

Contextual Clay Bodies:
Figurine Use and Meaning in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

by

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The goal of this dissertation is to examine how figurine production, use, meaning, and deposition relate to the lived experience on Cyprus from ca. 1650-1050 BCE. In order to do this, I intend to examine the contextual use and function of figurines, exploring questions of materiality, identity, and community. The Late Bronze Age saw dramatic shifts in Cypriot life—from the focus on coastal centers, the economic focus on copper mining and international trade, settlement structure and architecture, modes of ceramic production and styles, and to the political structures and new social hierarchies that emerged. How do clay figurines, which are small, hand-held, portable, and made from a readily available material, relate to these social, political, and economic changes during the Late Bronze Age, if they do at all?

Late Bronze Age clay figurines on Cyprus were chosen as the focus of this study for three main reasons. First, the island has a complex, continuous figurine-making tradition dating back to the Neolithic (Manning *et al.* 2010: 697). Second, clay is broadly accessible and became the most common figurine material at the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Because they are made of widely available material, figurines provide an opportunity to examine objects potentially used by a wide range of people of different social and economic statuses. Finally, Late Bronze Age Cyprus is characterized by an increase in foreign trade and access, significantly altering life on the island, including pottery production techniques, eating and feasting practices, and socio-political organization. These shifts in local Cypriot life are likely reflected in the production, use, and deposition of figurines. Taken altogether, Late Bronze Age Cypriot clay

figurines provide an opportunity to explore questions of use, meaning, and the body, as well as to apply original methodologies and theoretical frameworks from multiple disciplines.

Initially, this work began as an exploration of humanness as reflected in clay. Contrary to expectations, however, and as will become evident in following chapters, anthropomorphic figurines are not as common within the archaeological record as traditional scholarship would have us believe (i.e., Karageorghis 1991a; Morris 1985). Instead, zoomorphic figurines are in the majority. This realization resulted in a shift in focus from one examining embodied experience to one centered around the complex understandings not just of the human body, but also the relationships with other types of bodies, including other humans, animals, figurines, and human-animal hybrids.

This first chapter lays out the guiding research questions, why figurines matter, historical context, methodology, the case-study sites used for analysis, and finally the organization of the dissertation as a whole.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this dissertation are as follows:

1. What are the patterns in body attributes, decoration, fragmentation, context, and assemblage in Cypriot figurines? What do these patterns reveal about the uses and meanings of clay figurines in the Late Bronze Age?
2. How do clay figurines—their manufacture, use, and deposition—fit within the wider conception of the Cypriot body? Do they reflect similar bodies and

practices as other groups of materials, such as human and animal remains, or do they reflect/represent a different type of corporeality?

3. What can clay figurines reveal about how people identified themselves and their communities in Late Bronze Age Cyprus?

The first question—what patterns in body attributes, production techniques, and decorative styles reveal about figurine use and meaning—explores patterns in figurine attributes and assemblages within domestic, production, cultic, and mortuary contexts at six well-excavated and published sites dating to the Cypriot Late Bronze Age. This analysis is multi-scalar, examining patterns in figurine attributes, decoration, assemblage, context, and fragmentation, on figurine, site, and regional levels. Patterns in elements of the body, iconographic style, and their assemblages lead to more nuanced understandings of use and meaning that would otherwise be lost without archaeological context, and is the first step in beginning to examine the other two research questions.

The second question focuses on theories of the body; it aims to better understand the possible connections between the body as artistically represented in clay figurines and other evidence for bodies in the archaeological record and how these make up the Late Bronze Age Cypriot “body world” (Robb and Harris 2013). It is necessary to step back and contextualize clay bodies among the other types of bodies present in the archaeological record. Because of the surprising prominence of animal figurines in the data, non-human bodies must also be included in the discussion of a Cypriot “body world”, not only to consider the connections between animals in clay and other evidence for animal bodies in the archaeological record, but also to

consider why people would want to create, use, and deposit animal figurines more than anthropomorphic ones. Beyond simply mirroring the different bodies in clay present in the Late Bronze Age, including animal bodies avoids modern assumptions of anthropomorphism and the body. Instead of a clear human-animal divide, there is evidence for a blurred boundary; this Late Bronze Age Cypriot-specific understanding of “what is a body” would be lost without the inclusion of all figurines regardless of their physical resemblance to the human from a given site.

