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ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SPACE IN LATE NEOLITHIC CYPRUS: THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE REVISITED

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the topography and architecture of Late Neolithic sites in Cyprus and the ways in which building organization affects the social structure of local communities. The number of excavated Late Neolithic sites on the island is indeed limited, although a few more have been located by recent archaeological surveys. These sites are dispersed in the northern and south or southeastern part of Cyprus on different localities and landscapes. Based on the evidence deriving from ceramic studies, it has been traditionally assumed that the island presents clear signs of regionalism during this period. This paper presents some further thoughts on this phenomenon, albeit from a different point of view, that of the architecture and spatial organization. The proposed schema for understanding how space was perceived and organised by local communities at this time requires investigation of the following parameters:

a. ratio of built and non-built areas **b.** circulation (with reference to settlement plan and wider environment) **c.** function of built and non-built area and **d.** land use.

The investigation of those parameters in each settlement will form the basis of a comparative analysis and the construction of an integrated picture of the period in question.

KEYWORDS: Cyprus, Kantou-Kouphovounos, neolithic.

INTRODUCTION

The Late Neolithic period in Cyprus: A review

Before focusing on the core of this paper, a brief descriptive presentation of the history of research and the geographical distribution of the Late Neolithic sites of Cyprus (fig.1) is considered necessary[1].

During the past three decades our knowledge of Late Neolithic Cyprus has been

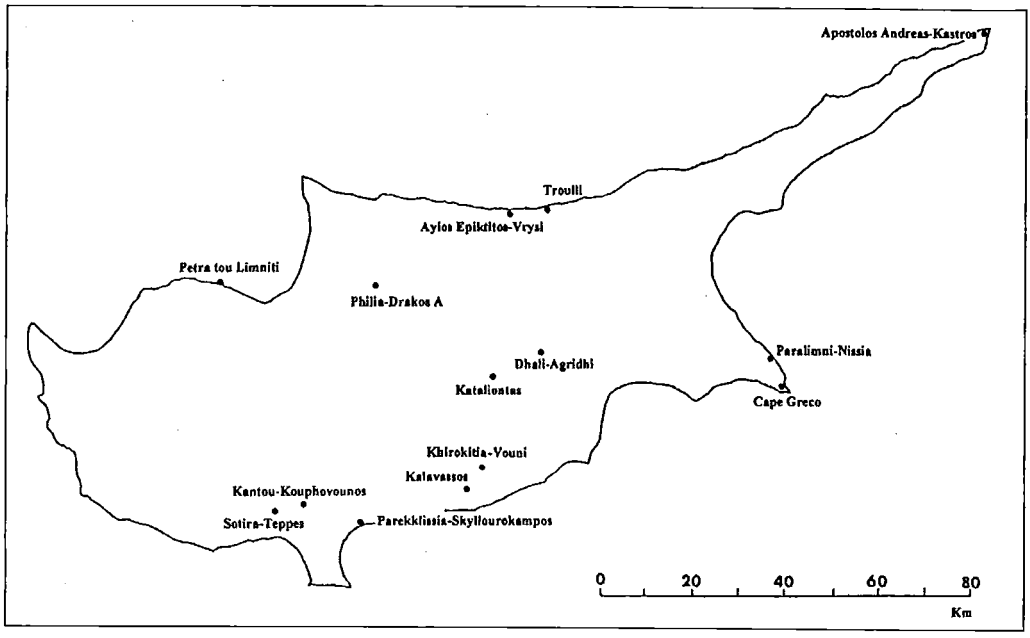

Fig. 1 : Map of Cyprus with Neolithic sites

significantly altered, even though the number of sites which belong to this period still remains quite limited. In the 1950's Dikaios, known as the father of cypriot prehistory, excavated three important sites on the island[2]. Kalavassos-*Kokkinoyi* (Dikaios 1962, 106-112) located in the Larnaka district in the south, was partly excavated but never fully published. Sotira-*Teppes* (Dikaios 1961), also located in the south, in the Limassol district, was excavated to a large extent and published in 1961. Troulli-*Klepini* (Dikaios 1962, 63-72) which was a trial excavation, very limited in scale and published only in a preliminary form, lies in the northwest part of the island and represents two phases, Early and Late Neolithic (Troulli I and II). Troulli II is represented by a partly unearthed house and the wall of an adjacent one (Dikaios 1962, 64-65, figs. 32-33), of which the ground plans resemble those at Sotira. The study of these three sites enabled Dikaios to recognize a Late Neolithic horizon on the island and therefore to fully reconstruct the chronological sequence of Neolithic. In 1960's a british mission explored the site of Philia-*Drakos A'* (Watkins 1969, 1970, 1973)[3], a site in the northwest part of the island; here different phases have been identified, the latest belonging to the Late Neolithic. Apart from preliminary reports, this site is still unpublished. Some ten years later Peltenburg (1982) concluded his research in Agios Epiktitos-*Vrysi*, another Late Neolithic site lying in Kerynia district, in the north-central part of Cyprus; the results of this study were published in an exemplary way in 1982. Peltenburg's work largely completed Dikaios' research in the shaping of the overall picture of the period. In 1992, a greek mission began its work under my direction at Kantou-*Kouphovounos* (Mantzourani 1994, 1996, 1997, 2000), a site located in the south, in Limassol district, in the neighborhood of Sotira (about 8 km). Summer 2002 was the last study season and final publication is under way. Since 1995, another site, lying on a

hillock overlooking a small gulf in the southeast of the island, in Ammochostos region, named Paralimni-*Nissia* (Flourentzos 1997) is still under investigation. However, very little is known about this site for only a short preliminary report has been published so far.

It has to be pointed out that all optimal archaeological conditions, potentially resulting to the use of living space and consequently to the reconstruction of the society represented in these communities, are not present in each of the excavated sites. However, the existing body of evidence should by no means be considered inadequate.

From a topographical point of view, the majority of the settlements are located inland and often in prominent locations (on hill plateau and slopes). This is for example the case with Sotira, Troulli and Kantou. Kalavassos was also built inland on a low mound surrounded by a fertile valley. Agios Epiktitos occupies a small headland projecting into the sea at the edge of a coastal plain belonging to the Kerynia Lowlands. Similarly the site of Paralimni was founded on a headland very close to the Ammochostos Bay. Access to settlements is fairly easy, even in those cases where the former are located on top of hills. All settlements are in proximity to forested areas, natural water sources-springs and rivers- and are surrounded by arable land. Bioarchaeological evidence has confirmed the cultivation of cereals (mainly wheat and barley) as well as other crops and the exploitaion of sheep, goat and pig as well as of the marine ecosystem. The presence of the fallow deer completes the list of fauna remains, but this is an animal which rules out the possibility of specialised exploitation and therefore should not be seen as part of the group of domesticated animals of the Neolithic.

As far as the architecture is concerned, we should consider a general rule, the fact that all building material was locally available. In all cases local stone, gathered from the surrounding area or collected from the river banks, pisé or mudbrick made of clay soils as well as timber were used to erect architectural structures and features. Wall foundations were often shallow, the lower half of the walls was made of stone, while it is assumed that the upper half was probably made of either pisé (in most cases) or mudbrick and timber. The preservation of the wall height is different in each site. Floors were of beaten earth, while the types of interior furnishings of the building vary from settlement to settlement. There are usually internal features made of stone, mudplaster, or a combination of the two, i.e. hearths, platforms, benches, pits of various uses and other. Only assumptions can be put forward concerning the roofing of the houses. It is commonly argued that a simple constructed flat or pitched roof was the architectural norm.

