dated to the beginning of the 4th millennium, but even at this time occupation was restricted and it is attested only in the form of sub-circular living hollows, pits and timbered walls.¹⁴ The earliest stone-based structures on the site belong to the following period (Period 3A), which is dated to the middle/late 4th millennium. They reveal a pattern of sequential construction of free-standing buildings separated occasionally by pathways.

Two significant architectural types of this period attest to the earliest manifestations of characteristics that continue into the next period, that is, they provide evidence for cultural continuity between the 4th and the 3rd millennia. The first has to do with a specific type of stone-based structure, the “ridge house”, which refers to the existence of ridges that radiate from the corners of rectangular hearths in the structures, dividing the space into segments for specific functions. It occurs together with stone platforms, and “gleaming” white plastered walls and floors. This type is found in the Upper Terrace.¹⁵ The second type comprises rectilinear buildings located in the Main Area and found on top of a sequence of very fragmentary curvilinear structures (Fig. 4.1). With respect to these rectilinear buildings, the evidence is unfortunately not sufficient to indicate clear signs of differentiated function, but their small size (9-12m²) and their thinner plaster floors point to a fairly limited range of activities.¹⁶

Despite the continuity in material culture, the transition from the mid-4th to the early 3rd millennium is marked by a significant change in the construction program of the settlement. Period 3B at *Kissonerga* (ECY 1) is characterised by a new, co-ordinated and pre-planned event involving the construction of new buildings that respect each other and are founded on new ground (Fig. 4.1). No traces of contemporary architecture are recorded in the Upper Terrace. The new construction plan reorganised the whole settlement in the Main Area, dividing it, physically but also symbolically, into two separate sectors: a high sector at the centre and north, and a lower sector to the S by the Skotinis stream. In addition to this new spatial arrangement, the differentiation was marked by the size and construction type of the buildings, the only one of this type witnessed so far in the 3rd millennium.¹⁷

¹³ Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 240.

¹⁴ Ibid.: 25.

¹⁵ Ibid.: 25-29, fig. 25.

¹⁶ Ibid.: 29-30, fig. 31.

¹⁷ Ibid.: 244-249.

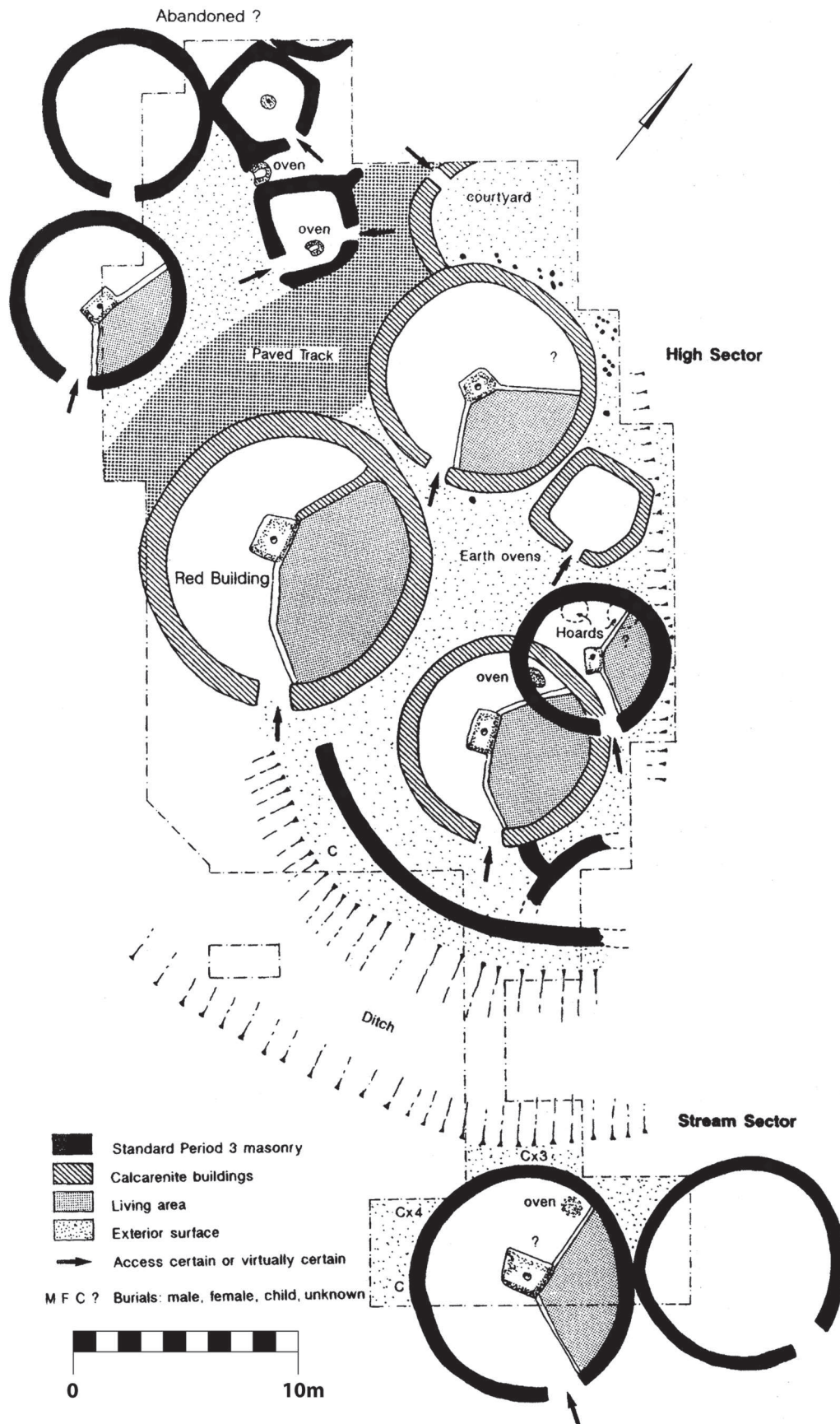


Fig. 4.1: Plan of ECY 1 settlement at Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Period 3B). Source: Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 31.

In the lower sector, structures reflect the old building tradition; they are built in the standard form with rubble walls covered with plaster and the floor divided into segments by ridges.¹⁸ In the high sector, walls were built with calcarenite stones which were used for the first time on the site. They were quarried and transported by hand from coastal exposures, c. 500m to the W. In some cases calcarenite structures had an unusually large size, with floors partly covered with cement-like plaster made of lime. The cluster of calcarenite structures (B 2, 4, 206 and 1000) not only dominated this part of the settlement but was also physically separated from the rest by a shallow ditch and traces of walls forming an enclosure to the S.

The calcarenite buildings were grouped around an open space known as the Ceremonial Area, with evidence for public ritual activity. To the N of the complex there was a paved track (track 35), which was renewed twice and served as a formal approach to the whole of the high sector.¹⁹

In addition to these architectural and spatial features, there is a set of material correlates that seem to support the existence of some kind of social differentiation. These have to do mostly with differing burial practices (in the high sector there is almost a complete absence of burials, unlike the traditional pattern in Chalcolithic settlements, which are usually crowded with graves placed near structures or in abandoned buildings), the concentration of symbolic items and the increased usage of presentational vessels.²⁰ Furthermore, the fact that some insubstantial rectilinear buildings standing beside the large calcarenite structures were ascribed specific functions (cooking), indicates that spatial arrangements in this area were different from the rest of the site.

Calcarenite structures do not support the idea of the existence of architecturally differentiated institutions, such as temples or community halls. They generally possess all the attributes of the traditional Chalcolithic house: radial floor dividers, rectilinear hearths, plastered floors, standard array of domestic activities. It is clear, however, that the area presents the social, economic and political characteristics indicative of an “ascendant social minority”, namely a group that wished to distinguish itself.²¹

The next period (ECY 2, Kissonerga Period 4), the final one with architectural remains, begins once again with a reorganisation after most of the buildings in the high sector were either abandoned suddenly (full inventory, intact) or destroyed. Unlike the previous shift from Period 3A to 3B, where intra-site continuity seemed to embrace significant but internal changes,²² the shift from 3B to 4 (ECY 1 to ECY 2) constitutes a clear break with the previous occupation, both in terms of material culture and “real” time.²³

Kissonerga 4 involves a relatively lengthy occupation (estimated 200 years, c. 2800/2700-2500/2400 BC) in which the stratigraphic evidence, comprising one of the deepest deposits on the site, has at least two phases of construction. The structures in the Main Area now form three distinctive zones: one in the S parallel to the Skotinis stream, one in the centre, and one to the N (Figs. 2.5 and 4.2).²⁴

Settlement organisation at Kissonerga in ECY 2 consisted of groups of small structures²⁵ indicative of a very different system of social integration and relations from the previous period with its more hierarchically organised plan. Public works, in the form of paved tracks or enclosure walls and ditches, no longer occur. Without maintenance, external space degraded and was filled with graves and irregular pits. Furthermore, ovens are no longer found outside and in general there seems to be more cooking indoors.

Overall, the structures of this period were more simply built and less carefully laid, with walls that did not incorporate calcarenite stones and floors that lacked internal dividers and lime plaster (see Table 4.2). The prevalence of hearths and the recurrence of associated burials suggest that most of the structures at this time comprised living quarters. The limited intra-zonal variation seems to suggest the persistence of older residential patterns with undifferentiated general habitation units.²⁶ During the later part of ECY 2 (Kissonerga 4b) dominant structures are lacking, and the site seems to have “reverted” to a more egalitarian settlement organisation.²⁷

¹⁸ For details in the construction techniques see *ibid.*: 54-62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 245.

²⁰ For a detailed discussion of the Ceremonial Area see Peltenburg et al. 1991.

²¹ Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 248.

²² *Ibid.*: 259-260.

²³ The strongest indicator for the break is lack of adaptations of earlier ceramics and evidence of some 14C dates for a settlement lacuna (of about 200 years). See *ibid.*: 249-258.

²⁴ *Ibid.*: 149-151.

²⁵ Most likely the material correlates of households (sharing production, reproduction and consumption). *Ibid.*: 251.

²⁶ Despite the fact that there is evidence for few specialised structures or rooms which might have co-existed with a household complex. See for example “Basin building” or “cobble-floored B 200”. *Ibid.*: 251.

²⁷ *Ibid.*: 251.

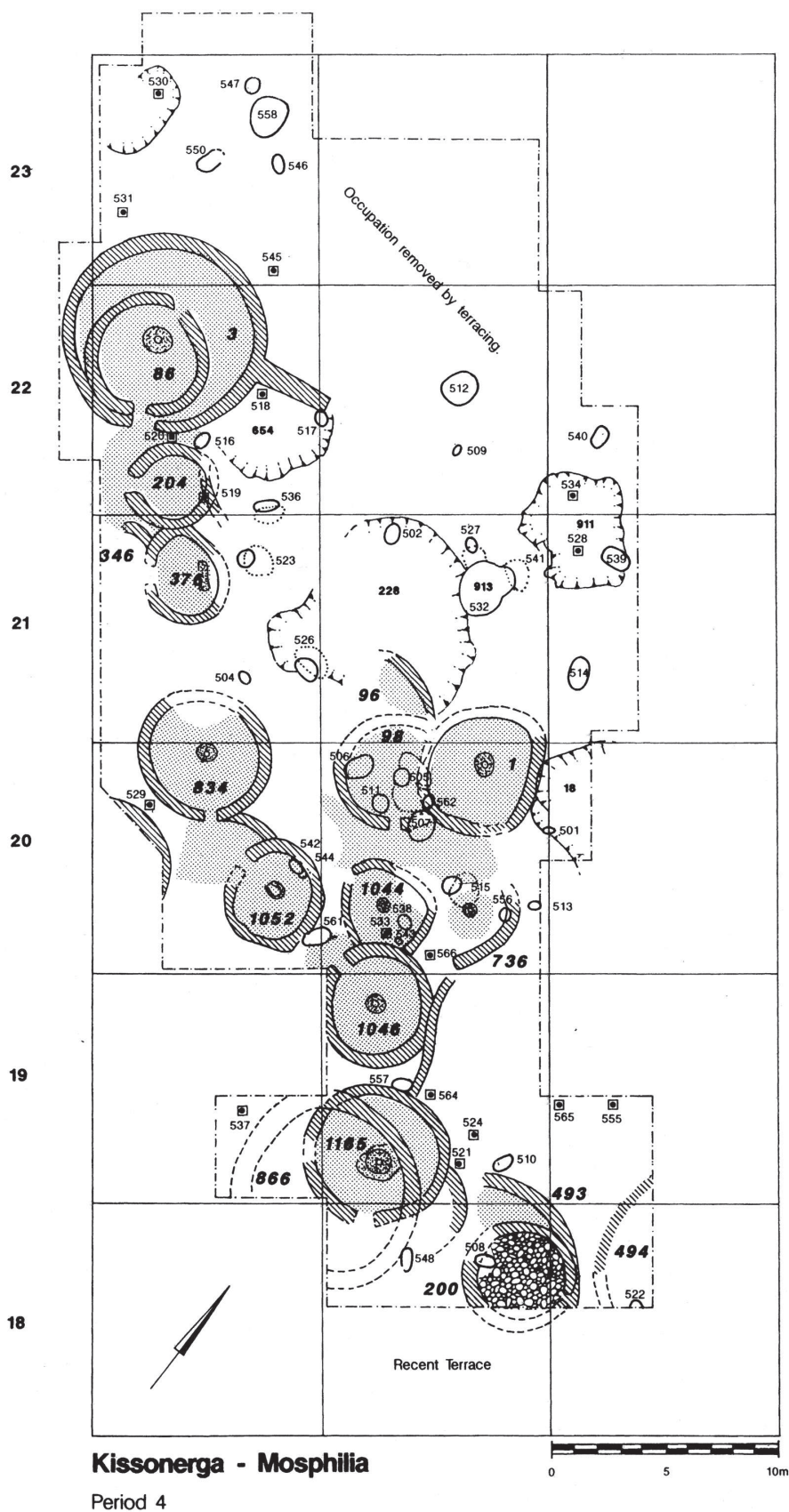


Fig. 4.2: Plan of ECY 2 settlement at Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Period 4). Source: Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 39.