The final question considers what the patterns in attributes, assemblage, context, and fragmentation can tell us about how people define themselves and those around them. This question is guided by theoretical frameworks including identity and community formation that will be introduced in Chapter Two. Interacting with figurines can be intimate and symbolically laden, and these interactions can, in turn, reflect and shape understandings of the body, including how one identifies oneself, and how people relate to one another (and to other animals) and create communities. The patterns that will be discussed at length in Chapters Four and Five demonstrate that figurines likely played a role in the establishment and reinforcement of elite, regional identities.

Why Figurines Matter

Figurines—three-dimensional objects, usually hand-held in size, and intended to represent or symbolize a being, object, or idea in miniature (Bailey 2005: 15)—are enigmatic objects usually associated with prehistory and symbolic ritual. They are practically universal, can be made of almost any material, and have long and complicated histories of human use. Yet these are not just things of the past. Figurines are still very visible in the present. They can

come in a variety of forms, from human figures, to buildings, to animals, to fictional characters used as part of games. In the modern world, they are religious idols, toys, and aesthetic items intended for display. One look around any modern home would result in finding numerous figurines: the miniature of a famous sculpture purchased as a souvenir from a museum, a decorative gnome in a garden, or brightly colored plastic dinosaurs a child plays with (and is sometimes lost under a couch).

One modern example of the complex interactions and relationships people can have with figurines is that of Warhammer 40,000 figurines (Figure 1.1). Warhammer figurines are used as part of a tabletop game where players have massive armies of figurines that they must organize and maneuver around a battlefield. Having a large collection of figurines is essential to dedicated players. Beyond this, most Warhammer figurines are sold as plastic, grey pieces that must be manually glued together and painted before use. These small objects have many roles and meanings. They are objects of creativity, allowing an individual to make decisions on how to paint and decorate them. They are also objects of display, as individuals proudly show off their skills in miniature paintings. Finally, they are objects of play, used in a complex, competitive tabletop game. A single figurine can have very different functions and importance that are dependent on the person interacting with it and the space within which the interaction is taking place (a collection display case, a gaming room, etc.). This example demonstrates the necessity of a close, contextual analysis of figurines, as the same figurine can have very different functions and meanings that are variable based on the contexts they are used in and the people they are used by.



Figure 1.1: Multiple “stages” of interactions with Warhammer 40,000 figurines. Adobe Stock Photos.

As artifacts, figurines are popular foci of ideas about the past that are still closely tied to the present. Think, for example, of the popularity of the Mother Goddess narrative in the mid-twentieth century or the early twentieth-century artists such as Pablo Picasso who took direct inspiration from ancient figurines (Conkey and Tringham 1998; Sachini 1984). Contrary to how prevalent and captivating prehistoric figurines are today, they are underrepresented in modern archaeological scholarship (Faust and Halperin 2009: 1). Figurines can, however, provide opportunities to explore and combine theoretical frameworks such as materiality, identity, and archaeology of the body. While small, figurines have the ability to explore questions about community identity, belief systems, social hierarchy, and daily practice in uniquely intimate ways.

In this vein, this project investigates questions of the meaning and use of Late Bronze Age Cypriot clay figurines and considers how figurines on Cyprus may (or may not) reflect different aspects of lived experience. As figurines can serve as a key way for people to define the essential aspects of understanding bodies and embodied practice (Joyce 2008: 42), this dissertation focuses on understanding Cypriot figurines within the larger framework of Cypriot concepts of the body, identity, and community during the Late Bronze Age.

Historical Background

The Late Bronze Age dates roughly from 1650-1050 BCE. There are multiple chronologies for Cyprus during the second millennium (Pre- and Protohistoric Bronze Age; Middle and Late Cypriot), and their dates are listed below in Table 1.1. For the purposes of this study, I follow the radiocarbon-calibrated chronology of Manning (2013), with the Late Bronze Age beginning in 1650 BCE, which roughly equates to the Late Cypriot I period, and is also commonly referred to as Protohistoric Bronze Age (ProBA) I.

