Chapter 19

Burial Treatment Based on Kinship?

The Hellenistic–Roman and Venetian-Period Tombs in the Malloura Valley

by Nathan K. Harper and Tiffiny A. Tung

Kinship is one of the primary structuring forces in human social organization. Kinship can structure marriage patterns, dictating who is acceptable as a marriage partner, and it can define who inherits land, naming rights, and a variety of resources. It can also affect where, and with whom and what, you are buried; conversely, where and with whom you are buried can redefine your kinship status and that of your descendents (both biological and fictive). In this way, burial practices are a vivid and powerful way to express kinship affiliation (and other kinds of social relationships) and highlight the kinds of benefits (and responsibilities) that those affiliations foster, such as inheritance of land or animals and the obligation to care properly for them. Death and the rituals surrounding it provide a profound moment for mourners to both create and express the deceased individual's identity and that of the group or wider community. Burial rites are used to accentuate or construct the persona of both the dead and the living (Barrett 1990), reinforce social and political continuity, and highlight social and economic connections with the deceased (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Goldstein 1980; Charles and Buikstra 1983; Brown 1995; Buikstra 1995).

Studies in bioarchaeology and archaeology have addressed many questions concerning kinship networks (Alt and Vach 1995, 1998), intracemetery variation (Stojanowski and Schillaci 2006; Stojanowski et al. 2007), social identity (Knudson and Stojanowski 2008), and burial practices (Corrucini and Shimada 2002). Underlying these analyses is the idea that an understanding of social organization — as revealed in how a community organizes the burial of their dead — can help clarify the social identity, social divisions, and the internal and external relationships of the people who populated the landscape.

The question of kinship and burial practices at Malloura is addressed here from a bioarchaeological perspective that examines dental nonmetric traits as a proxy for biological relatedness. These data are situated within a framework that accounts for the complex social negotiation that occurs when mourners transform the landscape by placing formal (and often prominent) tombs or cemeteries in a particular zone, both to construct community memory and claim rights to land and its resources (Saxe 1970: 119; Goldstein 1980; Buikstra 1995; Knapp and Ashmore 1999).

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This study uses dental morphological traits to investigate how burial location was shaped by kin affiliation among the individuals buried in the Hellenistic–Roman (310 BC–AD 150) cemetery at Mağara Tepeşi in central Cyprus (Toumazou and Counts, Ch. 6; Gordon, Ch. 14). Their relationship to the later Frankish–Venetian-period (AD 1191–1571) groups from Athienou-*Malloura* are also examined (Toumazou and Counts, Ch. 6; Harper, Ch. 20). If biological kinship was a significant structuring force in mortuary placement in ancient Malloura, then we expect to see distinct groups in each tomb. If any of the groups from Mağara Tepeşi were successful in maintaining control over land and resources, then we might observe a significant biological relationship with the later Venetian-period cemetery population. Although 1,000 years is a long time span, during which major population movements may have led to the introduction of a new biological group to the region, long-term continuity within regional populations is the norm (e.g., central Illinois, Steadman 1998; highland Peru, Kemp et al. 2009; South Africa, Stynder et al. 2007; Egypt, Irish 2005; Zakrzewski 2007).

The following presents an overview of Hellenistic and Roman-period burial practices and kinship in Cyprus. Kin and corporate group burial practices from the Hellenistic and Roman tombs are assessed statistically via dental morphological traits comparing these individuals to burials from the later Venetian-period cemetery at Malloura. By addressing questions of kin group continuity, land use, and land claims, we might better understand the social strategies employed by corporate groups in ancient Cyprus.

Archaeological Models of Kinship and Burial in Cyprus

Mortuary analysis in Cyprus has only recently come of age with several large studies focusing on the burial practices in the Neolithic through Iron Age (Toumazou 1987; Niklasson 1991; Steel 1995; Parks 1999; Keswani 2004; Janes 2008). Keswani (2004: 54), in particular, documented collective secondary burials apparently structured by large extended kin groupings in the Early and Middle Cypriot periods. By the Late Cypriot period, Keswani sees a shift, as larger "urban" centers drew people from across the region. She argues that unlike the earlier large, collective, kin-based mortuary groups, such as those seen at Ayios Iakovos-*Melia*, the new urban immigrants attempted to keep their ancestors close to their households, such as at Enkomi and Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (Keswani 2004: 140). To date, bioarchaeological testing of these hypotheses has been limited (Harper 2010).