It appears that the monocellular (one-roomed) type of building was a dominant tradition. Despite differences between sites but also among the houses of a single site, it is most likely that all architectural plans are the result of functional (availability of space) and social requirement (character of relations between the occupants).

After this brief summary of the evidence we will proceed with the detailed examination of three sites: Ayios Epiktitos in the North and Sotira and Kantou in the South. As already mentioned above, Ayios Epiktitos and Sotira are fully published whereas Kantou is a research program under my direction and also close to its final publication. These reasons justify why these specific sites have been selected. It was mentioned above that all extant sites bear some obvious similarities in terms of topography, building materials, architectural forms etc. However, this should not conceal the fact that Cyprus might be a geographical entity but not a cultural one. In

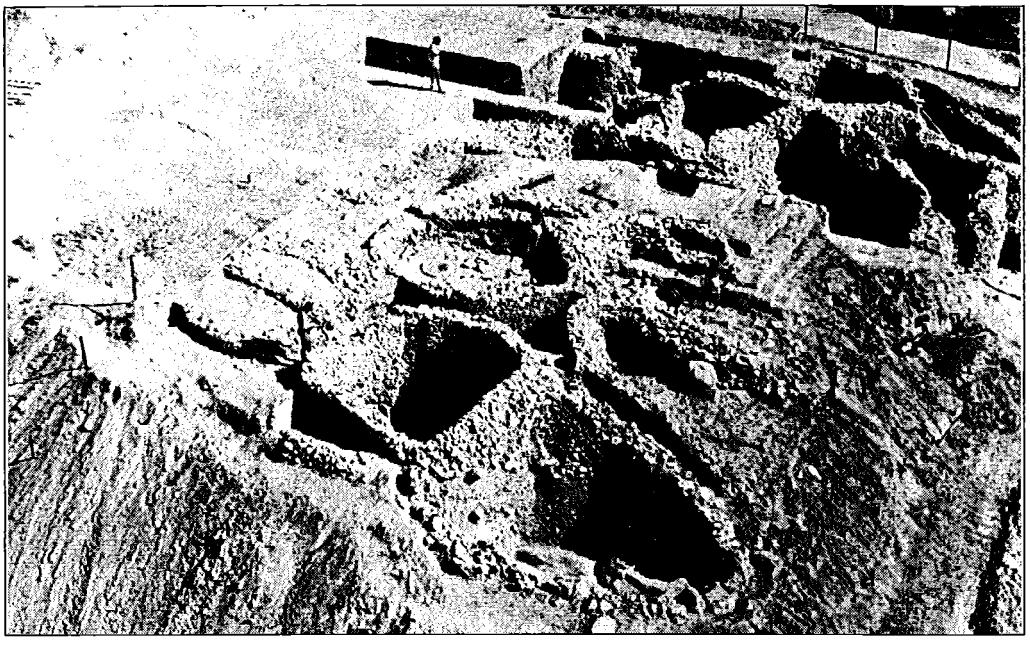

Fig. 2 : General view of Ayios Epiktitos

this respect, differences should be expected from area to area, and this is precisely what the concept of regionalism is about. Until further evidence/publications come to light (Troulli, Philia-Drakos A'), so that a higher degree of resolution can be achieved, the North-South divide can be considered plausible.

DISCUSSION

Ayios Epiktitos-Vrysi

From the unknown total extent of the site only 575 sq. m. have been uncovered (Fig. 2). The relatively small horizontal exposure must be offset against the vertical, up to 5.4 m., which is deep for cultural deposits in Cyprus. The average size of a house in Ayios Epiktitos covers roughly 14.4 sq. m. (fig. 3).

In contrast with Sotira and Kantou which share the character of an open extended site, Ayios Epiktitos has some special characteristics, which relate to an intentional habitational practice, as it will be demonstrated below.

The prehistoric headland, where the site lies, contained a number of extensive, deep hollows, each being capable of including and hiding several subterranean buildings. As Peltenburg (1982, 11) points out "the massive capacity of these hollows contrasts with the size of the contained buildings and hence their creation necessitated significant communal enterprise, if they were not existing natural features". From the arguments he has cited, it

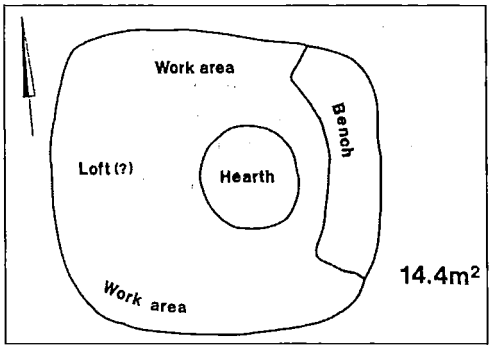

Fig. 3 : Average size of a house at Ayios Epiktitos

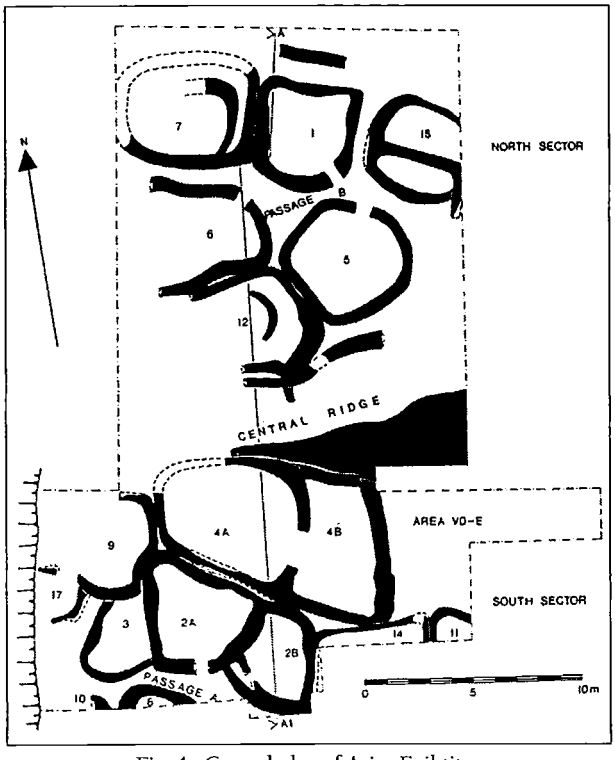

Fig. 4 : Ground plan of Ayios Epiktitos

is more probable that these hollows were natural and not human-made. In each of these hollows a number of buildings was constructed. The major excavation exposure, named the Western Area, is divided into two Sectors the North and South, which include four and six dwellings respectively. Two independent passage ways, termed A and B, linked the buildings with their respective Sectors, passage A with the South Sector and passage B with the North Sector (fig. 4). The ground plans of units at Ayios Epiktitos are irregular, largely dictated by the availability of space. It is worthnoting that more houses in the South Sector share walls than in the North. It is also significant that their plans are more varied along with the fact that the area available for houses is smaller.