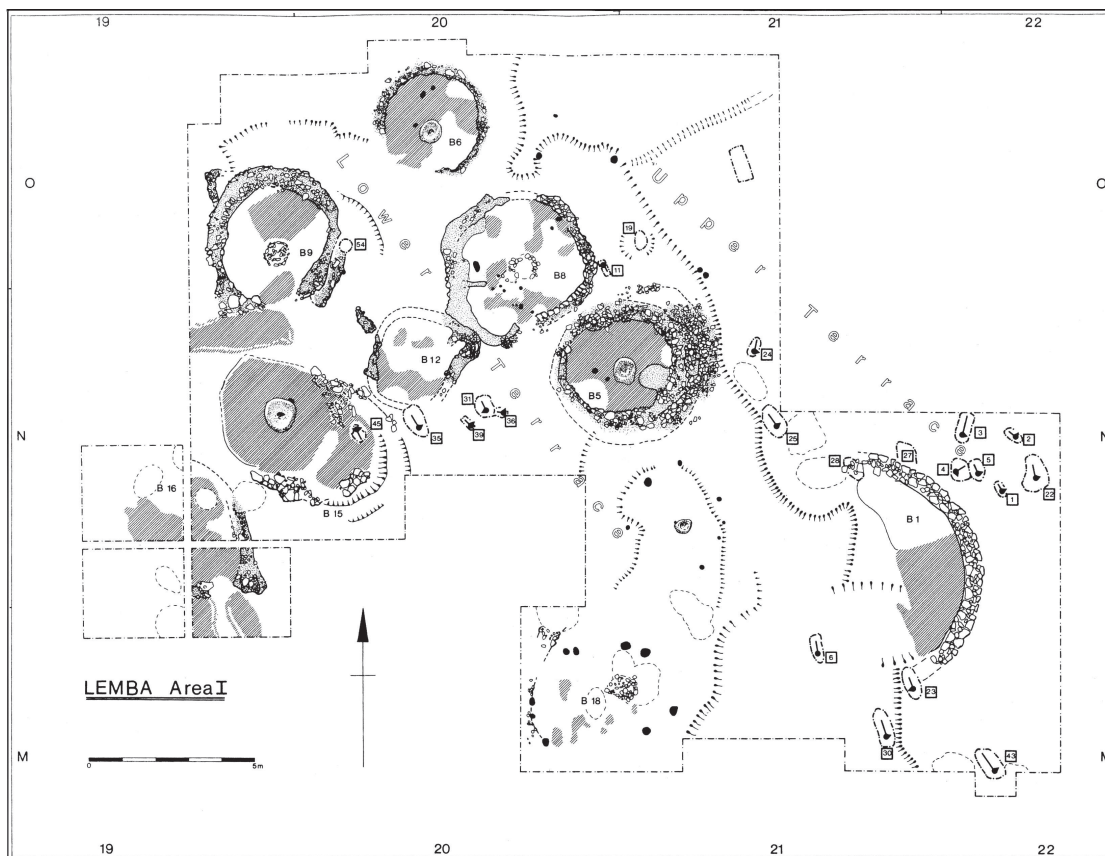


Fig. 4.3: General plan of Area I at Lemba-Lakkous with Period 1 buildings in the Lower Terrace, Period 2 in the Upper. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig.10.

Lemba-Lakkous (CY008, Paphos Region) is the second largest sample in the ARCANE database belonging to the first half of the 3rd millennium. It has a similar plan as Kissonerga-Mosphilia, with clusters of circular buildings, open areas and intramural burials.²⁸ Evidence from the two main excavated areas, Area I and Area II (W and E respectively), allows us to infer the existence of a rather short-lived, constantly shifting habitation, which makes it very hard to reconstruct the organisation of the settlement at any given time.

The settlement was founded at the beginning of the MChal period (Lemba Period 1, c. 3500-3200 BC), in early ECY 1. Habitation was concentrated in Area I, at the seaward end of the interfluvium, since Area II lacks evidence of this period.²⁹ Occupation in Area I (mostly at its western part, the Lower Terrace) was characterised by a rather dense arrangement of buildings (seven in total), which had similar sizes and fixtures (working area near the entrance, platforms, circular hearths) despite the varying concentrations of artefacts and waste products (Fig. 4.3). Most of the structures were divided into segments by floor divisions radiating to and from the hearths.³⁰ The diversity of deposits indicates a rather dispersed pattern of general habitation huts, sleeping huts, specialised work huts, subsidiary store or animal huts more suited to dispersed holdings of extended rather than nuclear families.³¹ Near the buildings there is also evidence for large open areas with graves and fixtures, while the Upper Terrace of Area I (its eastern end) has revealed areas devoid of structures and reserved for graves, pits and postholes (probably indicating lighter structures).³²

The later 4th-early 3rd millennium (ECY 1, Lemba Period 2) witnesses significant changes in the size, use and construction of the buildings, despite the fact that this is the most patchily attested period of the site and that the sample is too small to furnish evidence for settlement planning (Fig. 4.3).³³

²⁸ Peltenburg 1985a: 1-4.

²⁹ For a description of Period 1 see *ibid.*: 322-324.

³⁰ *Ibid.*: 322, 37-38.

³¹ *Ibid.*: 324.

³² *Ibid.*: 315-316.

³³ *Ibid.*: 326.

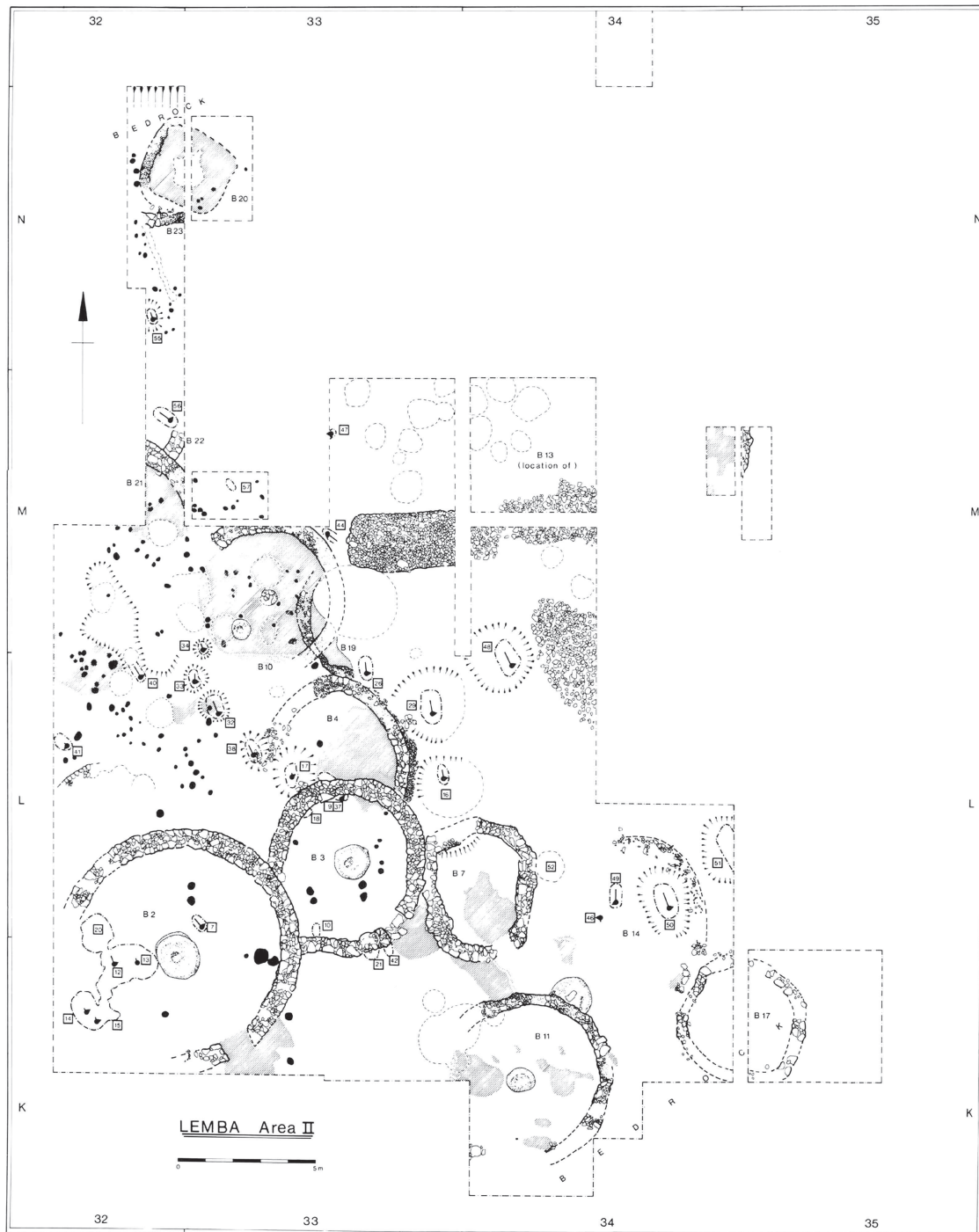


Fig. 4.4: General plan of Area II at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig.22.

Architectural remains of this period are located in both areas of the excavation. Area I has provided evidence of only one structure (B 1), while Area II has revealed a cluster of curvilinear structures most of them fragmentary.³⁴ Buildings at this time are differentiated in size, and construction material increases in sophistication, with stone walls replacing the predominantly pisé walls of previous times and floors made of a much harder plaster, with the same internal divisions demarcating specific activities. Furthermore, there seems to be an increase in storage facilities, evident both in the large storage area to the east of Area II and in the timbered storage areas recovered between structures.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid.: 324-326.

³⁵ Ibid.: 317-318.

Almost all remains from the final period of occupation at Lemba-*Lakkous* (ECY 2, Lemba Period 3) were located in Area II (Fig. 4.4).³⁶ Most of the buildings were located in the southern part of the Area and were built on natural soil. The surviving structures are tightly clustered, and they seem to form a compound or part of a crowded larger settlement. Based on the fixtures and depositional evidence, the cluster consists of at least one general habitation unit and a series of specialised units mostly for food preparation and storage. It seems, therefore, that there is evidence for some functional differentiation among the units, and their functions are complementary rather than identical.³⁷

The concern for storage is even more intensive in this period, and it now takes place inside the buildings. There is no clear evidence, however, to indicate that the use of internal storage was adopted at the expense of communal storage practices.³⁸

Differences between ECY 1 and ECY 2 in Lemba-*Lakkous* are less dramatic than those observed at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*. However, the lack of internal divisions and the absence of hard, lime plaster floors, as well as the increase in storage facilities inside the buildings, seem to form a clear pattern of change, and constitute significant temporal markers for ECY 2 (Table 4.2).

It is very difficult to discern any settlement pattern from the remaining ECY 1-2 sites in the ARCANÉ database. *Kalavassos-Pamboules* provides no clear architectural evidence,³⁹ and at *Souskiou-Laona* (CY 015) there is just enough evidence to verify the existence of a terraced, shallowly stratified settlement with free-standing superimposed structures, as well as a variety of domestic activities taking place inside the structures and in the open.⁴⁰ The same pattern can be deduced from the evidence of *Erimi-Pamboula* (CY 002). It should be noted that Dikaios suggested a pattern of architectural developments at Erimi in which structures changed gradually from light timber constructions in the earliest, pre-ECY 1 phases, to more substantial circular units with stone foundations in the later, ECY 1 ones.⁴¹ This quite evolutionary model of growth should be accepted with caution, however, not only because the sample from Erimi is too small, but also because light structures have sometimes been recovered side by side with structures having stone foundations.⁴²

Finally, there is another site excavated in the 1930s that should be mentioned here, despite the fact that is not included in the CY-ARCANÉ database. The site of *Kythrea-Ayios Dhimitrianos*, NE of Nicosia, provides a similar pattern as that at Erimi, with free-standing, circular, superimposed structures. In addition, there are some interesting variations in the use of space. Hut II, for example, is divided by low, irregular rows of stones that abut the outer walls and create internal segments, one of which was paved.⁴³ This particular feature has been interpreted as a place for the storage of food, and is quite unique among other known monocellular structures of this kind.

4.2.2 ECY 3-ECY 5

Settlement evidence for the second half of the 3rd millennium indicates a shift to new locations and the abandonment of circular architecture, which after several millennia of use on the island gives way to rectilinear building plans. This is a period with dramatic changes in almost all aspects of life.⁴⁴ With regard to architecture there seems to be a complete alteration not only of the architectural forms, but also of all the basic concepts of what constitutes a habitation unit, from the construction material to all the spatial arrangements and social behaviour (Table 4.2).

Of the two most significant excavated sites of this period, *Marki-Alonia* and *Sotira-Kaminoudhia*, only the first provides sufficient evidence for settlement planning. Both, however, indicate that the flat dispersed sites of this period have a completely different character from those of ECY 1-2, as they lack free-standing monocellular buildings, and their standard form evolves around adjacent, sometimes, interconnected rooms organised in complexes (Figs. 4.5, 4.6).⁴⁵

³⁶ For a description of Period 3 (ECY2) see *ibid.*: 326-329.

³⁷ *Ibid.*: 326, 328.

³⁸ To the north of the complex, in a much disturbed area, there is evidence of an open space for storage vessels and flimsy or timbered structures that could be related to similar activities: *ibid.*: 328.

³⁹ Clarke 2004.

⁴⁰ Peltenburg et al. 2006.

⁴¹ Dikaios 1962; see also Dikaios 1938: 28.

⁴² As for example in the case of Hut XIIIIB: Dikaios 1938: 21; see also Wright 1992: 49.

⁴³ Gjerstad et al. 1934: 277-301.

⁴⁴ For a synoptic review of all the different changes (agriculture, architecture, cooking, ceramics, metallurgy, textile production, discard behaviour and burial practice) see Webb 2002b: 18-19; Webb & Frankel 1999; Frankel et al. 1996.