Traditional Chronology	Alternative Chronology	Broad terminology	Date Range in BCE
Middle Cypriot III (MC)	ProBA 1	Middle Bronze Age	1800/1750-1690/50
Late Cypriot I (LC)		Late Bronze Age	1690/50-1450
LC II A-B	ProBA 2		1450-1340/25
LC IIC			ProBA 3
LC IIIA	1200-1125/1100		
LC IIIB	Protogeometric		Early Iron Age
Cypro-Geometric (CG)		1050-750	

Table 1.1: Chronologies of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Derived from Knapp 2013a: Table 2; Manning 2013: 513-515, Table A2; Fisher 2023: Table 1.

Cyprus provides the opportunity to explore a rich dataset—in this case, clay figurines—during a period that saw complex changes in social, political, and economic organization on the island. In the mid-second millennium BCE, Cypriot economies developed an emphasis on external, Mediterranean-wide access to goods. This is reflected not only in increased amounts of imported materials on Cyprus, but also the

associated rise of the popularity of Cypriot material culture elsewhere—White Slip bowls, for example, became extremely popular in the Levant and even North Africa during the Late Bronze Age (Knapp 2013a: 404). What follows is a brief summary of currently scholarly understandings of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, with emphasis on the sociopolitical organization on the island.

The Beginnings of the Late Cypriot Period: ProBA 1

Around 1700 BCE, Cyprus is characterized by a socio-cultural transformation. Knapp (2013b: 115-166) has argued that this was in part due to the control of land, access to copper, and associated labor, as well as more specialized production and organization associated with the copper industry. There are multiple social developments that appeared at this point, including clear distinctions in social status within burials, the development of a writing system, large-scale regional and interregional trade, building of fortifications, and intensified production and exportation of copper (Knapp 2013a: 348).

Of course, these social, political, and economic developments had their beginnings in the Middle Cypriot period. Although the Late Bronze Age provides the most evidence for intensified foreign contact, Cyprus was involved in varying degrees of trade and exchange throughout the second millennium BCE (Knapp 2008: 131; see Webb and Knapp 2021 for overview). Middle Cypriot pottery has been found at Levantine and Egyptian sites, indicating that the trade was already underway and part of the Cypriot economy before the Late Bronze Age (Knapp 2013a: 349). Middle Cypriot I-II saw the development of a complex agro-pastoral social and economic system, and, particularly on

the north coast, an increase in industry, mainly copper mining and oil production, and a growing focus on urban coastal settlements that continued into MC III. With the increase in coastal centers came a reorienting of island economies and socio-political powers to the wider eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 2008: 132-133; Webb and Knapp 2021: 224-228). Evidence for increased social inequality is also present in the Prehistoric Bronze Age in the differentiation of burial practices, such as the quantity and quality of grave goods (Keswani 2004).

Acknowledging the importance of social developments in the Middle Cypriot period, Webb (2019: 23) sees the changes at the beginning of ProBA 1 not as novel, but instead the further development of systems that already existed on the north coast in the Middle Bronze Age, potentially as early as the Early Cypriot period. There is a clear shift in focus within Cyprus from the north to the south and east coasts, with expansion and creation of settlements in the south and southeast of the island (Keswani 1996; Knapp 1997: 46-47; 2013: 352). Sites founded in the ProBA 1 were established in response to foreign demand for copper and the increasing local demand for imported goods, with local elites central to the rise of these sites (Knapp 1998a; Manning *et al.* 2002; Crewe 2007: 12-14).