Houses of different building phases very seldom moved location. They were rebuilt on the same spot, so that they are often superimposed. To be more specific the final result was that of columns or stacks of buildings with well-defined floors, clearly separated from each other by an average of 1 or 1.5 m. of pisé deposit. Due to the subterranean nature of the site and the building replacement system, stone elements of the walls were kept to their full height of 1 or 1.5 m. Additional space within the individual dwellings was possibly provided by internal lofts (as proved by the presence of post holes on a number of floors) which may have supported a platform for sleeping or for other purposes (fig. 5) The absence of evidence for entrances demonstrates that access might have been taking place through roofs. In that case, roofs must have been flat and not pitched ; or otherwise the entrances were placed higher on the level of the wall. When recovered, entrances were set

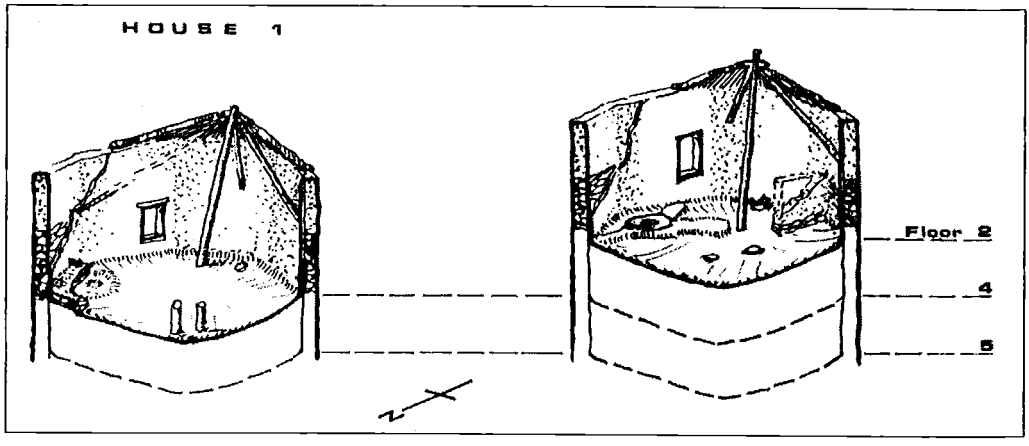

Fig. 5 : Reconstructions of houses at Ayios Epiktitos

near the corners of the irregularly- shaped buildings in both Sectors. Despite the cramped space available in the deep hollows of Ayios Epiktitos, units remain independent with no interconnecting entrances, with the exception of Houses 4A-B in the South Sector (fig.4).

The burials were probably extra-mural, as none was found in the excavated area, which was densely packed with buildings. A different practice was in use in Early Neolithic sites, as for instance in Khirokitia-*Vouni*, Kalavassos-*Tenta*, or Apostolos Andreas-*Kastros* (Mantzourani 2001, 30-31, 47, fig. 10).

Additionally a large ditch, 5m. deep, was opened in front of an early defensive wall of an estimated 20m. length in the South Sector (Area V D-E). The wall consisted of a stone base with a pisé superstructure (Peltenburg 1982, 55-56). It could have constituted an impressive barrier across the NW part of the headland. The ditch was gradually filled with debris. The wall and the ditch antedate all stratigraphically linked features of the site. All buildings in the South Sector were constructed after the building of this major communal defensive work.

The excavator has recognized three different phases of occupation in the margins of Late Neolithic, namely Early, Middle and Late phase (*ibid*, Chapter 3, 21-60). The Middle phase was that of flourishment and vertical as well as horizontal expansion of the settlement (fig. 6). Fewer architectural remains belong to the early and late phases. The correlation of stratigraphic units in both North and South Sector is very informative (*ibid*, 38, Table 1, 56, Table 2).

The ratio of built to non-built areas at the site is very high. This fact as well as the irregular ground plan of the units were obviously defined by the choice to construct the houses in the large natural hollows. Circulation in the site was facilitated through existing narrow passages and was in general restricted. The reasons for the erection of the wall and the construction of the ditch at an early stage of the site's life span as well as their abolition are not clear. These were probably out of use at a time when the defense problems were otherwise solved. The rebuilding system employed at Ayios Epiktitos assisted in leaving many objects in situ on the floors. The distribution of artifactual material shows that they are the occupant's remains. The standard interior furnishings consisted of a circular hearth, set off centre and a bench or seats against the south or east wall. Other features

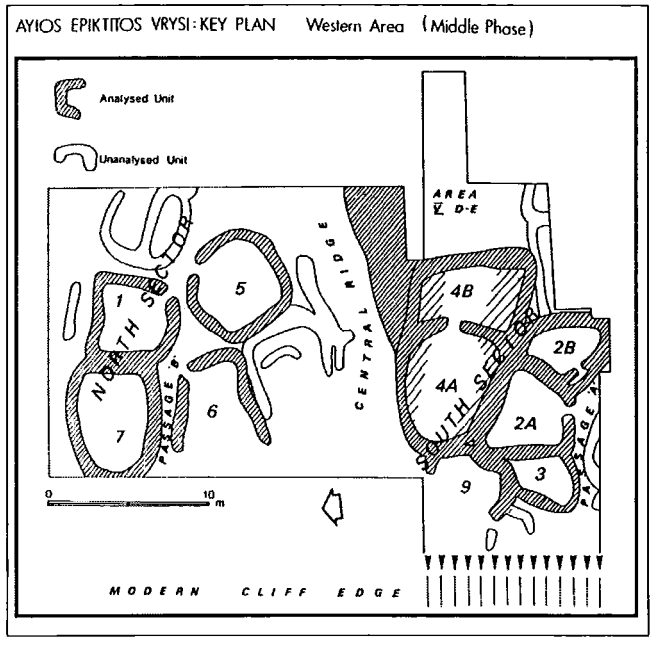

Fig. 6 : Western Area in the Middle Phase at Ayios Epiktitos

as for instance a partition wall or evidence for pits, shelves, lofts and other are inconsistent (*idem* 1985, 51-55, figs. 3, 5, 6, pl. 3). Work areas are defined as concentrations of portable, utilitarian objects, pottery, stone tool assemblages, discard of craft activities (*ibid* 55). The evidence from Ayios Epiktitos suggests that most houses served secular purposes. They functioned as multi-purpose habitation units were domestic activities, including consumption and manufacture, took place (*ibid* 61). Domestic and craft activities were practiced mainly inside the houses. Much fewer activities took place in the few open areas, as shown by the presence of hearth or the distribution of objects there.

The calcareous soil conditions enabled the preservation of faunal remains and mollusca while a broad vegetation spectrum was recovered in the form of carbonized seeds and charcoal (Peltenburg 1982, 76-95).

Spatial organization forms an integral part of everyday relations: it not only reflects how people perceive their environment but also how they decide to negotiate the relationships amongst them. From the above discussion of the evidence from Ayios Epiktitos it seems more likely that each dwelling represented an independent unit, interrelated with units of similar character and function, built in the same hollow. The topography, the settlement plan and the type of architecture have in a way structured a diachronic pattern of autonomous "households"[4] found close together, perhaps linked through relations of close kin.