Parks (1999) suggests that burial rites in Cyprus remained stable through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Burial rites, especially in an island environment, can be conservative depending on external contact and internal acceptance of changing practices (Renfrew 1984). Cypriot rites remained relatively unchanged from earlier periods, absorbing some foreign elements (peristyle tombs) while rejecting others (cremation). Inhumation in family-maintained, rock-cut chamber tombs, surrounded by personal possessions, offerings of food and drink, and other ritual elements (see Gordon, Ch. 14), is the norm on the island before Hellenistic times. Notably, aspects of these rituals, such as the lighting of lamps, libations, and exhumation, are still visible in burial rites in modern Cyprus.

There are several shared traits between the various Hellenistic–Roman cemeteries in Cyprus. Tombs were closely packed together in marginal areas alongside ancient roads on the edge of towns. It appears that tracts of land or cemetery plots were measured out and sold by landowners to family groups or other organizations, including burial clubs or *collegia*. These plots may have been delineated by walled enclosures, as seen in Nea Paphos (Hadjisavvas 1985). Cippi, plaques, and burial stelai marking Hellenistic and Roman-period tombs and graves are found throughout Cyprus, and the epitaphs upon them often identified the decedent in terms of family relationships (i.e., "Sogenes, son of Sokrates, son of … ") (Parks 1999: 181, 482). Parks (1999: 182) does, however, identify one set of epitaphs from Chytroi that appears to represent three families located in one tomb. To clarify further relationships between spatial burial organization and kinship, the first author is also analyzing human

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Table 19.1 Age profiles from each tomb at Mağara Tepeşi and the Venetian cemetery at Athienou-*Malloura*.

	Infant	Child	Juvenile	Adult	Total
Tomb 25	2	1	–	22	25
Tomb 26	–	4	1	31	36
Tomb 27	–	3	1	27	31
Tomb 28	1	2	3	36	42
Venetian	11	7	8	31	57

remains from Kourion's Amathous Gate Cemetery (Harper, in press).

Beginning in the Late Roman period there is a distinct movement away from the use of chamber tombs and more individuals are buried in association with basilicas (Fox 1997; Parks 1999: 385). The quantity of grave goods is reduced, though the use of lamps and coins remains common (see Gordon, Ch. 14). This reorganization is largely attributed to the introduction of Christianity, when more and more individuals were being interred in churches and churchyards. This new mortuary practice that began around the Late Roman period continues into the medieval and Venetian periods, as evidenced by the excavation of PA.SY.D.Y Hill and the Palaion Demarcheion areas of Nicosia (Pilides 2003; Violaris 2004; Fox et al. 2008). Early church burials have also been recorded at the Church of Archangelos Michael (ca. 16th–17th centuries AD), in the AAP area.

Grave goods for the medieval and Venetian periods are rather sparse. Often the only offerings were sgraffito bowls or footed bowls (see Toumazou and Counts, Ch. 6). These bowls or cups may have been used to pour oil or other libations onto the corpse, as is practiced today in modern Cyprus: "During the funeral service the priest uses a vessel out of which he pours oil onto the body of the deceased, and then throws this vessel into the grave, which usually breaks. The present-day custom requires a common household vessel, often used, and this must also have been practiced in Medieval times" (Papanicola-Bakirtzis and Iacovou 1998: 133). Other medieval grave goods include bone hairpins or bone clothing pins that may have been used to pin shrouds (Baker et al. 2007).