⁴⁵ Webb 2002b; Swiny et al. 2003.

Table 4.2: Main characteristics and diachronic changes in settlement planning and architecture from ECY 1 through ECY 5. Non-benchmark evidence is included; initials in parenthesis refer to specific sites.

	Type of site	Open areas: features and activities	Type of structures	Spatial arrangement	Construction techniques	Type of fixtures
ECY 1	Flat sites Intra-settlement burials	Public works: paved track, ditch, enclosed walls? Public cult area Ovens Stone settings / storage Burials	Circular Single-roomed with internal divisions Rectilinear	Free-standing	Walls: stone walls bounded with pise, mud wall on stone footing (limestone, calcarenite stone) Floors: beaten earth, mud, lime plaster	Rectilinear platform hearths (central) (KM), Circular platform hearths (central) (LL), Benches / Platforms Basins
ECY 2	Flat sites Intra-settlement burials	Irregular pits / storage Burials	Circular Single-roomed	Free-standing, Adjacent	Walls: stone walls bounded with pise, mud wall on stone footing, (rubble stones) Floors: beaten earth, mud	Circular platform hearth (central), Bench / Platform Basins / Bin Stone setting
ECY 3	Flat sites [Intra-settlement pot burials for children]	Pathways Communal courtyards Storage facilities Working activities (chipped stone, bone, antler, shell and hide) Large ovens	Rectilinear Multi-roomed	Compounds in agglutinative style	Walls: mould made mudbrick with stone footing Floor: hard packed clay	Hearths (with fenders or kerbs, rectangular firebox and set by side walls) Benches Bins / Pebblecrete emplacements
ECY 4	Flat sites	Pathways Enclosed courtyards	Rectilinear Multi-roomed	Compounds in agglutinative style	Walls: mould made mudbrick with stone footing, rubble walls Floor: hard packed clay	Hearths (with fenders or kerbs, rectangular firebox and set by side walls) Benches Bins / Pebblecrete emplacements
ECY 5	Flat sites	Pathways, narrow streets Enclosed courtyards	Rectilinear Multi-cellular	Compounds in agglutinative style	Walls: mould made mudbrick with stone footing, rubble walls Floor: hard packed clay (MA), (occasionally) lime plaster (SK)	Hearths (with fenders or kerbs, rectangular firebox and set by side walls) (MA) Rectangular double/single hearths (SK) / ovens Benches Circular plaster bins (SK), Pebblecrete emplacements (MA)



Fig. 4.5: General plan of excavated area at Marki-Alonia. Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: plan J.

Marki-Alonia (CY009, Central Lowlands) is so far the most significant site for the second half of the 3rd millennium, not only because it represents one of the very few excavated settlements of this period, but also because it provides a stratified sequence of deposits which date from the very beginning of the EBA (Philia culture, c. 2400 BC) to the early phases of the MBA (c. 1800 BC).⁴⁶

The fact that the site was excavated in the 1990s has been crucial for the information recovered, since the project had a clear policy of exposing as much of the settlement as possible and it placed great emphasis on the microscale analysis of events, providing a unique body of evidence for the understanding of the dynamic growth of the settlement. Indeed, Marki is one of the few sites where one can clearly comprehend the way each individual domestic unit developed and changed through time and how its development has affected the entire site. The settlement grew over a period of 500 years from a small community of a few households to a larger one with well defined streets and a maximum of 400 inhabitants.⁴⁷ The population increased up until the beginning of the 2nd millennium and soon after that it declined in size and the site was eventually abandoned.⁴⁸

The evidence indicates a completely new spatial arrangement from that witnessed in the first half of the millennium, as well as greater standardisation in the use of land and the configuration of house plans (Fig. 4.5). “Houses” were built on a regular, rectilinear plot of land with fixed dimensions, in some cases unchanged for several generations. They consisted of a courtyard and a series of interconnected rooms built of mudbrick on stone foundations.⁴⁹ In the early phases the courtyard was the centre of domestic activities of these habitation units (referred to as compounds), and the settlement had a rather communal character. Later, at the end of the 3rd millennium and until the settlement was abandoned, courtyards were gradually enclosed with walls, and access to each compound was restricted and controlled through lanes and passageways.⁵⁰ Overall, the compounds formed a multicellular agglutinative system, furnished with plaster wall benches, hearths, clay ovens, central posts and built pot emplacements (pebblecrete emplacements).

⁴⁶ Frankel & Webb 2006a; 2006b.

⁴⁷ Frankel & Webb 2006b: 287; see also Frankel & Webb 2006a: 305-319.

⁴⁸ Frankel & Webb 2006b: 290.

⁴⁹ Frankel & Webb 2006a: 311.

⁵⁰ Frankel & Webb 2006b: 289.



Fig. 4.6: Plan of Area A at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. Source: Swiny et al. 2003: fig. 2.16.

With regard to temporal markers, there seems to be no significant differentiation in the construction techniques, spatial arrangements and fixtures from ECY 3-ECY 4. It should be remembered, however, that Marki-Alonia is the only site that has provided sufficient architectural remains for ECY 3-ECY 4. On the basis of its evidence, the new tradition established in ECY 3 differed from the evidence known so far from the Chalcolithic period (ECY 1-ECY 2) in every possible way: site and house type, construction of walls and floors, arrangement and shape of hearths, storage and work facilities (see Table 4.2). These changes have mostly to do with the spatial arrangement and the development of individual households, and the increasing use of enclosed courtyards, all of which are significant indicators of the social transformations and the rise of property rights which often result from an increase in population and the dynamics of a developing community.

The excavators of Marki-Alonia recovered a total of 33 discrete architectural households on the site, and identified in the sequence of events (based on stratigraphic, architectural and ceramic grounds) a series of nine phases (from A to I).⁵¹ The 3rd millennium inventories chosen for the ARCANE database are representative of the growth of the site. They belong to Phases A to F and provide important insights into the way compounds developed.

The settlement of Sotira-Kaminoudhia (CY0014) in the Southern chalk plateau indicates the same pattern as that of Marki-Alonia, with rectilinear architecture forming units of adjacent rooms (Fig. 4.6). Excavation at this site, conducted in three areas (A, B and C), has revealed clusters of structures separated by open areas and passageways.

The settlement seems to have had a short MChal phase (evident mainly from pottery), and the main occupation was founded on natural soil. The latter dates to the late Early Cypriot period (ECY 5). Evidence of fire in all three excavated areas indicates that much of the settlement must have had a catastrophic end, which is also related to earthquake damage.⁵²

Area A, at the northern edge of the settlement, contains the most extensive and complex architectural remains. This is the only one of the three areas that yielded evidence for a longer occupation, with two phases of building activity. In the second phase spaces are subdivided and there is a noticeable addition of benches.⁵³ Area B is limited in size but has provided well preserved deposits of units with multi-functional use. A coherent building complex has also been recovered from Area C. Area C has also furnished important evidence for activities in open spaces. One area that most probably could be identified as a courtyard (Unit 2) was entered via an antechamber and seems to have contained specialised or atypical “cult” activities involving the consumption of large amounts of food and liquid.⁵⁴

Apart from the general plan with rectilinear structures in an agglutinative style, which seems to constitute a clear marker of the EBA on the island, Sotira-Kaminoudhia presents its own “repertoire” of fixtures and spatial arrangements that are quite dissimilar from Marki-Alonia. Here we have a clear case in which spatial arrangements and fixtures treated as information for temporal markers should be treated with caution, since the evidence is so patchy.

⁵¹ Ibid.: 289-290.

⁵² Swiny et al. 2003: 53-54.

⁵³ Ibid.: 10.

⁵⁴ See description in *ibid.*: 39-42, 54. This unit is not included in ARCANE database.

4.3. Architecture

Despite the uneven distribution of evidence for architectural remains, the degree of preservation and the intensive research of the last three decades on the island have made it possible to include in the ARCANE database examples of all the different types of architecture belonging to the 3rd millennium. This evidence provides the full spectrum of the architectural typology available for the island during this period. The issue of representativeness, however, remains. The patterns revealed can only be regarded as small instances in the history of settlements, the full nature of which we still fail to comprehend.

The lack of large urban functional categories, such as fortifications, palaces and temples, and the difficulty in distinguishing between public and private space in the absence of those large functional institutionalised urban categories, constitutes one of the main obstacles in the study of 3rd millennium architecture. Any attempt to differentiate the function of buildings when changes are so inconspicuous, therefore, should be made with great caution, since significant patterns might be hidden behind quite subtle differences.

The patterns that the following discussion attempts to delineate, therefore, are based on very small details and differences between the different types of architecture. In a way, this survey places the discussion concerning cultural and social changes in the 3rd millennium on an entirely different footing from that currently being undertaken for other regions of the Near East. The sample of benchmarked structural units referred to in this survey, while limited in number, covers all five periods (ECY 1-ECY 5) of the 3rd millennium and provides good evidence for the main characteristics of the architecture for each period.

4.3.1 ECY 1

Benchmark evidence for ECY 1 comes from *Kissonerga-Mosphilia*, *Lemba-Lakkous*, *Souskiou-Laona* and *Erimi-Pamboula*. Architecture for this period presents the largest variability in the types of structures observed throughout the whole of the 3rd millennium, and although several characteristics seem to continue from earlier phases, the differentiation which is identified in certain cases suggests significant social transformations.

At *Kissonerga-Mosphilia*, the site with the longest architectural tradition of all sites of the 3rd millennium, there seems to be a standard house type which persisted with variations for some 1000 years.⁵⁵ The specific type is mostly characterised by the regular presence of certain internal arrangements and fixtures that divide the interior space into four discrete zones: a living/sleeping area to the right of the entrance, a cooking/storage area opposite the entrance, a tool storage and working area to the left of the entrance, and a central hearth area in the centre of the circular floor.⁵⁶ Intra-assemblage variation seems to corroborate and refine the above conclusions with the recovery of associated finds for each activity. This model of the “standard Chalcolithic house” in *Kissonerga* is very useful, not only for the possible cultural correlations that certain persistent behavioural patterns might reflect, but also because it can bring up and clarify the significance of other morphological differences in the architectural remains. Internal segmentation, for example, in the form of a floor ridge or partition walls, is a structural feature that does not continue in ECY 2 (*Kissonerga* Period 4), and yet according to the above analysis its absence does not seem to influence the main operations in the “standard Chalcolithic house”.⁵⁷

With regard to morphological and structural characteristics in the ECY 1 architectural remains there is also evidence that indicates continuity with previous times. The two types of structures used in this period were both known already in the mid-4th millennium (*Kissonerga* Period 3A). These were the ridge buildings, which constitute a variation of the simple circular form, with formalised internal segmentations and hard plastered floors,⁵⁸ and rectilinear buildings. Several of these have been found cleared out, so it is hard to identify their function.

The ridge building, which was the dominant type of the period, developed further into two other forms: a simple one with limestone wall foundations and a second one in which the wall bases were made of calcarenite stones. In the ARCANE database there is one example for each one of the two types: B 855 and B 206, respectively.

Building 855 (CY004_U003) had a hard-packed earthen floor, limestone wall bases, an elaborate central rectangular hearth, radial ridges, and significant quantities of ash and silicates implying remnants of shelving (Fig. 4.7). Among its other features was a basin with associated querns and mortar indicative of food preparation. Its large *in situ* artefact assemblage (with a minimum of 18 vessels of different utilitarian shapes preserved *in situ* and other objects arranged in clusters) indicate a general multi-functional habitation unit. Its estimated size covering, c. 63.6m², is typical of other structures of the period.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 239.

⁵⁶ The analysis covers a sample of 14 buildings from three periods on the site: Period 3A to Period 4 (end of 4th to mid-3rd millennium). See *ibid.*: 237-240.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: Table 14.6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 242.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 33-34, see also 247.

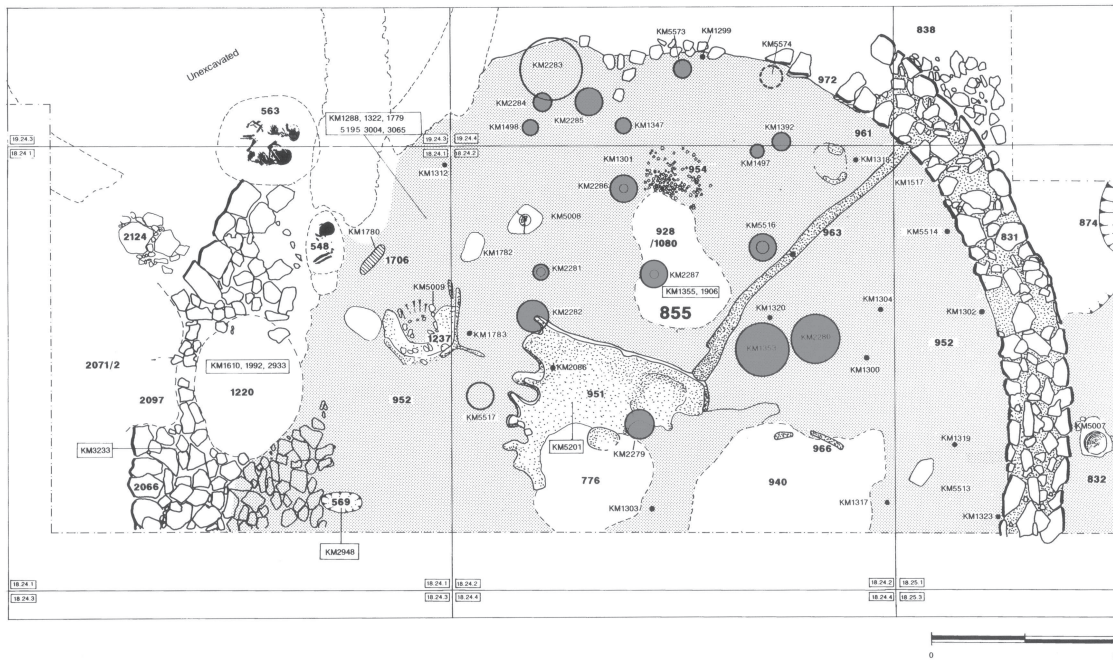


Fig. 4.7: Plan of Building 855 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Adapted from Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 35.