Sotira-*Teppes*

The settlement of Sotira-*Teppes* lies on an isolating hillock, 333m. above sea level, which dominates a wide valley ringed by hills (Dikaios 1961, 1-2, pl.3). Two water springs have been located one at the centre and the other in the south of the modern village, close to the prehistoric site. The top of the hill includes a plateau of about 2000 sq.m. Apart from the plateau, the south and southeastern

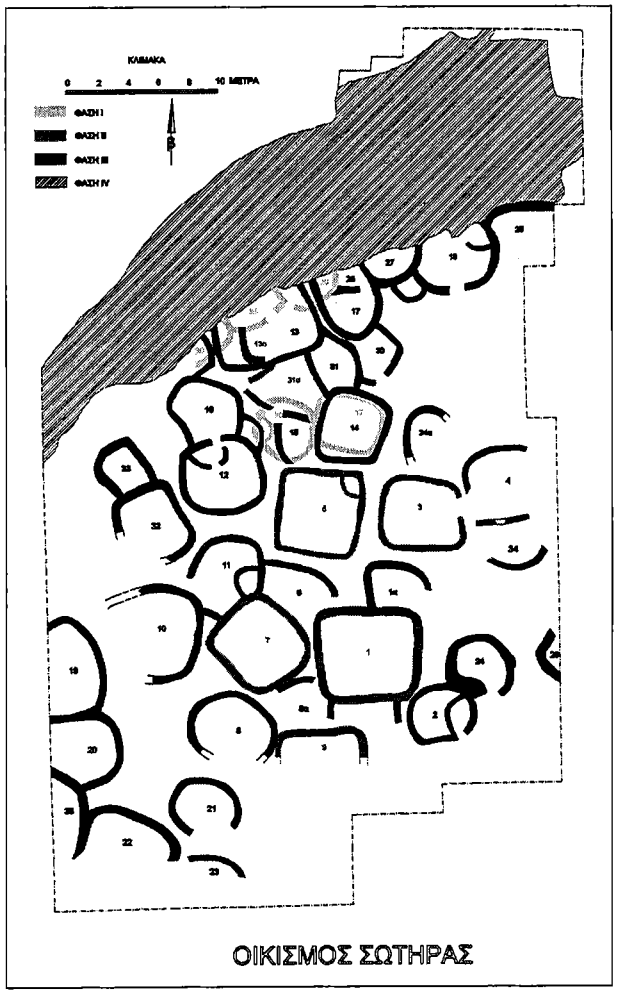

Fig.7 : Sotira, general ground plan of Area V

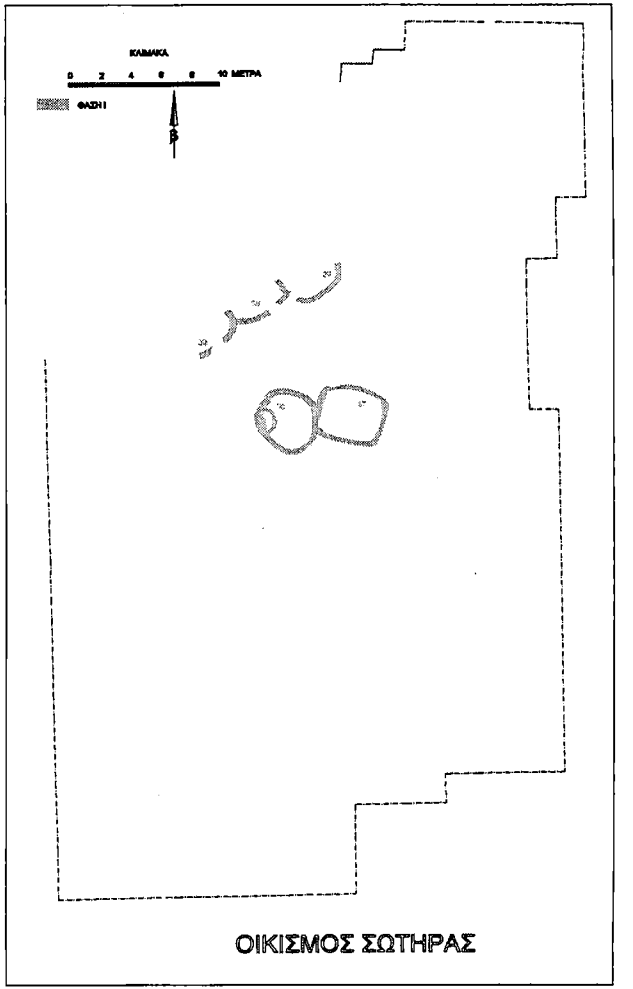

Fig. 8 : Sotira, Phase I in Area V

slopes seem to have been more suitable for habitation, while the northern, western and northeastern slopes are steeper and rocky, although crossed by narrow terraces, resulted in recent times. The hill lies in the Miocene limestone area, and this particular stone type-limestone boulders- was largely used for building purposes. The plateau, the slopes of the hill as well as the surrounding region could have been ideal grounds for agricultural activities and livestock husbandry during prehistoric times.

The excavation took place in five distinctive areas, namely Area I, II, III, IV and V (*ibid*, 2-3, Pls. 4-6). The major excavation exposure was that of Area V, which covers almost the whole of the plateau (fig. 7). Minor excavation work was carried out in Areas II, III and IV and yielded either a few movable finds or parts of house walls, while in Area I part of a house and twelve graves were unearthed. The burials occurred on the known fringe of the settlement, on the lower southeast slopes, after the building of the house, as shown by the section carried out by Dikaios (*ibid*, 141-147, Pls. 5, 37-38). The excavator identified, on the base of the stratigraphic evidence, four occupation phases I-IV, I being the earliest, represented by different floor levels (*ibid*, 218-222). The houses had stone shallow foundations and stone lower parts, while their upper parts were made of mud or mudbrick. The average size of a house at Sotira covers between 16 and 20 sq.m.

During Phase I (fig. 8) a small amount of houses was built, mainly in the north side of the plateau, which was naturally more protected. They were of rounded or rectangular ground plan one-roomed structures, and in one case there existed a composite type of dwelling, consisting of three rooms. The main internal fixed feature was a simple type of hearth. The buildings were destroyed by conflagration, represented by a distinct destruction layer. The portable finds were generally few.

Phase II (fig. 9) is represented by a series of dwellings, concetrated in the centre of the plateau. The open areas covered a large amount of space. During this phase, the square or rectangular with rounded corners ground plan was mostly favoured, structures were larger in size, of better construction and more closely built. The internal furnishing consisted of elaborate round mudplaster hearths, troughs surrounded by slabs, platform spaces close to the hearths, pits of various use, grinding installations as well as portable finds left behind, on the floors.

Phase III (fig. 10) has been characterized by the excavator (*ibid*, 220-221) as the continuation of Phase II. During this period of time a lot of building activity took place. The whole of the plateau was actually covered by buildings. A total number of thirty-one houses, some of which were annexes, belong to this phase, a period of full development of the site. However, enough open space was left void between the houses. The ground plans are more varied than before and complexes of two rooms more frequently appeared. The internal features include in some cases partition walls, enclosing smaller areas of specialized use inside the dwellings, elaborate round hearths, troughs, grinding and chipped stone installations, benches and platforms as well as paved areas. All these point to a much more vivid community, engaged in various activities, with emphasis in agriculture. This phase came to an abrupt end by an earthquake, a disaster with extensive consequences for the settlement's life.