The People from Mağara Tepeşi and Medieval Malloura

A series of tombs is located approximately 300 m north–northeast of a rural sanctuary (see Toumazou and Counts, Ch. 6) in a part of the valley known as Mağara Tepeşi, "Hill of Tombs." A series of looted Cypro-Archaic- to Cypro-Classical-period tombs (Tombs 50–53) is located at the north end of the small hill (see fig. 6.1). Clearing of these tombs revealed very few grave goods and little skeletal material. Four tombs (Tombs 25–28) on the northeast slope of Mağara Tepeşi were excavated during the 1991–1993 field seasons (Toumazou et al. 1998; Toumazou and Counts, Ch. 6). Tombs 25, 26, and 28 were standard tombs of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus style with stepped dromoi leading to a chamber with three benches bounding its walls (fig. 19.1). Tomb 27 was larger and more elaborate, with a long, stepped *dromos* and a sunken forecourt with small loculi flanking the entrance (see fig. 6.6). The chamber was large (7 × 4 m), consisting of two stepped benches and a side chamber (see fig. 6.7).

Preliminary analyses of the recovered skeletal remains estimated the total minimum number of individuals (MNI) at 132: Tomb 25 MNI = 25; Tomb 26 MNI = 34; Tomb 27 MNI = 31; and Tomb 28 MNI = 42 (Table 19.1) (Agelarakis 1997; Tung 2000). Most of these individuals were fragmentary and commingled, though one from Tomb 26 was recovered as a complete burial. Looting contributed to much of this disturbance, but tomb reuse also must have played a role in the fragmentation and mixing of the remains. In many chamber tombs, the previous interments were collected and

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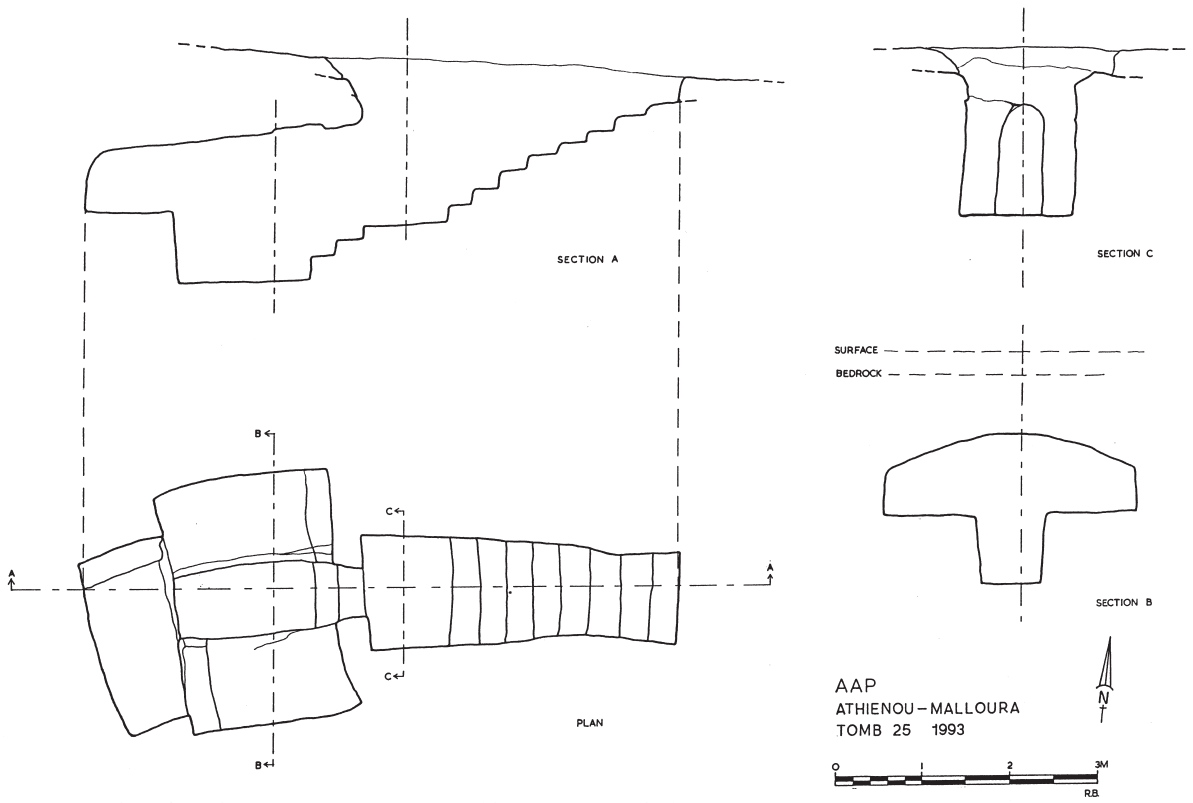

FIG. 19.1 *Plan of Tomb 25 at Mağara Tepeşi, 1993 (drawing: R. Breuker).*

stacked, pushed to the sides of the benches, or in some cases swept into the center of the chamber (Parks 1999: 231–37).