There are limited data for the socio-political organization of Cyprus during this early Late Cypriot period. Enkomi, founded in MCIII, has produced the most evidence for this early part of the Late Bronze Age. Based on Enkomi's increased consumption of imported prestige goods, focus on the copper industry, and glyptic evidence for more centralized organization, Peltenburg (1996) argued for the emergence of an Enkomi-

centered state on the eastern coast of Cyprus from the 16th to the mid-14th century BCE organization, that may possibly have had wider control on the island (see also Webb 2002a). However, while Enkomi is the most well-studied site for this period, it is by no means only major coastal site that emerged at this time. Others include Hala Sultan Tekke, Kourion *Bamboula*, and Maroni. Crewe (2007: 9) has argued that these other sites are simply less well-studied, and that there was a more decentralized sociopolitical organization on Cyprus during this period than is reflected in the current archaeological record. During the ProBA 1, monumental construction became a prominent feature of urban sites, and this trend continued throughout the rest of the Protohistoric Bronze Age (Knapp 2013: 363)

The “International” Late Bronze Age: ProBA 2 to ProBA 3

The Late Bronze Age in general is defined by increased amounts of trade throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Trade networks moved between the great empires of the Near East, such as Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Hatti, as well as the smaller city-based states of the Levant, Cyprus, and the Aegean (Aruz *et al.* 2008; Knapp 1991; Mynářová 2007: 40; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). The materials and objects traded included, but were not limited to, pottery, timber, oils, jewelry, textiles, and, importantly, copper. As the demand for copper grew in the Late Bronze Age, areas rich in copper, including Cyprus, rapidly grew economically, socially, and politically. Attesting to the importance of Cyprus within the eastern Mediterranean trade networks, almost 10 tons of

Cypriot copper and 165 pieces of Cypriot pottery were found in the excavations of the 14th century BCE Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak 1997; 2001; Knapp 2018a: 157-162).

With these intensified trading networks also came close diplomatic ties in the eastern Mediterranean. While the Amarna Letters are the best textual evidence of these elite connections, the archives at Ugarit and Hattuša also provide evidence for written correspondence between rulers, including treaties and gift exchange (Moran 1992; Zaccagnini 1983: 250). By the 14th century BCE, Cypriot rulers were participating in “state-level” exchanges with the states in the Levant, Egypt, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia.

Associated with these networks of ruling elites, the Late Bronze Age saw a rise in foreign or foreign-influenced luxury objects produced and consumed by elites throughout the eastern Mediterranean. These exotic items, often made of expensive foreign materials, can be seen as physical manifestations of Late Bronze Age diplomatic relations (Feldman 2006: 112). “International Style” objects combine materials, object types, artistic motifs, and artistic styles from different areas within the wider diplomatic network, resulting in items of ambiguous origin (Feldman 2002: 7; 2006: 113). Elites in the Late Bronze Age were consumers of these hybrid objects, which were a product of their diplomatic correspondences and connections to other rulers in the trade network. These hybrids common throughout the eastern Mediterranean, referred to as reflecting an international *koiné*, were generally symbolic representations of access to foreign contact (see Feldman 2002 and 2006 for detailed case studies).

Alašiya, known from the textual sources from as early as the 19th century BCE, is most likely connected to the island of Cyprus (Knapp 1996: 17-20).¹ The King of Alašiya, present in both the archives at Amarna and Ugarit, is generally assumed to have ruled an independent polity rich in copper, but much smaller than their Egyptian or Hittite counterparts (Knapp 2008: 130). Logically, many scholars connected this with the island of Cyprus for its abundant copper mines in the Troodos Mountains. An analysis of the clay fabrics of the Amarna Letters has solidified this argument, as the clays used for the Alašiya Letters are compatible with the geology of the southern Troodos Mountains and match clay types from that area (Goren *et al.* 2004: 72-73).² Further, Cyprus was characterized by increased economic, social, and political complexity during the Late Bronze Age, suggesting that Cyprus—or at least some polity on the island—had the ability to trade and communicate with other “Great Kings” of the period. There is little reason to not locate the kingdom of Alašiya on the island of Cyprus.

Multiple correspondences between the king of Alašiya and the king of Egypt are found at Amarna, dating to the mid-14th century, while correspondences found at Ugarit date to the end of the 13th century, attesting to Cyprus’ power in the region throughout this period. Interestingly, the king of Alašiya, who refers to the king of Egypt as “brother,” denoting their equal status, is referred to as “father” by the king of Ugarit, demonstrating that the Cypriot ruler had a higher status than that of the Ugaritic king within this kingly sphere (Fisher 2023: 39).