According to the excavator, Phase IV (fig. 10) was simply the short survival of the settlement after the catastrophe that hit it at the end of Phase III. Culturally it is not differentiated from that phase. It was in Phase IV that the so-called "retaining wall" was erected along the northern limits of the settlement, perhaps in an effort to get rid of the debris and consolidate the slopes at this edge

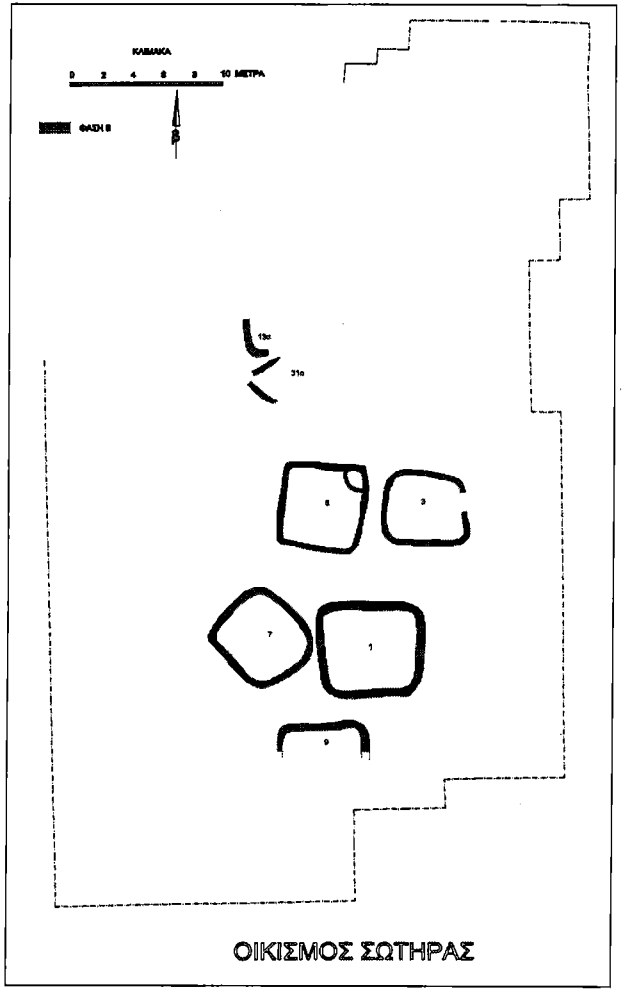

Fig. 9 : Sotira, Phase II in Area V

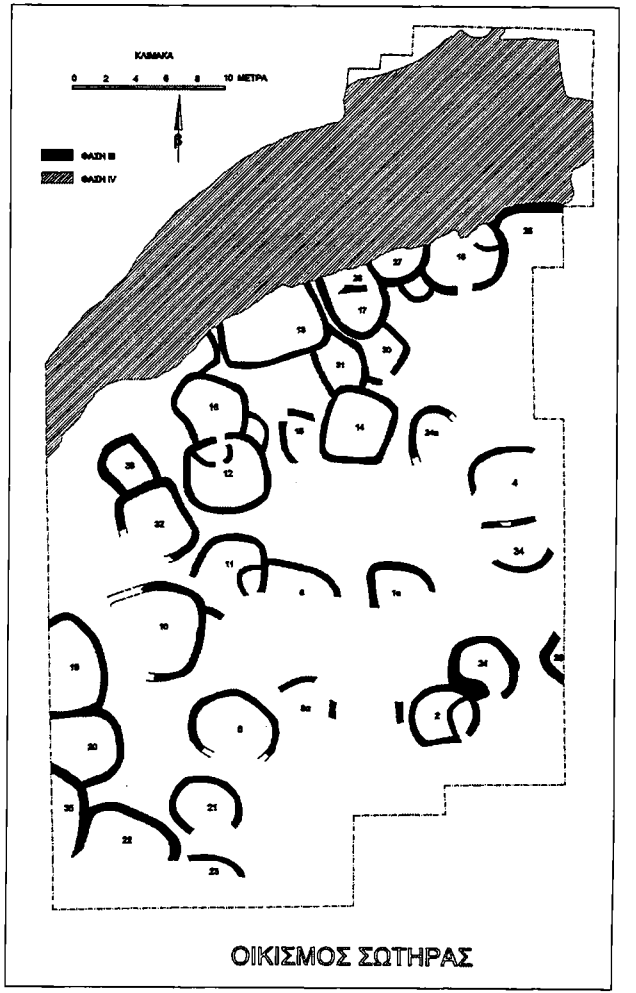

Fig. 10 : Sotira, Phases III and IV in Area V

of the site (*ibid*, 221-222, pl. 55c). Additionally some of the dwellings were cleared and provisionally reconstructed to meet the immediate needs of the inhabitants.

As it is obvious in the case of Sotira a different replacement habitation system was practiced in comparison to Ayios Epiktitos: the relocation of habitational structures, albeit within the same settlement. The redistribution of space within the settlement may also have defined the reorganization of relations among the inhabitants.

In the first two phases the settlement at Sotira was smaller in size and less populated in comparison to phase III, that of the culmination. In contrast to Ayios Epiktitos, it seems that in Sotira units were established in separate locations and the areas left void were reserved for further population growth and other purposes (perhaps plots for cultivation, gardens or animal pens). In phase III the open terrain was filled in by a number of structures with annexes and finally complexes of buildings were formed, to which special function rooms belonged. These complexes are described as "households". According to Stanley Price (1979, 79) "with the foundation of a large subrectangular structure, the area immediately round about eventually became taken up with extensions to and subsidiaries of that structure, such that any major new foundation had to be sited elsewhere at a distance". Such changes are usually attributed to population growth. However, one might consider the possibility that the "household" reformulates its living space. This development in Sotira may be due to practical reasons alone. More availability of space on the plateau and the slopes, larger house-compounds with regular plans and more open areas. Consequently the circulation was comfortable with no confines as at Ayios Epiktitos.