The Venetian-period burials are located in EU 6 on a small knoll between EU 2 and EU 3 (see fig. 6.1). Bulldozing and plowing disturbed a stone wall and burials, but later excavations in 1991 and 1992 uncovered at least 57 intact individuals (Agelarakis 1997). Most of the burials were oriented east–west, with individuals in stone-lined cist graves and, in one case, multiple successive interments. Grave goods were sparse but included glazed, sgraffito-ware footed bowls and preserved textiles, perhaps from a hairnet or shroud (Toumazou et al. 1998: 176). The wall in the area has not been investigated, but its association with a church would not be out of the question. At the nearby Archangelos monastery, dating to at least the 16th century, burials possessing sgraffito wares can still be seen eroding from the churchyard.

In comparing the two localities, the burials from the Venetian-period cemetery were in much better condition than those from Mağara Tepeşi. Discrete burials, such as those found in the Venetian cemetery, enable a more thorough analysis of an individual's and a population's overall health by clearly assigning pathologies to a single person. The status of the individuals buried in the Venetian-period cemetery is difficult to evaluate. High-status individuals from Christian burials tended to be buried inside the church. The location of these individuals in relation to a church is unknown, though burial in consecrated ground was preferred. These individuals may represent the *paroikoi* (serfs) or *francomati* (freedmen) of the area rather than high-status landholders.

Teeth and Kinship

Teeth are some of the most commonly preserved human remains, especially in Cyprus, where tomb conditions and persistent reuse have damaged and commingled the skeletal material. Teeth are also some of the most genetically conservative por-

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tions of the human skeleton; that is, a set number of genes controls tooth development, and environmental and developmental factors have less impact (Scott and Turner 1997; but see Stojanowski et al. 2007). Teeth, then, are an excellent source of information concerning biological relationships of individuals and groups and are well-preserved enough for population and tomb-level analyses in Cyprus. Dental nonmetric analyses have been conducted on Chalcolithic populations of Cyprus (Parras 2004, 2006), and Fox (1997: 454), in her study of the paleopathology of Roman Paphos, noted several dental and osseous traits she considered to be related to "family" tombs.

For this study, dental nonmetric traits, which include such characteristics as small variations in the number of cusps, roots, or other minor morphological features of the tooth, were scored using the Arizona State University Dental Anthropology System (ASUDAS) (Turner et al. 1991; Scott and Turner 1997). Traits observed on the sample teeth are compared to a set of standardized plaques that are accompanied with textual descriptions. The tooth under consideration is then given a score for each observable nonmetric trait; these scores can range from 1 to 3 or 1 to 8, depending on the trait being observed. After dental nonmetric scores are collected, they are later collapsed into binary categories of present or absent for a particular trait. A total of 127 traits can be recorded from the permanent dentition.

Harper scored the material from the Venetian cemetery, and Tung scored traits for Mağara Tepeşi (Tung 2000). To account for inter-observer error, one sample (Tomb 26) was recorded by both authors. Chi-square tests showed significant observer differences in the scoring of the size of Cusp 5 of the mandibular molars. These traits were excluded from further analysis. After culling of traits that showed complete expression (0%) or no expression (100%), 22 traits were subjected to further analysis (Table 19.2). Statistical analysis of the traits requires the rank-scale variables be dichotomized into "present" and "absent" scores. The cut-off points for determining presence or absence are listed under the trait names in Table 19.2.

The percentages of trait expression were analyzed using principal components analysis (PCA) (Irish and Guatelli-Steinberg 2003). PCA reduces the original number of correlated data into several uncorrelated components. Correlations between the original data and the derived components indicate which traits are the most responsible for intersample variation. Component scores for each group can then be plotted in two- or three-dimensional space allowing for a visual representation of variation. All statistical analyses were undertaken using SPSS 17.0 (SPSS 2008).