¹ John Strange (1980) argued that Cyprus should instead be connected to Caphtor/Keftiu (a place name in Egyptian, Levantine, Anatolian, and Mesopotamian texts). See also Merrillees 1982 and Knapp 1985 (for rebuttal).

² See, however, Merrillees 2011 for a critique of the small sample size.

The question is: what exactly was Alašiya and how does it relate to the archaeological record in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age? Knapp (2008: 340-341) has suggested that there was a centralized state with Enkomi as the “capital”, with secondary-center sites at Alassa and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* during the ProBA 2, based primarily on evidence for shared elite material culture, such as cylinder seals and feasting sets (however, see Fisher 2023: 41-42 for rebuttal). Iacovou, on the other hand, argues that, while Alašiya should be connected with the site of Enkomi, Enkomi/Alašiya did not control the entire island (Iacovou 2007: 16-19). Others (including Manning and De Mita 1997: 108-109; Peltenburg 2012; Fisher 2023) have argued that the king of Alašiya likely served more as a figurehead, with Cyprus being characterized by regional groups of control and negotiations; the role of king was needed in order to be part of international relations and exchange, but perhaps had less power within Cyprus itself.

By the ProBA 2, the archaeological record provides evidence for the increased urbanization of sites established in the ProBA 1, as well as at newly founded sites including Alassa, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and Kition (Fisher 2023: 37). Keswani (1993; 1996; 2004) has argued that, based on tomb assemblages, which suggest elite goods were acquired independently at different sites, there is a lack of centralized control throughout the island, pointing to the presence of multiple independent polities. The diversity in public buildings at urban sites throughout the island also speaks to the autonomous nature of socio-political organization on the island at the time (Fisher 2023: 38). Taking influence from the work of Webb and Fisher, I argue that during the ProBA 2 and into the ProBA 3 Cyprus was most likely characterized by regional centers of control, which exercised local power over resources and production, as well the

importation and exportation of foreign goods (see Webb 1999; 2002: 129-130; Fisher 2014; 2023).³ These coastal centers were characterized by an explosion of social stratification, best seen in elite grave assemblages and monumental construction, as well as the rapid importation of foreign raw materials and finished objects (Keswani 1993: 75).

Cyprus was not only a part of the Late Bronze Age trade networks, but instead constituted a key element in these networks on both a state level and a smaller-scale level (see Cline 1994; 1995; Manning and Hulin 2005: 273). Its abundance of copper and its location less than 200 km west of the northern Levant enabled multiple sites on Cyprus to become major entrepôts during the period (Van Soldt 2010: 199). Because of the surge in copper demand, mining became essential to the Cypriot economy. Cypriot communities had powerful agency in the use, adoption, and adaptation of foreign materials, goods, and ideas. Throughout the Protohistoric Bronze Age, elite identity and ideology was “intimately linked to monumentality, tomb construction, mortuary ritual and the consumption of exotica” (Knapp 2013a: 381). The symbolism of elite identity can be seen in social practices that involve elite material culture, including seals, bronze objects, and figurines, resulting in uniquely Cypriot identity formation (Knapp 1986a; Knapp 2013a: 381).

³ Whether this is also the case for the beginning of the Late Cypriot period, ProBA I, is still up for debate, as there is not enough evidence outside of Enkomi for socio-political and economic organization.

The “End” of the Late Cypriot: ProBA 3 to Protogeometric

Towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the middle of the ProBA 3 at the transition around 1200 BCE, there is a yet another shift in sociopolitical organization on Cyprus; multiple sites, including Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, were abandoned, while others including Enkomi and Alassa suffered destruction, but were rebuilt. Other sites, such as Kourion, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kition, continued into LC IIIA with very little disruption (Knapp and Manning 2016: 132). This period is often considered the “crisis years” (see Ward and Joukowsky 1992), with the upheaval of many Late Bronze Age settlements not only evident in Cyprus, but also throughout the eastern Mediterranean, often attributed to the “Sea Peoples” (see Oren 2000 edited volume; Hitchcock and Maeir 2016).