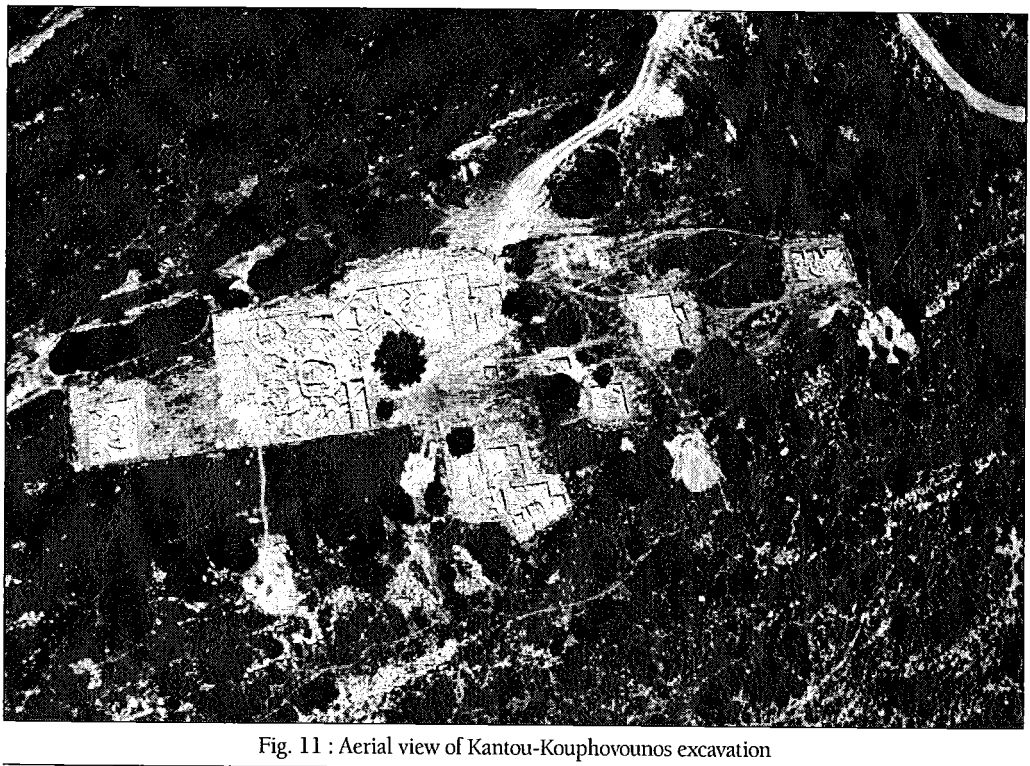

Fig. 11 : Aerial view of Kantou-Kouphovounos excavation

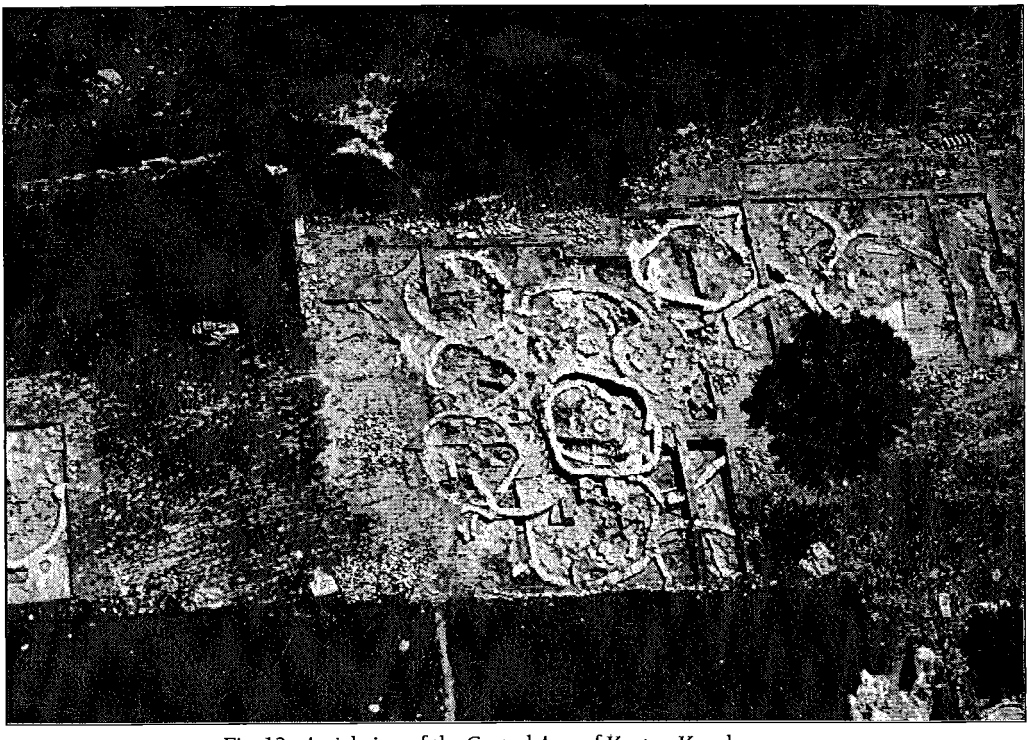

Fig. 12 : Aerial view of the Central Area of Kantou-Kouphovounos

Kantou-*Kouphovounos*

The neolithic site of Kantou-*Kouphovounos* is situated on the plateau and the slopes of the Kouphovounos hill, 243 m. above sea level, about two kilometers from the modern village of Kantou to its north. While the northern and eastern slopes of the hill are rocky and steep, the western and southern ones have more smooth inclination and end up to the banks of a small river, the water source of the settlement (Μαντζουράνη 1994, 1-5).

The geological history and formation of the region resembles that of the neighbouring village of Sotira, from which Kantou is about 8 kilometers away. Kantou was founded in a matrix of marl and on limestone. Limestone boulders were the main building material along with pisé and sun-dried mudbricks for the upper part of the walls. However, few faunal and floral remains were preserved in the calcareous soil, albeit of a rather broad spectrum: sheep, goat, pig and dama on one hand, and wheat, barley, lentils, peas, grapes etc. on the other. Parts of the plateau, the even slopes of the hill and its surrounding region were possibly used for cultivation and stock-raising, as was the case in modern times.

The excavation started in 1992 and lasted six seasons of five weeks each. From a total area of 20000 sq.m., included in the grid and covering most of the plateau and the southern and western slopes of the hill, only 950 sq.m. have been excavated (fig. 11) This actually represents an unknown proportion of the site (Μαντζουράνη 1994; 1996)[5]. The different excavated sectors have been conventionally called the Northern, the Central, the Western, the Southwestern and the Southern Areas. The major excavation exposure is located in the

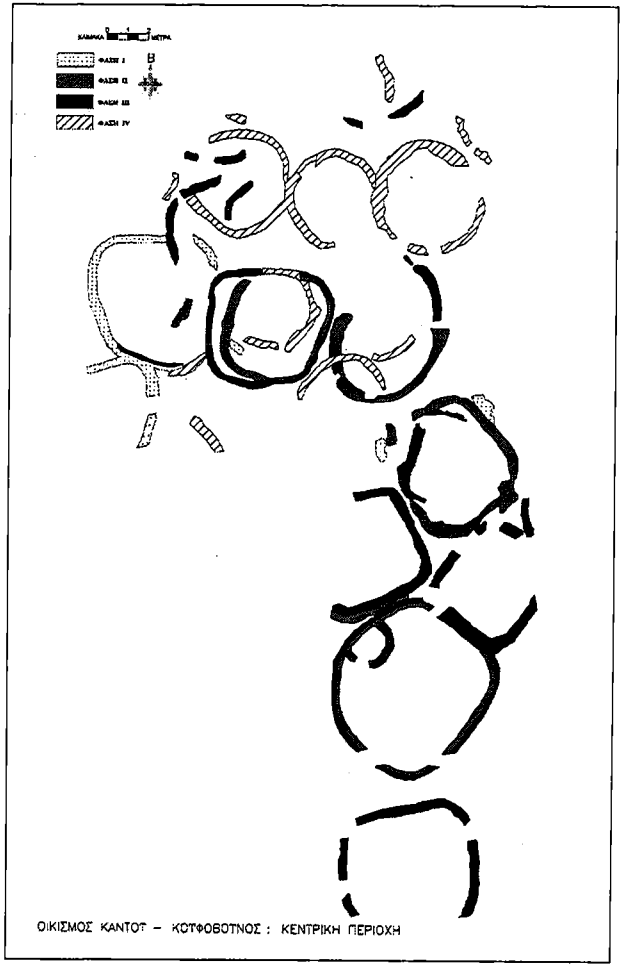

Fig. 13 : Plan of the Central Area of Kantou-Kouphovounos, representing the architectural Phases I-IV