Relationships among the Dead

The PCA analysis produced three components that account for 95% of the variation. The component loading, eigenvalues, and proportion of variation are given in Table 19.3. The first component accounts for 50% of the variation, and the traits with high loadings (>0.5) are distributed throughout the dental arcade. No standardized patterning of dental variation is seen in the total sample. The first PC separates the Venetian sample from the other tombs and is based on the presence of shoveled incisors, *tuberculum dentale*, and M^2 root number (fig. 19.2). The second PC accounts for 26% of the total variation and separates Tomb 27 — the most elaborate tomb — from the other groups. The traits responsible for this separation are the double shoveling of the maxillary incisors and enamel extension on the M^2. The third PC accounts for a little more than 18% of the total variation of the sample and separates Tomb 26 from the other groups based on the interruption groove of the I^2 and M_2 root number. When the PCs are plotted together in a three-dimensional space, Tombs 25 and 28 occupy a central position, while Tombs 26, 27, and the Venetian samples are at the extremities of the first three PCs (fig. 19.3).

These results match those of the univariate analyses provided by Tung (2000). In her analysis, teeth from Tomb 27 exhibited three traits that significantly deviated from the population norms: double shoveling of the upper incisors, M_1 cusp number, and M_1 protostylid (Tung 2000: 47). Tomb 26 shows three significantly different traits includ-

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TABLE 19.2 Dental traits, cut-off points and frequencies under analysis.

Trait		Tomb 25	Tomb 26	Tomb 27	Tomb 28	Venetian
I^2 Shovel	%	67	0	10	0	12
(+ = ASU 1-6)	*N*	*9*	*23*	*10*	*3*	*26*
I^1 Shovel	%	0	0	0	0	4
(+ = ASU 3-6)	*N*	*9*	*23*	*10*	*3*	*26*
I^2 Double Shovel	%	0	0	33	0	4
(+ = ASU 2-6)	*N*	*6*	*23*	*12*	*3*	*26*
I^1 Double Shovel	%	0	3	36	20	21
(+ = ASU 2-6)	*N*	*7*	*30*	*25*	*10*	*33*
I^2 Interrupt Groove	%	11	57	36	0	21
(+ = ASU Present)	*N*	*9*	*23*	*11*	*3*	*24*
I^1 Interrupt Groove	%	13	7	28	10	9
(+ = ASU Present)	*N*	*8*	*30*	*25*	*10*	*33*
I^2 Tuberculum Dentale	%	0	91	0	0	81
(+ = ASU 2-6)	*N*	*9*	*23*	*35*	*2*	*26*
I^1 Tuberculum Dentale	%	38	53	33	56	70
(+ = ASU 2-6)	*N*	*8*	*30*	*24*	*9*	*33*
C Mesial Distal Accessory Ridge	%	46	36	25	100	3
(+ = ASU 2-5)	*N*	*13*	*14*	*12*	*5*	*31*
M^2 Hypocone	%	83	95	76	89	83
(+ = ASU 2-5)	*N*	*6*	*19*	*17*	*9*	*24*
M^2 Carabelli's Trait	%	11	15	11	13	29
(+ = ASU 2-7)	*N*	*9*	*20*	*19*	*8*	*24*
M^1 Carabelli's Trait	%	50	56	59	37	41
(+ = ASU 2-7)	*N*	*14*	*39*	*17*	*19*	*41*
M^3 Parastyle	%	0	0	0	11	17
(+ = ASU 2-6)	*N*	*5*	*0*	*4*	*9*	*18*
M^2 Enamel Extension	%	0	0	21	0	5
(+ = ASU 2-3)	*N*	*7*	*20*	*14*	*6*	*21*
M^1 Enamel Extension	%	0	21	0	0	3
(+ = ASU 2-3)	*N*	*14*	*39*	*11*	*21*	*36*
M^2 Root Number	%	11	89	0	0	94
(+ = ASU 3)	*N*	*9*	*9*	*14*	*7*	*17*
M_2 Groove Pattern	%	13	53	36	12	52
(+ = ASU "+")	*N*	*23*	*15*	*33*	*17*	*27*
M_1 Groove Pattern	%	9	13	0	7	27
(+ = ASU "+")	*N*	*11*	*23*	*17*	*14*	*26*
M_1 Cusp Number	%	18	0	10	6	25
(+ = ASU 6+)	*N*	*17*	*23*	*21*	*16*	*32*
M_1 Deflecting Wrinkle	%	0	4	17	0	5
(+ = ASU 2-3)	*N*	*1*	*25*	*6*	*1*	*22*
M_1Protostylid	%	75	40	26	44	67
(+ = ASU 1-6)	*N*	*12*	*25*	*19*	*16*	*33*
M_2 Root Number	%	8	13	0	13	4
(+ = ASU 1)	*N*	*12*	*16*	*20*	*15*	*26*