Building 206 (CY004_U002), which represents a more elaborate version of the ridge type structures, has an estimated size of c. 132.7m² and is the largest Chalcolithic building at Kissonerga, if not in Cyprus (Fig. 4.8). Its architectural quality is exceptional. It had a thick red and, later, a white lime plaster flooring surrounded by a circular, reverted and buttressed wall made of calcarenite stones. It was complemented by internal radial walls forming at least two rooms. Only one survives relatively intact: room 970, with a total area of 40.5m². The vessel inventory of B 206 is dominated by large serving bowls of a homogenous style, well beyond the requirements of a nuclear family household.⁶⁰

B 206 is part of a sequence of important buildings in the same location and it probably indicates a household with a long and significant history in the community. It was founded over an earlier building with an equally exceptional plaster floor and superimposed by the Pithos House (see below) and an elaborate tomb.⁶¹

If not exclusively public in use, B 206 certainly stands out from its surroundings even though it was part of a complex of calcarenite buildings which were built during this period in the high sector at Kissonerga. Emphasising the special character of these buildings is the fact that they have been built around an open space with special, ritual characteristics. This area, usually referred to as the Ceremonial Area, is the most extensively preserved extramural area at Kissonerga. It furnishes evidence for several purposeful acts that appear to be ritual in nature. Its most significant features is pit 1015 (CY004_U001), which, although it did not provide evidence of *in situ* burning, was “packed with several hundred cobble sized limestones and sandstones as well as fragments of stone tools and potsherds most of which were cracked and blackened, in a soil matrix of brown to black ashy silt with charcoal flecks and fragments”.⁶²

Pit 1015 contained a deposit of some 50 remarkable objects, the most significant of which is a vessel, KM 1446, in the form of a building model with floor ridges, a rectangular hearth and a red floor (Fig. 4.9). The vessel was packed with a collection of artefacts which were arranged in an apparently random fashion. They include fragments of stone and pottery figurines (Pl. 7.1: 2, 3, 5, 10, 12) a triton shell, stone tools and a needle. At the top of this assemblage lay another intact vessel, KM 1444, which projected above the top of the pit fill and into the overlying floor of B 994. The deposition of the whole assemblage seemed to have taken place simultaneously and is dated to early within Kissonerga 3B (ECY 1).⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 244-248, 32-33.

⁶¹ Tomb 526, *ibid.*: pl. 22.1, 2, figs. 34, 54.

⁶² Peltenburg et al. 1991: 5, see also Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 244-248.

⁶³ Peltenburg et al. 1991: 1, 5-6.



Fig. 4.8: Plan of Building 206 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Adapted from Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 34.

The remainder of the open central space was cut by 11 pits which can perhaps be interpreted as evidence for the consumption of considerable quantities of food by the attendants of the caching ceremony. The fact that heat-cracked stones and ash were consistent features of all the pits, however, suggests alternative interpretations, such as processes related to brewing, sweating or even the use of hallucinogenic drugs.⁶⁴

At Lemba-Lakkous, the second most significant site of this period, houses present a similar arrangement, with evidence of internal segmentations. ECY 1 information included in the ARCANE database comes from two structures: B 1.1 (CY008_U001) and B 10.2 (CY008_U002), one from each of the two excavated areas on the site (Area I and II).

Building 1 is the only building recovered at the edge of the Upper Terrace in Area I (Fig. 4.10).⁶⁵ Only one part of the building has survived erosion, and what is revealed has been estimated to belong to a circular structure of c. 28.3m². The floor of B 1 is cut radially by a pebble-lined groove (1.75m long) which divides the space into a northern segment lined by an earth floor, and a southern one covered with a plaster floor. Both segments were littered with objects. In the N there was a fixed mortar, three pestles and several other ground stone tools and flint cores;

⁶⁴ Ibid.: 8-11.

⁶⁵ Peltenburg 1985a: 35-36.

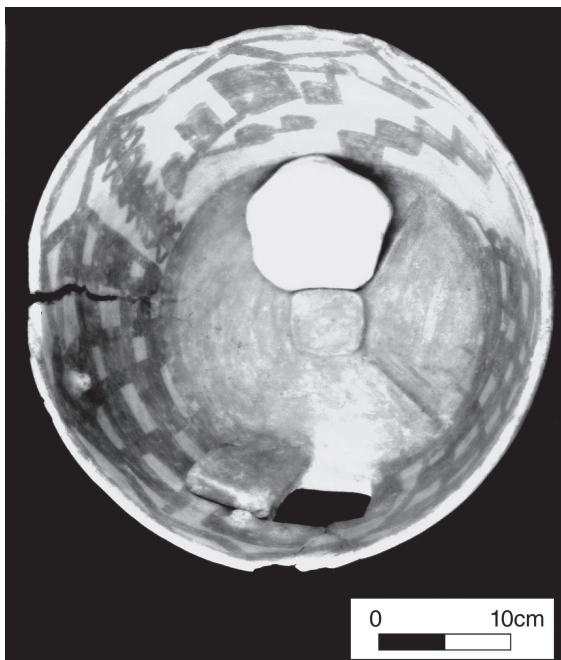


Fig. 4.9: Interior of building model from ceremonial deposit, pit 1015, at Kissonerga-Mosphilia.
Source: Peltenburg et al. 1991: pl.1.5.



Fig. 4.10: Plan of Building 1.1 at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig. 11.

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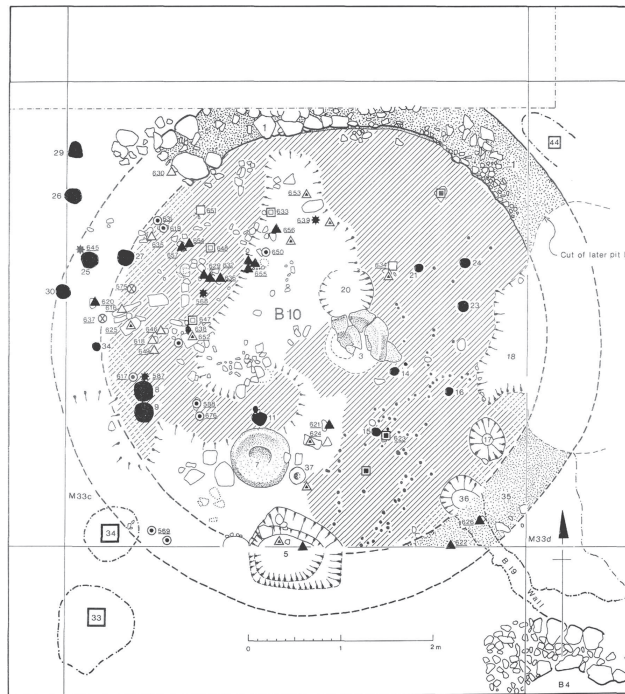


Fig. 4.11: Plan of Building 10.2 at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig. 27.

in the S there were storage jars, a flask, a bowl, and in the centre a cache of axes. Along the partition and over the fill of the groove was an outsized figurine (Ht. 0.36m) found *in situ* lying on its back (Pl. 7.1:1).⁶⁶

The second building (B 10.2) is situated in the NW of Area II, and only the northern arc of its curvilinear wall and a well defined extent of its plaster flooring is preserved (Fig. 4.11). It has an estimated size of c. 6m diameter and internal area of c. 22 m².⁶⁷ The recovered space was divided into two segments that were differentiated primarily by the quality of the floor. In the eastern half was a thin coat of plaster which remained largely intact, and in the western half the area was more poorly defined and without plaster. Postholes and a concentration of stake holes in the eastern half are the major structural elements recovered from the building, which was furnished with two circular platform hearths, one at the centre and one to the SW. The distribution of recovered artefacts highlights even more the differential use of space between E and W. Artefacts are almost entirely lacking in the E, but they are so dense in the W that they give the impression of a tool dump, comprising mostly an assemblage of small sized and fragmented objects, and reflecting most probably the “disused tool kit of its occupants”.⁶⁸

While the fragmentary nature of the two buildings makes it hard to assess their precise function, it is clear that space in both cases was very carefully defined, and judging from the assemblage recovered, the two buildings fulfilled very different roles.⁶⁹

Evidence from the remainder of the ECY 2 sites included in the ARCANE database is equally fragmentary, but architectural remains provide similar characteristics that verify the same architectural tradition. At Souskiou-Laona, for example, evidence from two structures (B 69, B 34) indicates curvilinear architecture with roughly faced limestone walls with a looser rubble interior fill of smaller stones and mud, floors made of plaster, and circular central hearths (Figs. 4.12, 4.13).⁷⁰ The depositional pattern from B 69, which is the best preserved of the two structures, comprises a concentration of over 100 stone tools, most of them arranged around the base of the wall.⁷¹ Given the fact that there is no significant abandonment deposit under the wall collapse, this large quantity of tools must be suggestive of a workshop rather than just a domestic house, according to the excavator. It also confirms the special character of the settlement at Souskiou. While there seem to be different activity zones within this

⁶⁶ CY008_O046, *ibid.*: 324.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 109-110.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*: 110.

⁶⁹ “B10 lacks the many vessels found in B1, but contains a remarkable quantity of worn but serviceable stone tools”: Peltenburg 1985a: 326.

⁷⁰ Peltenburg et al. 2006: 94-95, 97-98; units CY015_U011, CY015_U010 in ARCANE database.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 95.

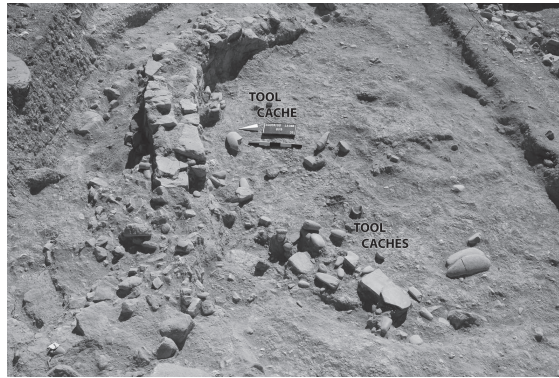


Fig. 4.12: View of Building 69 at Souskiou-*Laona*. 50cm scale. Source: Souskiou-*Laona* project.

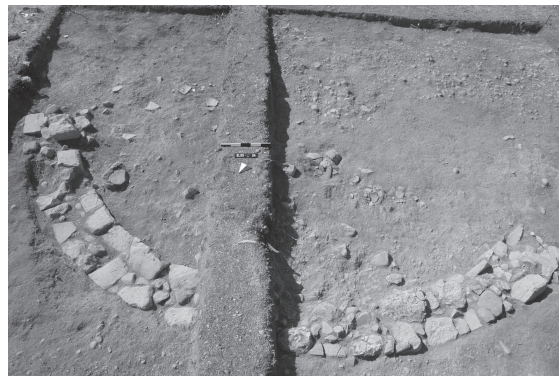


Fig. 4.13: View of Building 34 at Souskiou-*Laona*. 50cm scale. Source: Souskiou-*Laona* project.

structure, there are no subdivisions or differential flooring to define segments.⁷² Building 34 has been attributed to a transitional phase (ECY 1/2), but it seems to conform largely to the standard circular type, and the few findings it contained, including a mortar, indicate its use as a general habitation unit.⁷³

Finally, the evidence from *Erimi-Pambola* indicates a similar pattern, with circular, monocellular structures, stone foundations and rubble walls lacking internal partitions (Figs. 4.14, 4.15).⁷⁴ The size of the structures does not vary significantly, and their diameter is estimated at 6m. Fine, hard lime floors, in some cases 5-8cm thick (Hut XII) or mixed with gravel (XIIIC), are the characteristic features of these structures. Despite the fact that there is some variability in the distribution of features, it is not possible to make comparisons and assess the functional differentiation of the structures. For example, Hut IXA had two hearths and a paved area as well as the largest inventory of artefacts, and Hut XIII A had a platform and a circular area paved with stones where a limestone bowl and a pestle were found *in situ*. The distribution of finds indicates the existence of regular domestic activities in all excavated structures.

4.3.2 ECY 2

Evidence from ECY 2 comes mostly from *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* and *Lemba-Lakkous*. Together they indicate a restriction in types and sophistication of structures. The only building type that seems to prevail is that of monocellular structures; there are no ridge type structures or rectilinear ones. The evidence from *Kissonerga-Mosphilia*, which provides the largest sample, indicates that there is a decline in building proficiency at this time. There are several architectural features known from the previous period which now disappear: rectilinear structures, cement-hard floors, floor ridges, partition walls, rectilinear hearths and calcarenite stones as construction material. Mud replaces lime wall plaster, and the circular platform hearth, which was common in the 4th millennium (Period 3A), reappears. Furthermore, while it is evident that interiors retain similar, spatially-defined roles,

⁷² *Ibid.*: 95.

⁷³ *Ibid.*: 97-98.

⁷⁴ Dikaios 1938: Building XIIIC (CY002_U005), Building XIIIB (CY002_U004), Building XIII A (CY002_U003), Building XII (CY002_U002), Building IXA (CY002_U001).