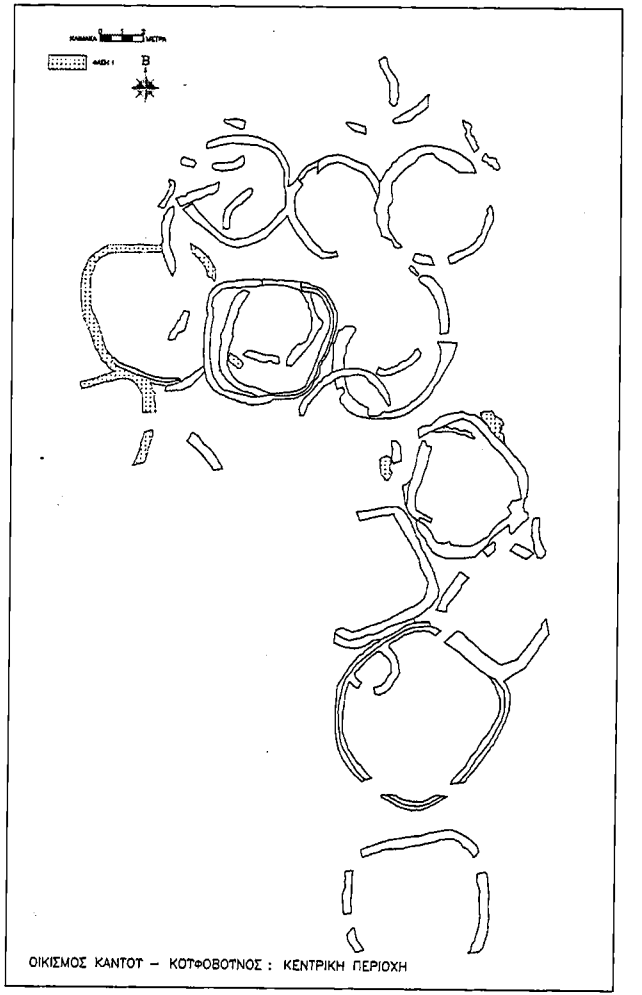

Fig. 14 : Kantou-Kouphovounos, Central Area, Phase I

Central Area (fig. 12), on which I shall focus my main comments. Erosion and disturbance by continuous cultivation and land use seriously affected the deposits.

As a general rule the houses have stone rubble walls, usually preserved at a very low height above the shallow foundations. In very few instances the stone part of the walls was kept at almost one meter height. The superstructure may be made of either pisé or mudbricks, while the roofs were conjecturally flat (see Mantzourani 2000 for a detail discussion on the architecture). In contrast with Ayios Epiktitos and Sotira, in many ways equivalent settlements, at Kantou two burials and possibly a third one were uncovered, located in the interior of dwellings (Mantzourani 1997, 22-24, fig. 1-4).

On the basis of the stratigraphy five occupation (architectural) phases have been recognized at Kantou (fig. 13). Phase I (fig. 14) is the Initial Occupation Phase of the site. The dwellings are founded on the natural bed-rock and are encountered mainly in the Central Area. During this phase buildings are spacious and follow an irregular ground plan. It is not clearly known how much space those houses occupied, for the preservation of the upper phases did not allow extensive excavation in depth. However, it seems that the settlement was rather small with enough open areas among the dwellings. Phase II (fig. 15) represents the period, when a Horizontal Expansion of the settlement is observed. More dwellings were built, albeit also concentrating in the Central Area. The structures continue to be large and of irregular ground plan with abundant open space around and between them. During Phase III (fig. 16) a very distinct type of house appears, that with a rectangular with rounded corners ground plan. The occupation extends towards all directions on the plateau and the slopes of the hill. There is a number of dwellings that are built for the first time during this phase. Most buildings have large dimensions, between 25 and 35 sq.m. During this period of time it looks as if houses are

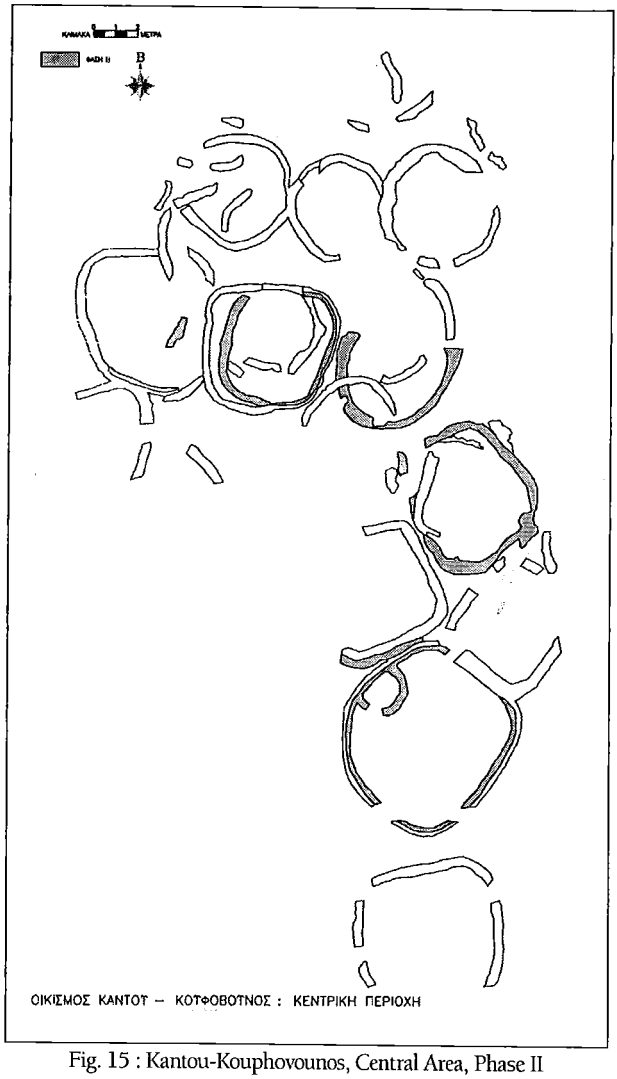

Fig. 15 : Kantou-Kouphovounos, Central Area, Phase II

grouped together in numbers of three or four, composing separate neighbourhoods. Open areas are mainly left at the sides of each complex. Phase IV (fig. 17) is characterized by houses with Circular ground plans. Remains of this phase are encountered in various parts of the settlement, such as the Central, Western and Southern Areas. The size of the dwellings reduces radically, while the quality of their construction is undoubtedly inferior. The average size of a house does not exceed the 14 sq.m. Enough open space, including various small structures, mostly pits, ground stone tools installations or fire places, covered the sides of each complex. It is apparent that the same pattern of grouped units, consisting of three or four houses remained unchanged also during this phase. Phase V is represented by Sporadic Use of the settlement. Proper architectural remains are absent. If there were any, they must have been wiped out by the continuous cultivation of the plateau. This phase is basically witnessed by the existence of pits and small fireplaces constructed in the last upper destruction or abandonment fillings, which covered the Phase IV structures. The end of the settlement was probably due to natural causes, which compelled the inhabitants to abandon it.

Partly due to the rebuilding system practiced at Kantou, artefact discard presents certain diffe-rentiations: the floors of the earlier phases were cleared out, while those of the later ones rendered more objects in situ. However, the largest number of artefacts were recovered in the fills of the excavated areas.