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Table 19.3 The first three components and the loading for traits. Large (> 0.5) loading are in bold and italics. Large negative loadings (<-0.5) are underlined. Eigenvalues and percentage of variance are shown at the bottom of the table.

Trait	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
I^2 Shovel	-.087	-.021	-.674
I^1 Shovel	***.867***	.011	-.495
I^2 Double Shovel	.167	-.948	.271
I^1 Double Shovel	***.543***	-.817	.041
I^2 Interrupt Groove	.492	.366	***.759***
I^1 Interrupt Groove	.280	-.882	.378
I^2 Tuberculum Dentale	***.836***	.492	.230
I^1 Tuberculum Dentale	***.975***	.198	.091
C Mesial Ridge	-.864	.431	.168
M^2 Hypocone	***.927***	.074	.359
M^2 Carabelli's Trait	***.981***	.059	-.185
M^1 Carabelli's Trait	***.729***	.418	***.528***
M^3 Parastyle	***.734***	.076	-.581
M^2 Enamel Extension	.241	-.943	.228
M^1 Enamel Extension	.271	***.607***	***.732***
M^2 Root Number	***.934***	.322	-.138
M_2 Groove Pattern	***.867***	-.454	.179
M_1 Groove Pattern	***.892***	.347	-.289
M_1 Cusp Number	***.696***	-.169	-.685
M_1 Deflecting Wrinkle	***.791***	-.260	***.545***
M_1 Protostylid	***.845***	.271	-.456
M_2 Root Number	-.134	***.910***	.096
Eigenvalues	11.085	5.821	4.067
Percent Variance	50.386	26.458	18.487
Cumulative Variance	50.386	76.844	95.331

ing double shovel of the I^1, the M_1 protostylid, and the M^2 root number.

Relationships among the Living

Results of the dental analysis suggest that kinship played a role in the organization of burials in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Malloura Valley. The individuals in Tombs 26 and 27 were distinct from one another, while the individuals from Tombs 25 and 28 showed more commonalities. This suggests that individuals interred in Tombs 25 and 28 may have been more biologically related to one another than to those buried in Tombs 26 and 27. In terms of temporal differences, the Venetian-period burial population was significantly different from the Hellenistic–Roman-era individuals. This suggests that the Venetian-period population may not be biological descendents of the Hellenistic–Roman-era communities that occupied the lands some 1,000 years earlier.

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Mortuary rituals and burial can be used as social strategies to promote many different ideas, among them claims on land and other critical resources (Saxe 1970: 119; Buikstra 1995). The biological relationships between the dead in the Malloura Valley are now better understood, but how do these results inform us about the social strategies and social structure of the people living in the valley in the past?

The placement of the tombs stretching from the southeast ridge to the northwest slope of Mağara Tepeşi is informative. Tombs 25, 26, and 28 constructed during the Hellenistic era are closer to the earlier Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical tombs, indicating, perhaps, continuity with those earlier populations. The location of Tomb 27 in particular fits with its elaborate construction and rich grave goods. Tomb 27 occupies a preferred position on the hill. When standing at the top of the stepped *dromos*, one can view the agricultural fields to the north, the early Roman and Byzantine structures, and the sanctuary proper.