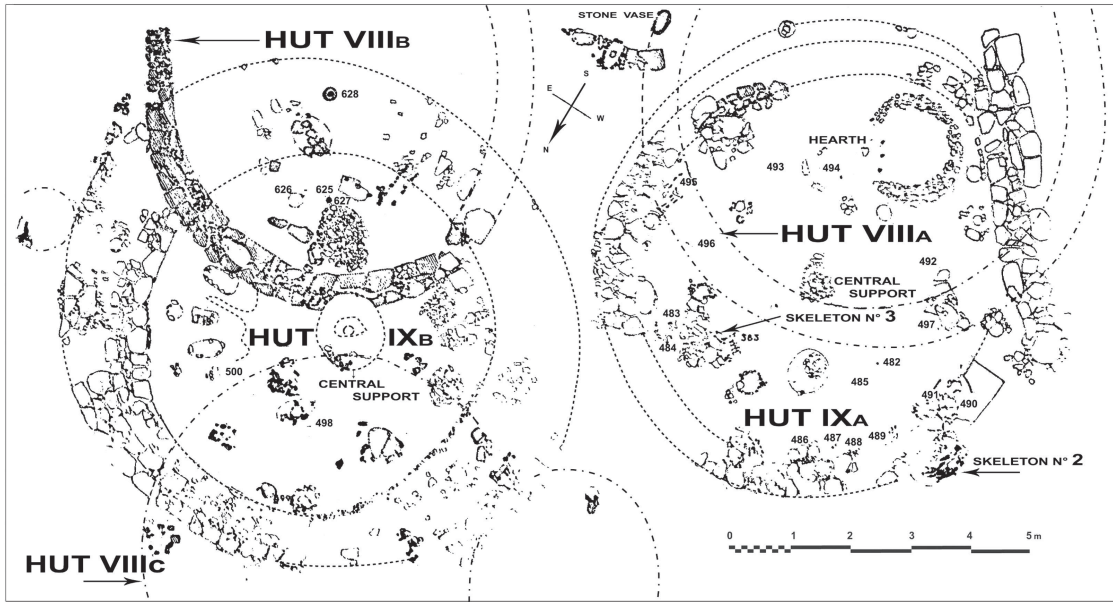


Fig. 4.14: Plan of Hut IXA at Erimi. Source: Dikaios 1938: pl. IV.2.

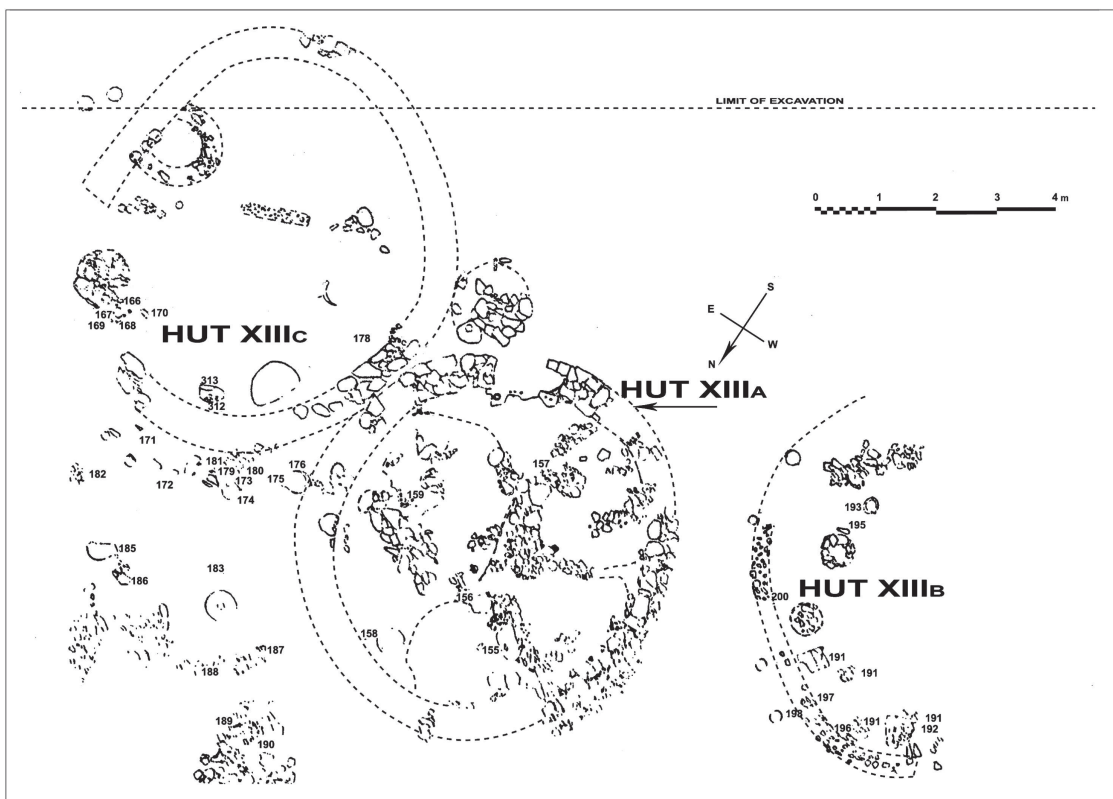


Fig. 4.15: Plan of Hut XIIIa at Erimi. Source: Dikaios 1938: pl. V.2.

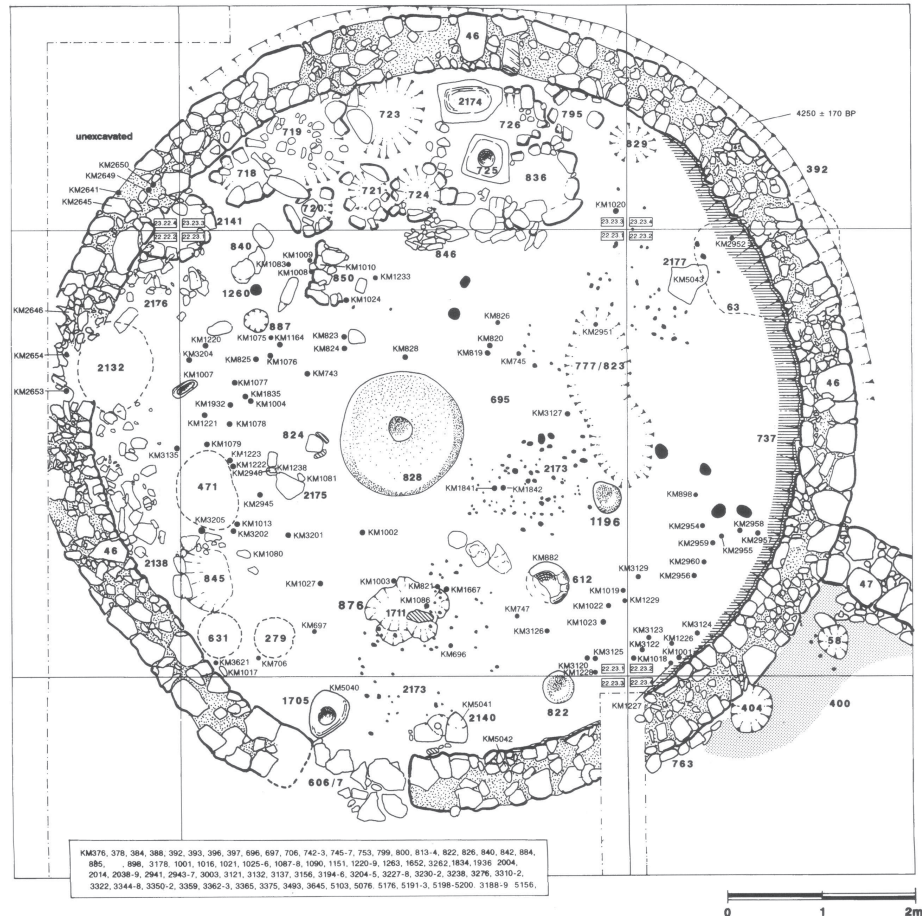


Fig. 4.16: Plan of Building 3 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Source: Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 41.

internal dividers for partitioning interior space are absent, and food production, storage and eating, as well as sleeping and reception, appear to have taken place in much less formally segregated settings. A new feature of this period consists of roughly built stone settings which were used to support large pots. They must have served the need for increased internal storage (see Table 4.2).⁷⁵

At Kissonerga-Mosphilia a succession of structures (B 834, B 86, B 706, B 3-Pithos House), which are located in the NW part of the Main Area, provide the best information. Building 3, which belongs to the earliest part of ECY 2 (Period 4a), covers c. 48.4m² and is the largest in this period (Fig. 4.16). It is known as the Pithos House because it contained more than 37 storage vessels which occupied a large proportion of the floor area. Their number is far in excess of the needs of a normal domestic unit and is quite atypical for Kissonerga or other prehistoric sites of Cyprus.⁷⁶ The building was exceptional for several other reasons: it was destroyed by a fire which left a uniquely rich, c. 50cm deep mixed destruction and occupation deposit; and it contained, amongst other things, a baby trapped in the conflagration, possible evidence for an olive oil press, and an inventory of some 280 registered objects from *in situ* contexts alone. Among the objects associated with the building were imported luxuries like faience beads, the earliest evidence for copper-working in Cyprus, and a stamp seal, possibly an administrative device.⁷⁷ Given the fact that there is no weaponry or any other obvious sign of institutionalised power in this period, and in the absence of a larger sample, B 3 should be regarded as a residence whose occupants possessed impressive wealth and control over productive labour.

The remainder of the Kissonerga-Mosphilia benchmark evidence comes from B 834, which like B 3 belongs to Period 4a, and two other structures (B 706 and B 86) that overlie B 3. The architectural remains verify the model of free-standing circular structures with a variety of typical features: hearths, ovens and basins. Exceptional

⁷⁵ Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 251.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 37-43.

⁷⁷ Specifically for the foreign contacts (spindle whorls, shell rings, copper spiral ring, ceramic types, stamp seals) see discussion in *ibid.*: 252, 255-258.

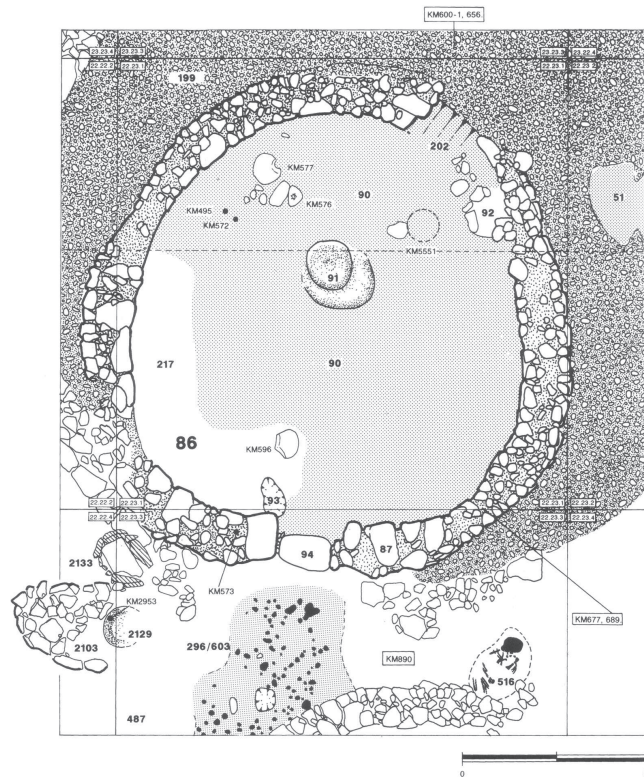


Fig. 4.17: Plan of Building 86 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Source: Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 44.

in terms of construction is B 86, which has been characterised as the “stone house” because, uniquely for Kissonerga, its stone wall had a height of 1.65-1.80m (Fig. 4.17).⁷⁸ B 706 comprises a build-up of domestic activities unaccompanied by definite structural remains which antedates the construction of B 86, while B 834 is a free-standing structure further to the S (Fig. 4.18). The latter has provided a quite unique feature in front of its plastered entrance, a 4m spacious paved and covered porch, with timbered sides.⁷⁹

At Lemba-Lakkous there is no evidence for ridge structures during ECY 2, and the four units included in the ARCAN database (B 7.2-3, B 3.1a, B 3.1, B 2.2) provide a sound record for the diversity of features and functions that are evident among the structures of the period. Here, for the first time, there are examples of attached structures and some complementarity in the function of the buildings. The four units from Lemba belong to three buildings (B 2, B 3, B 7) in the southern part of Area II.

Building 2.2, situated in the SW corner of Area II, is the largest circular structure recovered at Lemba, with an estimated internal space of c. 40.7m² (Fig. 4.19).⁸⁰ The building had a quite lengthy duration, judging from the number of refurbished features. It must have been destroyed suddenly and abandoned intact, as is evident from the large amount of ash and *in situ* crushed pottery vessels. Despite the fact that there were no built partitions, its floor can be divided into three segments: an eastern segment, which consisted of compacted reddish-brown soil with pebbles and ash, and was free of fixtures; a segment to the NW which presented evidence for prolonged use of storage (vessels, stone tools); and a segment to the SW which consisted of a distinctive burnt deposit some 0.25m thick and was littered with used cutting tools.

Building 3 was added to B 2 since it was found abutting that building’s NE wall. Its interior showed clear signs of a two phase occupation, hence the two units in ARCAN database, B 3.1a and B3.1 (Fig. 4.20).⁸¹ The building is slightly oval in plan (6.20-5.60m), and it is the only example at Lemba of a structure which was not entirely free-standing. The internal floor space measures c. 27.4m². The most significant feature in the first layer is probably the concentration of nine pits situated against the wall in the northern half of the building and containing fragments of *in situ* store jars. In addition to these storage facilities there was a cylindrical shaft, most probably a dump, and an enigmatic feature of some 193 stake holes located between the entrance and the area around the

⁷⁸ Ibid.: 43-44.

⁷⁹ Ibid.: 49-50.

⁸⁰ Peltenburg 1985a: 118-120.

⁸¹ Ibid.: 118-120.