As it has been shown the replacement habitation system employed at Kantou resembles to a certain extent that of contemporary Sotira: relocation of habitational structures within the same settlement. In the process of the site's development it is archaeologically proved that initially, in Phases I and II, Kantou was a small settlement inhabited by a few separate social units. During Phase III, the site was largely expanded and densely populated. However, each habitational complex clearly defined its area of activities, inside the houses as well as outside in its own open space. It may be even suggested that in each complex, the distinct units had served different functions. The same pattern was followed during Phase IV, although the house space was then apparently limited and perhaps most activities were tranferred in the open areas.

It is also worthnoting that at Kantou, in buildings belonging to the same phase, the steady internal features are seldom recurrent, with the exception of buildings of Phase IV, where the type of the large circular mudplaster hearth, set off-centre, appears almost everywhere (Mantzourani 2000, 225-226, fig. 3: 1-2).

The architectural evolution and consequently the social changes at Kantou seem to follow a pattern parallel to that of Sotira. The material cultural remains at Sotira and Kantou appear to have more similarities than differences.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this paper addressed the issue of regional differentiation in Late Neolithic Cyprus through the examination of spatial organization of Ayios Epiktitos, Sotira and Kantou.

First of all, the North-South divide, that has been advocated on the basis of pottery distribution, has been further supported by the examination of space use. The people of Ayios Epiktitos in the North consciously decided to confine themselves in natural depressions in the ground. Such a decision had important implications for the settlement, as its growth was vertical. This had social reverberations too. We may postulate that such development entailed a kind of respect to ancestry and traditional form of social organization, as the plan of old houses and

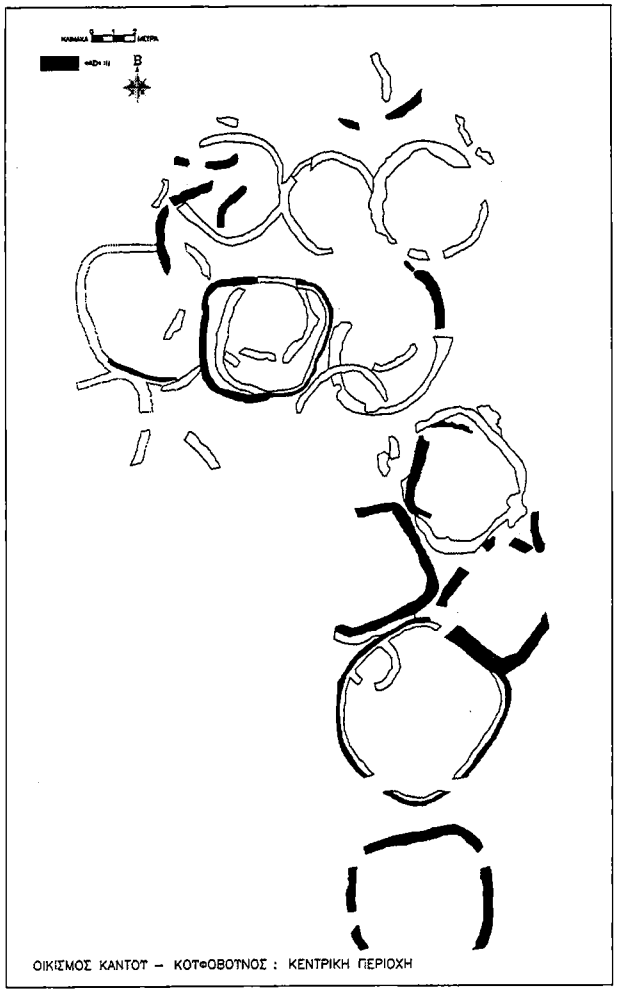

Fig. 16 : Kantou-Kouphovounos, Central Area, Phase III

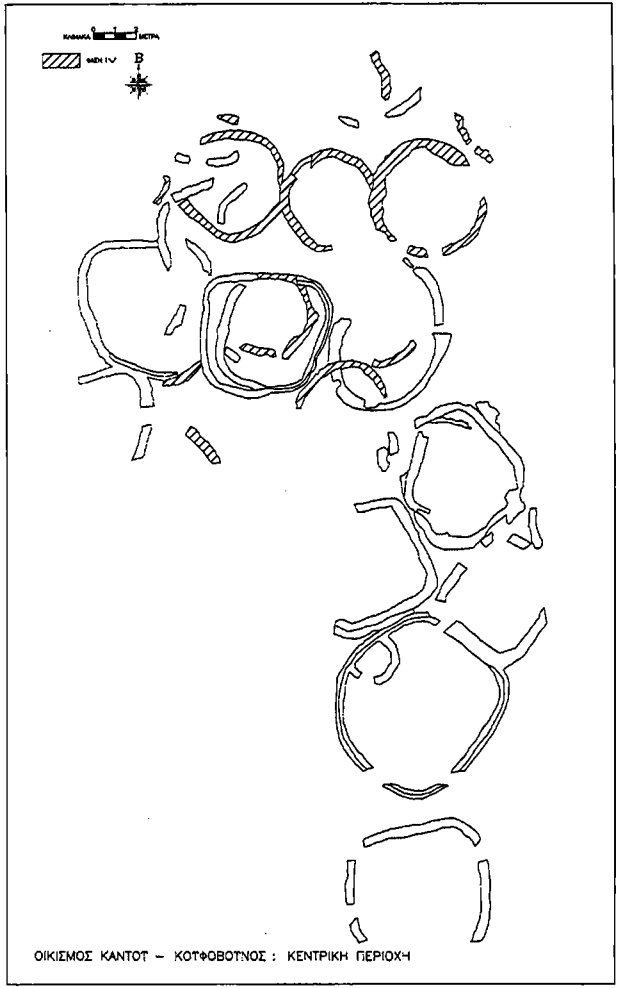

Fig. 17 : Kantou-Kouphovounos, Central Area, Phase IV

established circulation patterns were inevitably respected (Chapman 1994; Kotsakis 1999, 68-71, 73-74). On the other hand, Sotira and Kantou show a preference for more open spaces, where the priority was the option to expand horizontally. The same respect to ancestry and social coherence may have manifested themselves through the formation of small clusters of individual houses.

Additionally, a comparison between Sotira and Kantou has revealed some differences such as the emphasis on open spaces in Phase IV at Kantou. Finally, my suggestion is that on one hand there are important dissimilarities between the Northern and Southern part of the island, while on the other hand, local communities in the South followed individual trajectories, albeit of relatively minor importance.

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ENDNOTES

1 For a detailed survey on the Neolithic period in Cyprus see: Mantzourani 2001, 21-50.

2 In this paper I only refer to the work of Dikaios on sites of Late Neolithic date, while it should be remembered that he also excavated Early Neolithic, Chalcolithic as well as Bronze Age sites.

3 In Watkins' 1970 article one can trace all the relevant references on the preliminary reports on the excavation of the site.

4 I use the term Household in the sense of Co-residence. There has been and is still going on a hot debate among researchers about the definition of this term. For references on the issue see major works of Flannery 1972, Sahlins 1974, Halstead 1989, 1992a and 1992b, 1999, Hodder 1990, 1998 and Brück and Goodman 1999.

5 More recent account on the results of the excavation are cited in a forthcoming paper presented by the author in the International Colloquium "The Neolithic Period in Cyprus" held in Nicosia in May 2001and organized by the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus and the French School of Archaeology at Athens.