Other tombs across the valley may have been placed in specific fields or on the outskirts of the settlement, as with Tombs 101 and 102. Mağara Tepeşi could have bounded a road or track running along the intermittent stream that courses through the settlement and sanctuary area. The display of mortuary architecture along roads entering towns and cities is well-documented (Parks 1999: 117–18). Tomb 27, with its apparently preferred location at the southeast slope of the hill, in addition to its later construction date, represents a break from the earlier line of tombs; these characteristics may also suggest the establishment of a high-status kin group within Malloura. If Tomb 27 is actually earlier than the others, then this might reflect an older, higher-status corporate group in the Malloura Valley.

The excavated portion of the later Venetian-period cemetery could represent lower-status individuals from the settlement, perhaps the *paroikoi* or *francomati*. If indeed this cemetery is associated with a church, then higher-status individuals should be located in the church, as

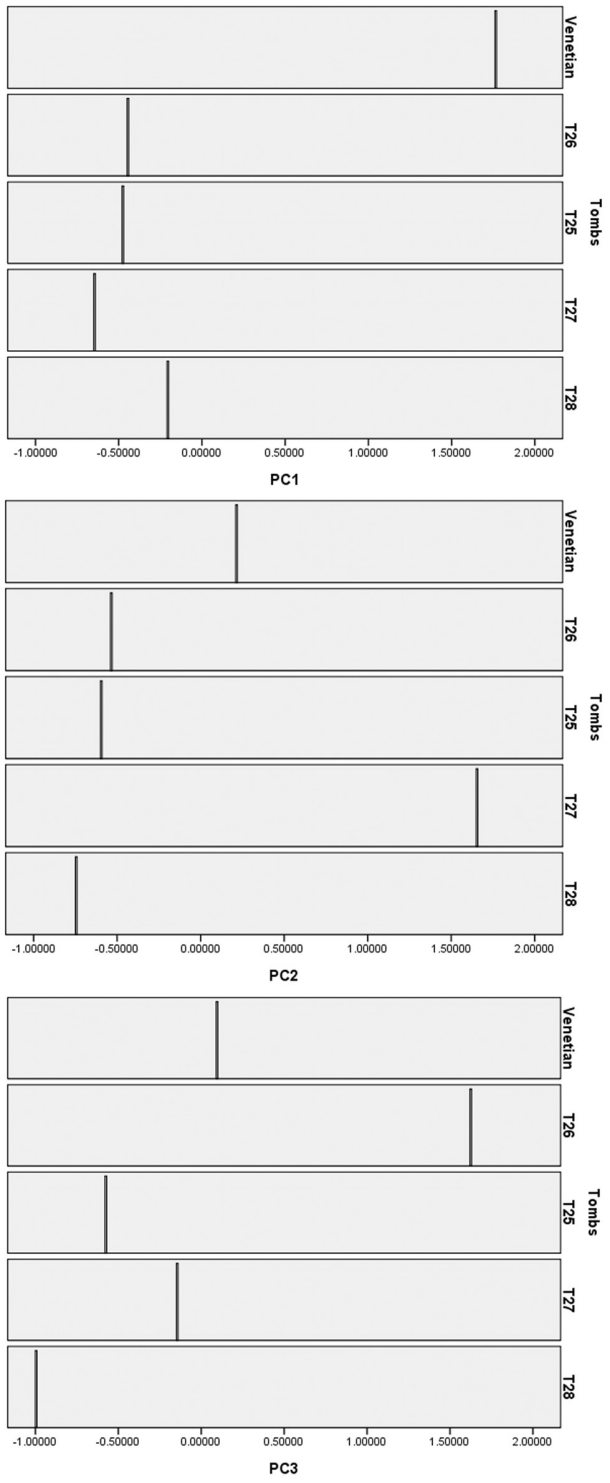

FIG. 19.2 *This figure shows the three principal components and the scores for each group. On PC1 at the top of the figure, the Venetian group is seen separated to the right. PC2 shows the separation of Tomb 27 to the right of the graph. PC3 at the bottom shows the position of Tomb 26.*