The end of the Late Bronze Age period indeed does see significant sociopolitical change and restructuring of settlement patterns in Cyprus, including an increase in Aegean material culture (best evidenced in Jung’s 2011 analysis of Aegean wares at 13th and 12th century BCE Enkomi). The amount of actual colonization or migration that occurred is still a topic of debate,⁴ but what can be recognized is a shift from that of the earlier Protohistoric Bronze Age periods. Broodbank has rightly described this period as a time of resilience and transformation (2013: 468): taking advantage of social changes and the abandonment of regional centers, power seems to have been consolidated at three sites: Enkomi, Kition, and Palaepaphos (Knapp 2013a: 451; Iacovou 2005).

⁴ E.g., Yasur-Landau 2010; Jung 2011; Iacovou 2013; Hitchcock and Maeir 2016; Knapp and Manning 2016.

Cypriot Figurines in the Late Bronze Age

Many scholars have argued that the miniature figural traditions of Cyprus' Late Bronze Age were a result of new, imported belief systems, production techniques, and figurine traditions (Begg 1991; Dikaios 1969; Karageorghis 1991a; Knox 2012). This scholarship is varied in its conclusions—some making Aegean-colonist arguments, others Ugaritic/northern Levantine settlement, and yet others the adoption of Egyptian gods—but they tend to treat Cypriot figurines (and, in turn, the Cypriot people who made and used them) as passive objects that shifted to meet new, foreign, non-Cypriot needs (Budin 2011; Iacovou 2013, see also Karageorghis 1991a; Knox 2012). The so-called “Astarte” figurines that are the most well-known stylistic type from Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Figure 1.2) are often used to discuss gender, fertility, and the rapid adoption of a foreign fertility goddess in Cyprus. Astarte is a Levantine goddess whose name derives from Akkadian. Because of stylistic similarities to earlier Syrian figurine traditions, most scholarship has suggested that Cypriot Astarte figurines represent the adoption of a Near Eastern fertility goddess (see overview in Budin 2015; Knox 2012). While this may in fact be true, these interpretations rely almost solely on visual artistic elements, often ignoring local aspects of production, archaeological context, and assemblage. Knapp (2008: 176), in a notable exception, refers to these figurines as “bird-shaped” due to the beak-like nose and placement of the eyes. This enables him to sidestep any specific associations between the figurines and (non-Cypriot) deities, and also brings attention to visual connections between human and animal forms within a presumed human figurine.



Figure 1.2: “Astarte” figurine, Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb VIII. British Museum No. 1898,1201.218.

By examining figurine assemblages within a site, and within specific contexts (such as domestic courtyards or cultic centers), interpretations of Cypriot figurines can more carefully consider the local *island-focused* use of figurines, considering how foreign ideas may be incorporated into Cypriot activities and used or adapted to fit Cypriot needs. The question of agency is central to this study, and it is essential to remember the role of local Cypriot communities in the production, use, and deposition of clay figurines. This dissertation does not start with comparisons to foreign repertoires, but instead contextualizes figurines and their multifaceted uses within the Cypriot communities that were making and using them.

Case Study Sites

This study is not intended to be a catalog of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Instead, it examines site assemblages and explores the applicability of both the methodological and theoretical perspectives presented. One of the most essential elements here is context—meaning an object’s scientifically recorded location within archaeological stratigraphy and its relationship to other objects and materials excavated at a site. Thus, unlike many other figurine-focused projects, I do not use any of the “best known” unprovenanced examples in my analysis. The sites chosen for examination (described below) were picked for geographic coverage, amount of figurine finds, and because these are currently the best recorded and published Late Bronze Age sites.

Dataset Problems and Prospects

While I have tried to balance data and analysis as far as possible, it is important to acknowledge the weak spots of the evidence: excavation biases towards elite spaces, a focus on the southern coast of Cyprus, and limited numbers of figurines at various sites.

Because I am using only published material, there is inherent bias in the data—the majority of sites featured are large coastal sites, frequently described as regional centers of trade and administrative control on the island. These excavations have generally focused on elite spaces and tombs, resulting in data that are reflective of a specific social group with political and economic power. All sites (save Maa *Palaeokastro*) belong to the first tier in Knapp’s settlement hierarchy, with Maa *Palaeokastro* belonging to the second tier (see Knapp 2013: 355)—the evidence is skewed towards urban, elite contexts.