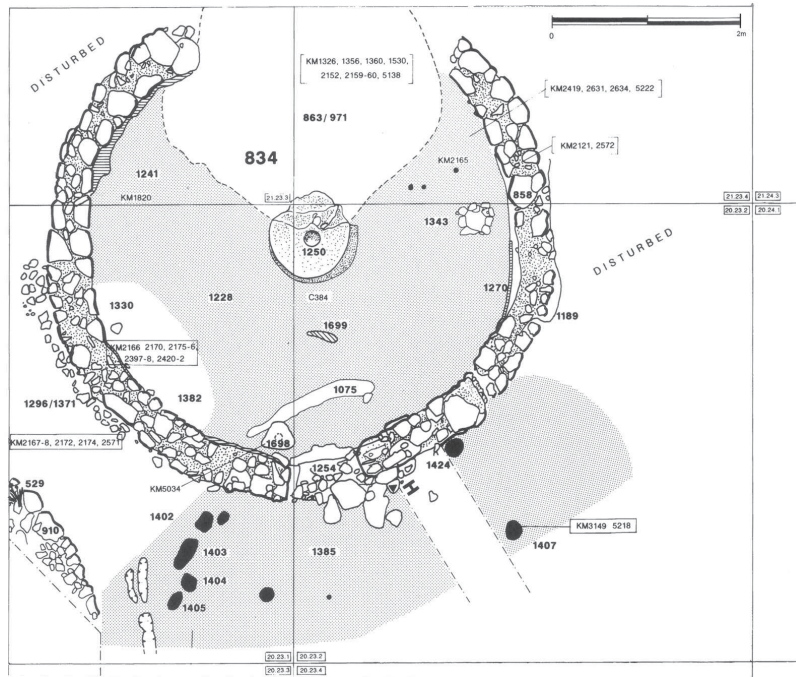


Fig. 4.18: Plan of Building 834 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Source: Peltenburg et al. 1998a: fig. 48.

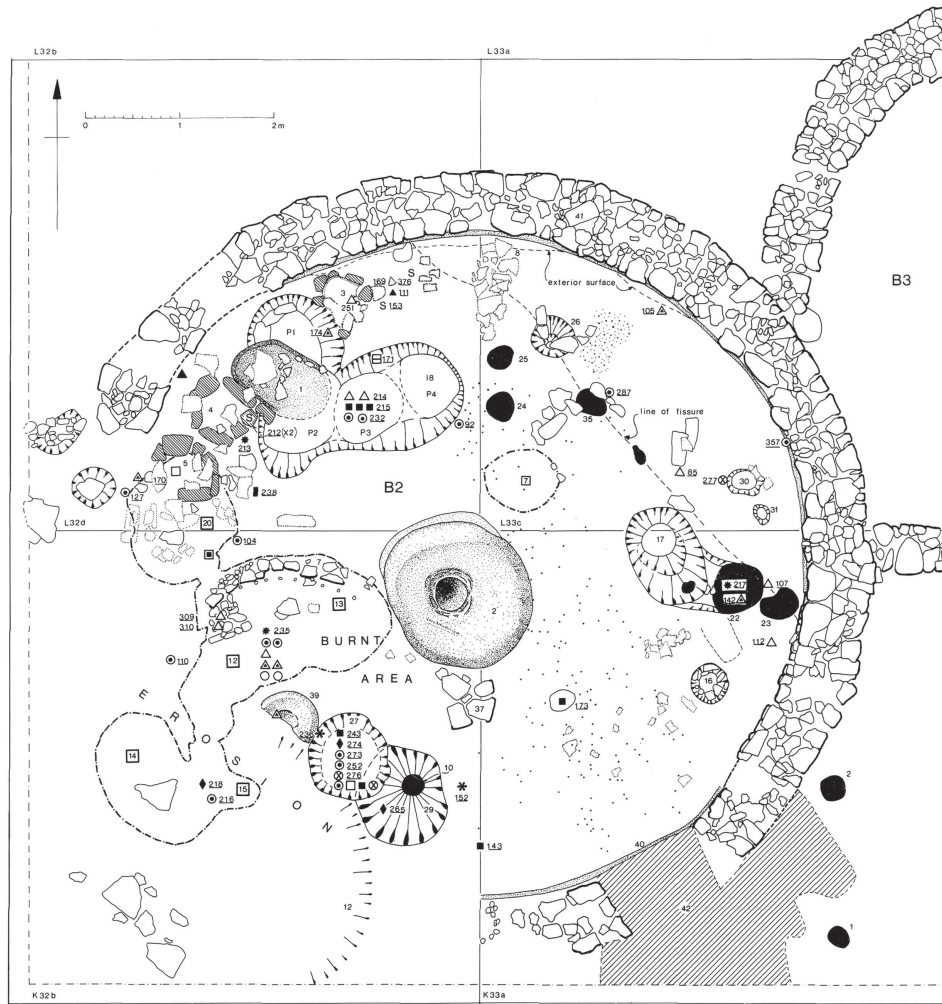


Fig. 4.19: Plan of Building 2.2 at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig. 23.

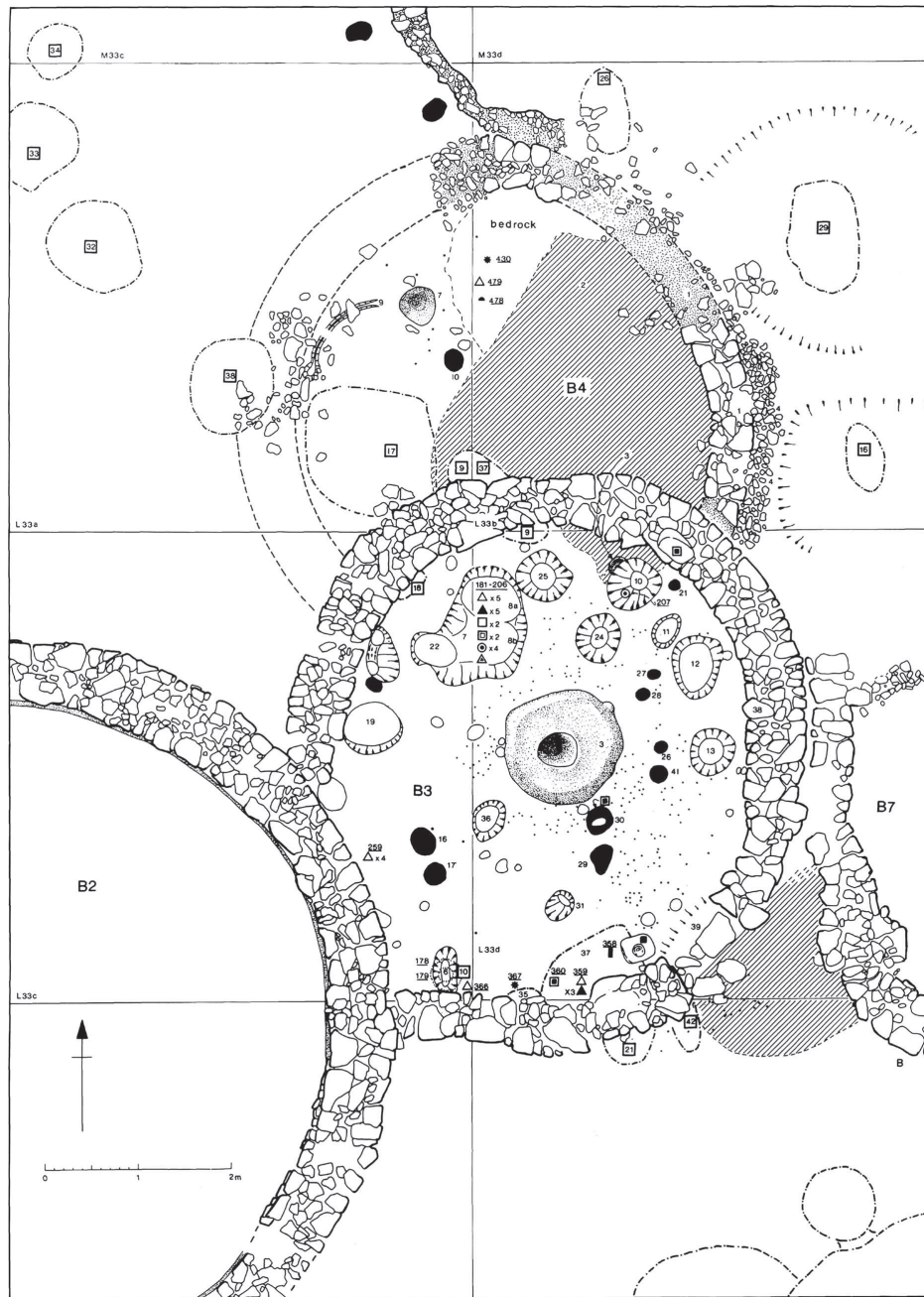


Fig. 4.20: Plan of Building 3.1 at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig. 24.

central hearth.⁸² In the second layer, despite indications for a more poorly organised interior (it is not certain that the structure was even roofed), storage facilities persisted, and apart from the superimposition of a new hearth over the old one, there is also a second hearth.⁸³

Finally, Building 7 (B 7.3-7.1) is a small building of an irregular oval shape (3 x 4m) to the east of B 3 (Fig. 4.21). Its interior is estimated at c. 9.6m². Building 7 had at least three phases of occupation, the best preserved of which was the one at the very bottom (Layer 3).⁸⁴ The features in this building covered most of its floor, leaving no room for living space (general habitation, sleeping), and they indicate intensive and quite specialised domestic activities. The building had “a dished plastered floor in the centre, benches (?) in the SW and NW, and an arc of a unique complex of plastered basins and mortar” at its northern edge.

⁸² Ibid.: 119-120.

⁸³ Ibid.: 120-121.

⁸⁴ Ibid.: 121-123.



Fig. 4.21: Plan of Building 7.3-2 at Lemba-Lakkous. Source: Peltenburg 1985a: fig. 26.

4.3.3 ECY 3

Architecture of the ECY 3 period, which belongs to the transitional Philia culture phase representing the passage from Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus, has been uncovered only in the settlement of Marki-Alonia. Our information is therefore limited, but there is enough to confirm that at least in this area, spatial organisation and the accompanying behavioural and socio-cultural patterns were very different from those of the preceding Chalcolithic period. The scarcity of evidence from this period at Marki has partly to do with the fact that the area revealed by the excavation lay at the very edge of the settlement. But it must be also the result of a newly established settlement in which residents were still experimenting and trying to adjust to the new location. A more crystallised form of habitation units only becomes evident in the succeeding phases (ECY 4-ECY 5) towards the end of the 3rd millennium.

Of the three ECY 3 units included in ARCANÉ, only one provides evidence of *in situ* floor material.⁸⁵ The remainder come from dumping⁸⁶ or undetermined areas.⁸⁷ In these earliest episodes of habitation at Marki (Phases A and B), the focal point of activities seems to be outdoors. Despite the existence of small rectilinear structures with stone foundations and mudbrick walls, courtyards seem to dominate habitation space in both phases.⁸⁸ The evidence from these courtyards indicates that they were defined by light fences or were informally demarcated by such installations as animal pens and outhouses, and were cluttered with facilities and small structures. These features suggest that activities took place in common work spaces and that their products were probably consumed beyond the scale of the individual family.⁸⁹ The concentration of activities in courtyards, along with the presence of rectilinear architecture constructed in a specific way (see Table 4.2), provides the most significant chronological markers for the period in architectural terms. Evidence for specific fixtures is very patchy (pits, bins, benches,

⁸⁵ CY009_U004, Phase B1 [CXXI-8, compound 1], see Frankel & Webb 2006a: 83-84, pl. 18a, 36e.

⁸⁶ CY009_U002, Phase A [CI-10, CIII-13, CIV-8, XCVII-12] see *ibid.*: 75; 37-38, fig. 3.41.

⁸⁷ CY009_U003, Phase B [LXV-8 [pit or silo] *ibid.*: 52, fig. 3.8.

⁸⁸ Frankel & Webb 2006b: 289.

⁸⁹ Evidence of activities includes chipped stone, bone, antler, shell and hide working, as well as the use of large ovens and various kinds of storing facilities (in the form of rooms, clay-lined pits, or pithoi): Frankel & Webb 2006a: 313.

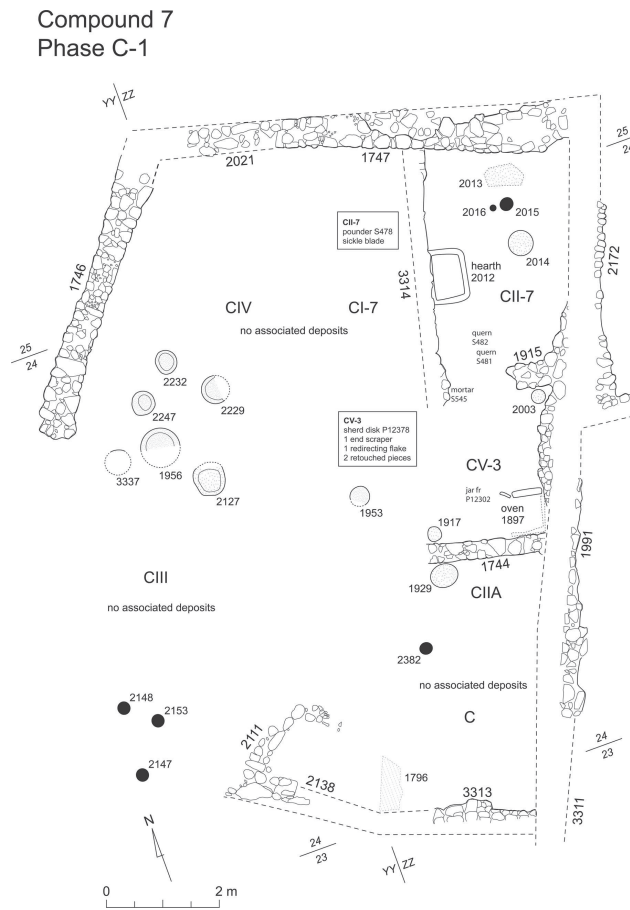


Fig. 4.22: Plan of Marki-*Alonia* Phase C1, compound 7, CII-7, CV-3. Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: fig. 3.58.

hearth) and characteristic of the types used throughout the history of the site.⁹⁰ As in the case of the architectural remains, the value of these features as chronological markers is significant insofar as they differ from all preceding evidence, but they cannot be used as a “type fossils” for the ECY 3 period throughout the island, at least not until additional settlements of the period are revealed.