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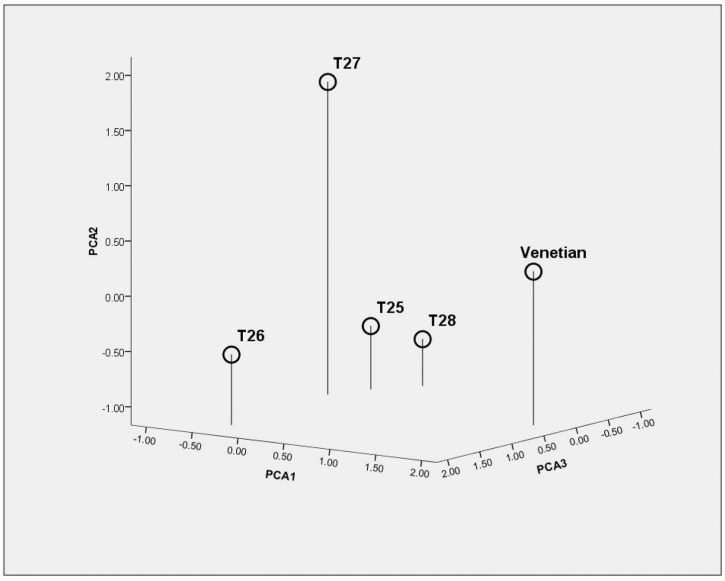

Fig. 19.3. *A three-dimensional plot of all three principal components. The placement of Tomb 27, Tomb 26 and the Venetian sample are clear. Tombs 25 and 26 occupy a position at the center of the plot.*

is seen at PA.SY.D.Y. and the Palaion Demarcheion in Nicosia. Future investigations of this area should pursue the possibility that this cemetery is more extensive and may include a church. With a larger sample of individuals from both inside and outside the church area, questions of long-term continuity in corporate groups can be examined.

Conclusion

The tombs from Mağara Tepeşi in the Malloura Valley of central Cyprus provide a unique example of well-excavated Hellenistic–Roman tombs. This study of dental nonmetric traits from the individuals in the tombs at Malloura shows that burial treatment (i.e., placement) may be strongly linked to kin or corporate group identity. This apparent emphasis on placing related individuals in specific tombs — tombs that would have been highly visible to others — in an environment where access to ownership of agricultural land was limited and closely monitored provides a picture of mortuary practices that were key components for constructing beliefs about the legitimacy of ownership and access to lands. Tomb architecture and grave goods have led the excavators to suggest that the larger and more elaborate of these tombs may have housed the dead of a high-status corporate or kin group. To test this hypothesis, nonmetric dental traits, a reliable indicator of genetic relatedness, were analyzed to document the biological relationships between those buried in the Hellenistic–Roman tombs to evaluate whether particular kin groups used specific tombs. This study also compared the Hellenistic–Roman population to the later Venetian-period burial population at Malloura to evaluate whether there was population continuity or whether a distinct biological group migrated into the region centuries later. Results indicate that Tombs 27 and 26 likely housed separate kin or corporate groups, while Tombs 25 and 28 show a close relationship suggesting that together they may represent another kin group. Nonetheless, all four tomb populations exhibit a high level of biological relatedness that likely had a significant impact on corporate group claims to land and critical resources.

No continuity between the burials of Mağara Tepeşi and those of Venetian Malloura is indicated in the dental data, but this is not surprising in light of the long temporal span and the history of Cyprus as a crossroads. By the Venetian period, the burial program that had previously been a symbol of prestige and a marker of land ownership was replaced by austere burial in Christian churchyards. This change may in part reflect the different character of Malloura in the two periods. During the time when the tombs were being used, the sanctuary served as a location where elites could dedicate elaborate statues and other offerings (see Counts, Ch. 11). By the Venetian period, Malloura was the location of an agricultural settlement, which, while it had some expensive structures, also clearly contained a rural population of common farmers. If these changes in the biological profile are not related to those expected from natural selection and genetic drift, then the data suggest a distinct population

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migrated into the area sometime after the collapse of the Roman Empire or just prior to the Venetian-era occupation of this region. As the study of these several populations continues, we hope to discern more clearly the health and social status of valley residents, qualities that are in part reflected in their skeletal remains. The bioarchaeological approach to burial and the construction of identity has much to offer future research within Malloura, Cyprus, and the eastern Mediterranean.

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