4.3.4 ECY 4

The ECY 4 period is attested only by Phases C and D at Marki-*Alonia*. Having established itself in the region in ECY 3, the community there grew and changed constantly, and as it did, so did its built environment. ECY 4 evidence provides a large body of comparative data which permits the reconstruction of all the dynamic processes that characterise the development of the settlement. Changes in the architecture even occur within the period, between Phases C and D, while some of the compounds that were founded at this time continued to grow for several centuries until the final abandonment of the settlement.⁹¹ During Phase C substantial stone walls were built to enclose compound courtyards on three sides, with fairly wide entrances from surrounding open spaces. Ovens which were built in the courtyard during the earliest phases now appear in the interior rooms. At the end of the period, in Phase D, activities in the courtyards were even more restricted, and they contained no animal pens or informal work stations.

The sample in the ARCAN database comprises two units from each of the sub-phases, all belonging to living floors and all having *in situ* floor material (Figs. 4.22, 4.23).⁹² Units CY009_U005 and CY009_U007 belong to the same compound 7 and they provide evidence for the way a household was transformed during the

⁹⁰ See Frankel & Webb 2006b: 290-291.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 313, see also 38-39.

⁹² CY009_U005, Phase C1 [compound 7, CII-7, CV-3], CY009_U006, Phase C1 [compound 9, CXX-10], CY009_U007, Phase D1 [compound 7, CII-5, CV-1, C-3, CIIA-1], CY009_U008, Phase D1 [compound 6, XCIX-6].

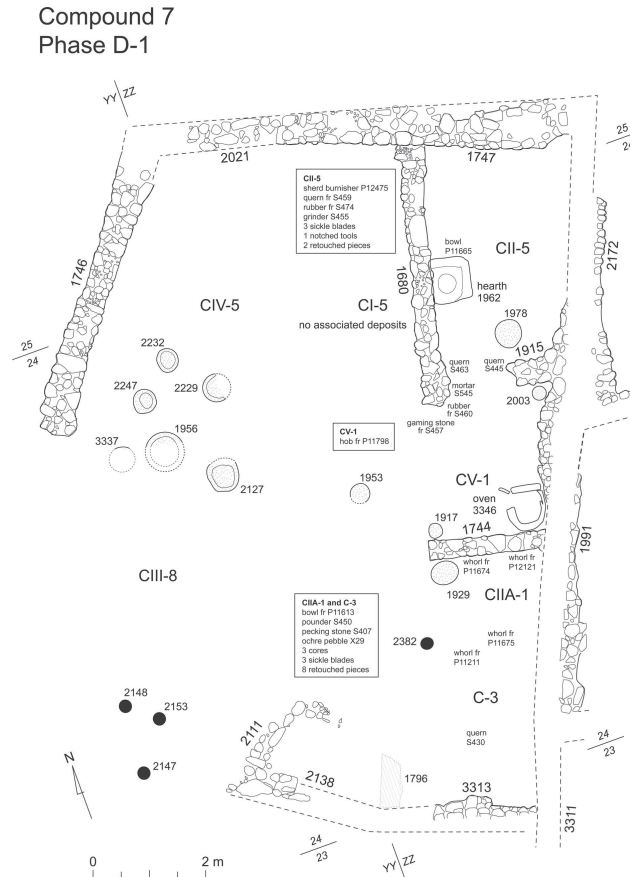


Fig. 4.23: Plan of Marki-Alonia Phase D1, compound 7, CII-5, CV-1, C-3, CIIA-1.
Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: fig. 3.59.

two phases.⁹³ Their differences are not so dramatic, and despite the fact that there were no severe alterations in their size, there are clear indications for the intensification in domestic activities through the increase of installations and the rearrangement of space. As mentioned earlier in reference to the general planning of the settlement, the importance of architectural features as chronological markers for this period lies primarily in the increasing density of the built environment and its associated activities, rather than in new or different types of construction techniques or fixtures (see Table 4.2).

The other two units, CY009_U006 (compound 9, Phase C)⁹⁴ and CY009_U008 (compound 6, Phase D),⁹⁵ indicate a different pattern since both display significant changes in comparison to other phases (Figs. 4.24, 4.25). Unit CY009_U006 (compound 9, Phase C) eventually lost its courtyard and became a tripartite structure with rooms aligned on the same axis. Although retaining its overall size and position, Unit CY009_U008 (compound 6, Phase D) had its interior completely rearranged, with its courtyard removed from the eastern part of the compound to the NW, and its roofed space enlarged and changed accordingly.⁹⁶

4.3.5 ECY 5

Evidence for the last period under examination, which demarcates the end of the 3rd millennium, comes from two sites, Marki-Alonia and Sotira-Kaminoudhia. They demonstrate the existence of an established architectural tradition of rectilinear architecture on the island by this time. Phases E and F at Marki-Alonia belong to this period and they possess architecture that follows the previous tradition on the site. The settlement displays a steady increase in its population, accompanied by a similar density in the built environment. Compounds now

⁹³ Ibid.: 73-74, figs. 3.58, 59.

⁹⁴ Ibid.: 84, fig. 3.71.

⁹⁵ Ibid.: 72, fig. 3.44.

⁹⁶ Frankel & Webb 2006b: 293-294, figs. 8-9.

Settlement Planning and Architecture

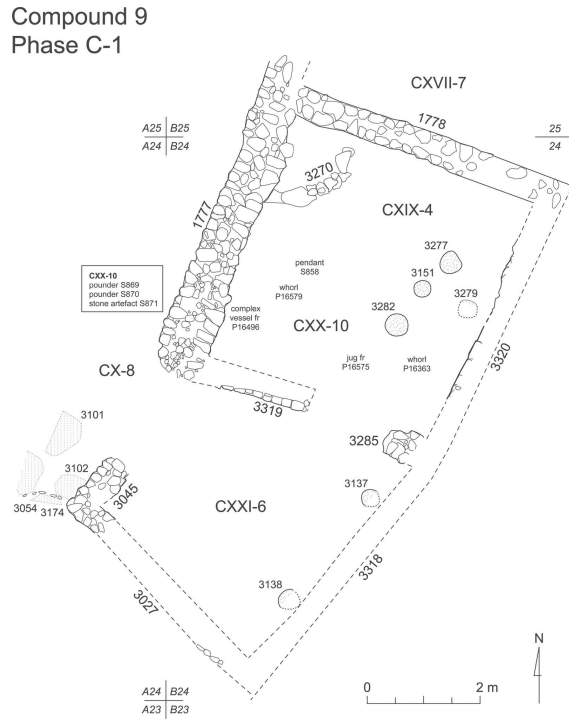


Fig. 4.24: Plan of Marki-Alonia Phase C1, compound 9, CXX-10. Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: fig. 3.71.

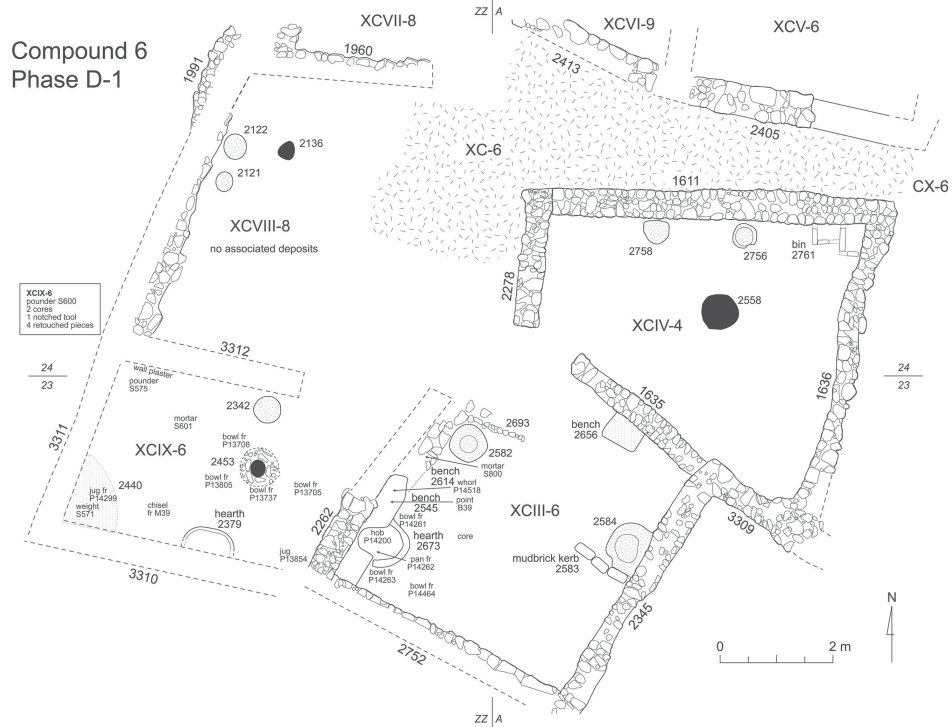


Fig. 4.25: Plan of Marki-Alonia Phase D1, compound 6, XCIX-6. Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: fig. 3.44.

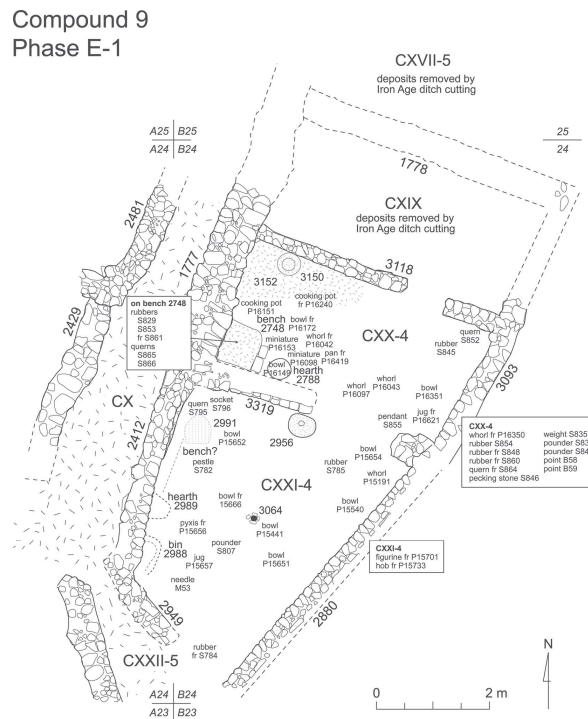


Fig. 4.26: Plan of Marki-Alonia Phase E1, compound 9, CXX-4, CXXI-4. Source: Frankel & Webb 2006a: fig. 3.72.

form well defined blocks/neighbourhoods, separated by laneways and open spaces. Furthermore, there is a rise in the number and size of interior rooms, and courtyards are now fully enclosed with formally defined access routes via narrow entrances and wooden doors. The dense clusters of pebblecrete emplacements, a common feature in the courtyards of the previous periods, are now relocated and found inside the rooms indicating most probably a greater need for inter-household privacy.⁹⁷

In the ARCANÉ database there is only one Marki-Alonia unit of this period (CY009_U009, compound 9, Phase E) (Fig. 4.26). The unit belongs to the same compound 9 that in the previous phase had lost its courtyard and consisted of three successive rooms (CY009_U006, see above). During ECV 5 activities intensified in the unit and although its size has remained the same, its inventory is very rich and indicates a great density and variety of domestic activities (living, food processing, storage).⁹⁸

Sotira-Kaminoudhia, the second site with architectural remains of this period, displays the same pattern of rectilinear structures forming complexes but it also shows several differences in construction. In addition, it lacks the standardisation and “rhythmic growth” seen at Marki-Alonia. When the architecture of the two sites is compared, Marki-Alonia indicates a more “formalised tradition using a smaller range of room shapes and sizes.”⁹⁹ Furthermore, despite the common architectural forms of rectilinear agglutinative units, the rubble walls at Sotira are dissimilar to the common mudbrick walls set on stone footings at Marki. Differences can also be observed in the features recovered, since the low benches, monolithic thresholds, lime plaster bins and double hearths at Sotira are unknown at Marki. The latter, as we have seen, is characterised primarily by elaborate clay hearths and other features, such as clay hobs, unknown in the south.¹⁰⁰

There are four units from Sotira-Kaminoudhia in the ARCANÉ database, and they include floor material from all three excavated areas: Unit 6 and 4 from Area A, Unit 7 from Area B and Unit 8 from Area C. Unit 6 is the best preserved room in Area A (Fig. 4.27).¹⁰¹ It is trapezoidal in shape and has a floor space c. 14m². The room was built on bedrock or on sterile eroded material and was covered by wall tumble. It was approached via a long E-W corridor through a 1.2m wide doorway. Of its features the most significant are a limestone mortar to the NW of the door and a mud plaster hearth built against the NE stretch of wall. Its wall and parts of the floor

⁹⁷ Frankel & Webb 2006a: 313.

⁹⁸ CY009_U009, Phase E1 [compound 9, CXX-4, CXXI-4], *ibid.*: 85, fig. 3.72.

⁹⁹ Swiny et al. 2003: 65.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 65.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 21-23.

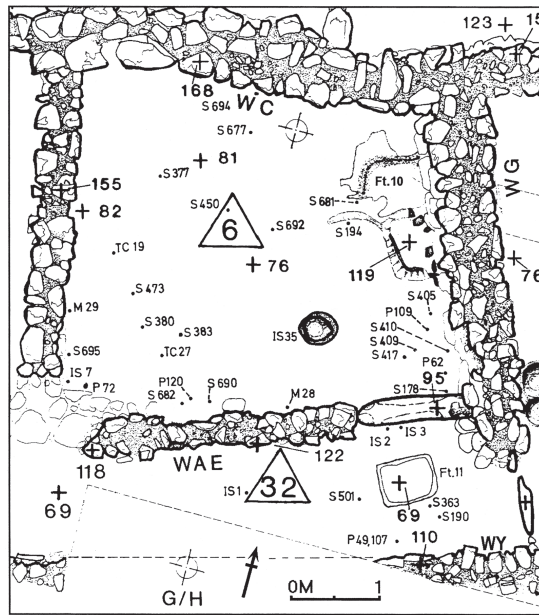


Fig. 4.27: Plan of Unit 6 at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. Source: Swiny et al. 2003: fig. 2.6.

were covered with a reddish-yellow mud plaster. The structure contained two floors of pale brown compacted occupation debris attesting to the existence of two phases of occupation. The two floors could not be separated in the N where there was but a single occupation. The finds recovered from the floor are indicative of a large range of domestic activities: food preparation, pounding, grinding, cooking and consumption.¹⁰²

Unit 4, also in Area A, has a floor space of 21.6m². Among its excavated features was a low bench extending along the southern side of the room and a narrow pilaster in the middle of the N wall. In the NE there was a concentration of artefacts (mostly ground stone tools) associated with a low stone built feature. The lack of a recognisable hearth, ash or grain grinding installations argue against a purely domestic function for this unit, which may have been focused on processing and storage.¹⁰³

Unit 7 in Area A, on the western edge of the terrace is slightly apsidal or D-Shaped (Fig. 4.28).¹⁰⁴ Its internal area is c. 17m², and its floor was sealed by a thick layer of tumble. The room is connected to a large trapezoidal space (Unit 18 to the S), which is similar in size (17.5 m²) but which provides inconclusive evidence as it was only partly excavated.¹⁰⁵ The room had a double hearth and a feature in the SE corner that was poorly preserved but could have served as a bench, a work area or a storage platform. There was a visible concentration of artefacts along the edges of the room, specifically in the E and S, and they all indicate a multi-functional room.¹⁰⁶

Unit 8 in Area C is a triangular room that is quite exceptional, not only for its shape but also for its thick ashy deposit containing a large number of *in situ* ceramic vessels (Fig. 4.29). The structure was built directly on bedrock and had an estimated floor space of 19m². At its southern part it had a thick lime plaster floor and was furnished with a unique series of features, among which were two platforms and two troughs, one made of lime plaster. Unit 8 had no hearth, but the tumbled wall directly overlying the ash-rich thick deposit indicates that it was destroyed by fire.¹⁰⁷ Study of the artefacts suggests that grinding and pounding took place inside Unit 8 and “substance(s), requiring the use of at least one pithos” was stored here.¹⁰⁸ Finally, Unit 8 provided the largest concentration of *in situ* intact or largely restorable vessels in the site.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² The room contained a range of ground stone artefacts (20 items), pottery, copper artefacts, two spindle whorls and a number of other items. See *ibid.*: 22-23.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*: 18-20.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 23-25.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*: 27-28.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 43.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 44.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*: 44.

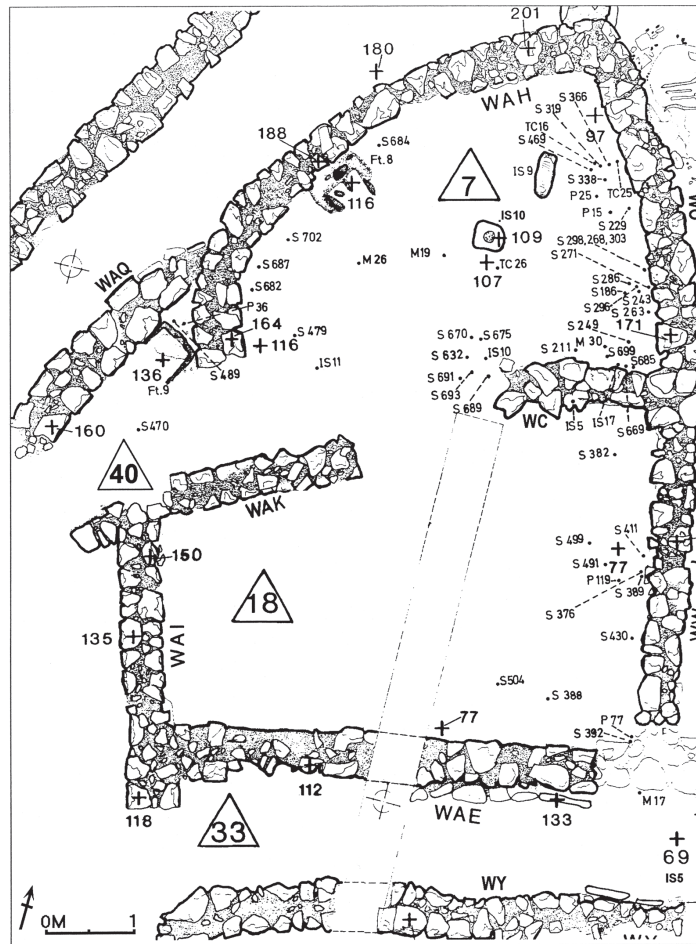


Fig. 4.28: Plan of Unit 7 at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. Source: Swiny et al. 2003: fig. 2.7.

4.4. Discussion

While the evidence of architectural remains from 3rd millennium Cyprus does not indicate a process of urbanisation as in the neighbouring Near East, it provides a colourful picture of communities of variable sizes which are constantly changing and interacting with one another. Rather than the crystallised form of institutionalised space that can be observed in an urban environment, Cyprus in the 3rd millennium displays a “fluid” and fluctuating social situation which transforms its built environment accordingly.

Despite the significance of sites like Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, which yields the only evidence of hierarchical architecture in ECY 1-2, and Marki-*Alonia* for the insights it provides concerning the dynamics of the built environment during ECY 3-5, it is not possible to identify sites of functional importance or assess their role within their region without additional information from the rest of the island. It is, however, possible to identify certain patterns in architecture which seem to reflect significant changes in the history of each settlement and to highlight the social and cultural transformations that took place during the 3rd millennium.

The role of “tradition” in the way communities perceived and altered their built environment is one of the most significant features recovered by the evidence in the 3rd millennium. In all cases where changes took place (Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* with the rise of hierarchical architecture, Marki-*Alonia*, with the evidence of uninterrupted growth) old architectural forms were incorporated into new developments, and changes in the built environment were implemented in a slow and very “respectful” way. The rise of hierarchical status at Kissonerga, for example, is materialised using exactly the same type of building (the “ridge house”) as in previous times, and difference is displayed through other means as well, including the size of structures, the elaboration of construction material, or the ornamentation of previously existing features. Similarly, at Marki-*Alonia* there is evidence of constant change and growth of households. Once compounds were established they seem to retain their size despite all other changes in their inner spatial arrangements, and features like the courtyard maintained their significance in the “house plan” despite their altered and sometimes diminished use through the course of time.

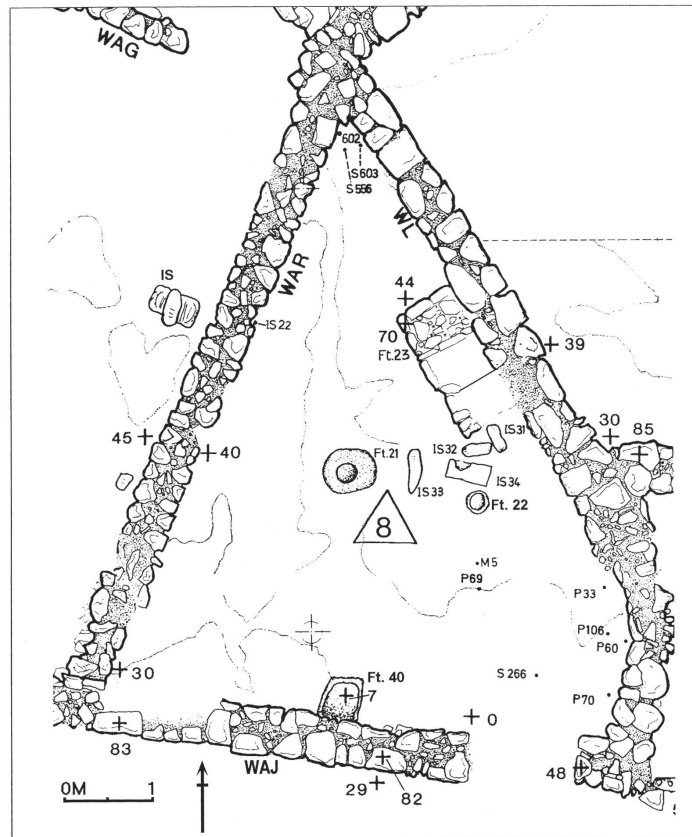


Fig. 4.29: Plan of Unit 8 at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. Source: Swiny et al. 2003: fig. 2.12.

This pattern of alteration that “keeps pace with tradition” has been very succinctly described as an interplay between “locational stability” and “occupational instability”¹¹⁰ and has been associated with issues of property control, inheritance and property rights in general.¹¹¹ Indeed, from the earliest centuries of the 3rd millennium, when the superimposition of structures and intramural burials had long been standard practice at all sites, up until the last centuries, where there seems to have been a more standardised form in the allotment of regular house plots, it is evident that space acquired differing degrees of value, some flexible and some less so, but all equally significant and all manifested in every attempt communities made to restructure the built environment.

The connection to older architectural forms and the slow pace at which architecture seems to have changed, is highlighted further when architectural remains are compared to other types of material culture. Changes in architecture rarely follow the same rhythm and pattern of the rest of material culture, even within the same settlement. In any case, cultural and social transformations can rarely be depicted in homogenous, clear cut blocks like the ones presented in chronological charts. *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* is a good case in point, particularly with regard to the changes that took place between periods ECY 1 and ECY 2. In the former period — despite the evidence for social differentiation — material culture did not change significantly and traditional architectural types were incorporated into the new era; and in the latter there was a more dramatic break in material culture as architecture appears to have reverted into older and simpler forms (monocellular circular structures).

The connection between the segmentation of space and greater forms of social complexity is also refined by the specific set of data.¹¹² Space is always segmented, even if only in conceptual terms, by the presence of individuals and their actions. As has become evident from the intact inventories of many of the buildings in 3rd millennium Cyprus, there are certain areas that seem to have been reserved for specific activities, even in the case of monocellular structures.¹¹³ Physical divisions (walls, ridges, grooves) are important, but they are not always present, and

¹¹⁰ Peltenburg et al. 1998a: 259.

¹¹¹ Ibid.: 242; Frankel & Webb 2006b: 299-302.

¹¹² Kent 1990; see also Papaconstantinou 2006a: 24-27, 94-95.

¹¹³ For a discussion of the “Chalcolithic house”, see Peltenburg 1998a: 237-240, fig. 14.6.

when they appear they seem to characterise a cultural “idiom” (e.g. the way houses were built in a certain region at a certain time, such as those at Lemba and Kissonerga in ECY 1) rather than something special. In the case of Kissonerga, where there is a clear distinction between calcarenite and regular houses, physical divisions seem to be equally important for both and they are not reserved for structures with special “status”.

In light of the above, a comment should be made on the transition from round to rectilinear forms in architecture, which has been interpreted in the literature as the emergence of extensive multifaceted economies and the privatisation of storage. This model, originally proposed by Flannery, posits three stages of development: an initial stage, comprising a series of small circular structures accompanied by communal storage facilities; a second stage in which nuclear families occupy substantial rectangular houses with private storage; and a third stage where extended family households, comprising élites who seek to support and direct the work of craft specialists, make possible the development of extensive multifaceted economies by mobilising greater labour force.¹¹⁴

Rectilinear architecture is indeed more efficient in its use of space, and when it comes to large scale economies and increased population and activities, it is the most appropriate form to divide, extend, standardise and monitor spatial activities. This is certainly one of the reasons it has prevailed in large urban environments. The record in Cyprus, however, indicates that rectilinear architecture is not always a prerequisite for private storage facilities, as the transition to more privatised space at Lemba demonstrates (ECY 1 to ECY 2). Nor was it required for more centralised forms of storage. B 3 at Kissonerga (ECY 2) had storage capacity far in excess of the needs of a nuclear family. Additionally, at Marki-*Alonia* the transformation of the economy from communal domestic activities into more private and controlled production took place within an exclusively rectilinear built environment.

As in the case of segmentation, intensified production alone cannot fully account for changes in architectural patterns and forms. The key that changes the role of architecture in urban environments and gives it special form is not just a matter of scale (more segmented space, more rooms in a complex), but its submission to central planning institutions that use architecture as a means to regulate and monitor activities, production and behaviour.

There is a very fine distinction between cultural and social transformations that needs to be taken into consideration here. Rectilinear forms of architecture were known in Cyprus already from aceramic times¹¹⁵ and, as has become evident, they were also present at the beginning of the 3rd millennium. They were used, however, in a complementary sense and were not “chosen” as a more efficient way of using space, even when social transformation prompted more complex and centralised economies, as in the case of the Pithos House at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (ECY 2). Later, when rectangular structures dominate the built environment (Marki-*Alonia* ECY 3-ECY 5), this is not simply due to changes in the economy but to an entire “array of innovations in technology, economy and society”.¹¹⁶ It seems, therefore, that in societies where there is not yet any centralised institution to monitor the use of space (as in the case of urban environments) architectural forms should be dissociated from specific social transformations and cultural aspects: “looser” decisions negotiated centrally on a communal basis are more likely to account for the patterns they reveal.¹¹⁷ Architecture is both an expression of the coherence in a community and a means of holding it together. In an urban environment, however, where that coherence cannot stand alone but has to be secured through institutions, architecture is used to guarantee the coherence of the system that now has the connecting role and regulates social relations.

Regardless of the use of architecture in the construction of chronologies, either through stratigraphy or contextual information, architectural remains play a significant role in attempts to understand what constitutes social and cultural change and to refine the temporal conventions we use in order to define them. Given the wealth of this information, the process of identifying chronological types for a specific region, however necessary from a methodological point of view, is a rather limiting task for studies in architecture, and one that should serve as its point of departure rather than its primary and ultimate goal. The archaeological record in Cyprus for the 3rd millennium belongs to a period in which regional developments and “microscale” events seem to dominate the cultural environment and shape the way societies are transformed. In this respect, its contribution to the ARCANÉ project serves as a useful counterbalance to the types of information and patterns of behaviour observed in more centralised urban environments.



¹¹⁴ Flannery 2002: 431-432, see also Flannery 1972; Papaconstantinou 2006a: 24-27, 94-95.

¹¹⁵ This is evident in some of the earliest deposits at the aceramic site of Khirokitia: Daune-Le Brun 2011; Le Brun & Daune-Le Brun 2009.

¹¹⁶ Webb 2002b: 19.

¹¹⁷ For a similar discussion, see Papaconstantinou 2005.

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