However, an emphasis on coastal elite centers provides the opportunity to explore the interplay between Cypriot figurine use, materiality, corporeality, and the importance of these sites within both island socio-politics and the wider Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade networks. Also worth noting is that all sites except Enkomi are located within the Republic of Cyprus (meaning a focus on the southern half of the island). Thus, this analysis cannot consider larger regional questions within Cyprus, such as figurine production differences between northern and southern coastal centers, and instead can only offer interpretations for sites along the southern coast of Cyprus.

Another impact of a focus on the selected case-study sites is that the datasets themselves are relatively small; the excavations at Maa *Palaeokastro*, for example, only produced 10 figurine fragments. This can be seen as limiting: statistical analysis for smaller datasets can be considered less reliable. However, the small numbers themselves speak to the surprising rarity of figurine fragments in Late Bronze Age Cypriot excavations. When all the case-study site data are added together, there are a total of 241 figurine fragments, with the majority of figurines coming from Enkomi and Kition (83 and 62 fragments recovered, respectively). This does skew the data to reflect the patterns at these two large coastal sites. In order to combat these biases in the site datasets, I include a discussion of “counterpatterns” that demonstrates that not all sites follow the same patterns in body attributes, context, and assemblage.

Additionally, the sites all have different chronologies and timescales; Enkomi and Kition have far longer periods of occupation than that of Maa *Palaeokastro* or Alassa, for example (see Table 1.2 for chronology of site occupations with estimated founding and

abandonment of each case-study site). As will be discussed in Chapter 6, a goal for further research indeed would be to more closely examine changes over time in figurine use and meaning. Within the confines of this dissertation, however, the limited number of figurines for each site makes temporal analysis less statistically significant: for all of Kition's Late Bronze Age occupation, *only* 62 fragments have been found.

Site	Est. Founding	Est. Abandonment
Enkomi	ProBA 1	Protogeometric
Kition	ProBA 2	4th c. CE
Hala Sultan Tekke	ProBA 1	Protogeometric
Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	ProBA2 (LC IIA:1)	ProBA 3
Alassa	ProBA 2 (LC IIB)	start of ProBA 3
Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	Beginning of ProBA 3; LC IIC	end of ProBA 3; LC IIIA

Table 1.2: Late Bronze Age occupation of case-study sites. Based on Crewe 2007; Karageorghis 1985b; Smith 2009; Fischer and Bürge 2018; Fisher *et al.* 2019; South 1997; Hadjisavvas 2017; Karageorghis and Demas 1988; Georgiou 2023.

Site	ProBA 1 1700-1450	ProBA 2 1450-1340	ProBA 3 1340-1100	Protogeometric 1100-1050
ENK	0	8 (all Area III)	3 (Area I), 22 (Area III)	17 (Area I), 20 (Area III)
KIT		0	13 (Area I), 18 (Area II)	17 (Area I), 12 (Area II)
HST	0	7	23	0
KAD		2 (LC IIA), 28 (LC IIB-IIC)	0	
ALA		0	18	
MAA			10	
TOTAL:	0	45	107	66

Table 1.3: Late Bronze Age chronology of figurines at case-study sites. Greyed-out areas indicate a period in which a site was not occupied (refer to Table 1.2).⁵

⁵ There are an additional 23 figurines with no published stratigraphic information but are from recorded contexts.

This dissertation focuses the analysis on context-types, but another way to conceptualize Late Cypriot figurine use is examining change over time. Table 1.3 breaks down the chronology of figurine findspots at each case-study site: no figurines come from ProBA 1, there are 45 from ProBA 2 (the majority of which are from Kalavassos), 107 from ProBA 3, and 66 from Protogeometric (all from Enkomi and Kition). Of note is that figurine deposition is far more common in the last half of the Late Bronze Age. Thus, the majority of the analysis within this study is centered on the end of ProBA 2 to the beginning of the Protogeometric period, with the majority of figurines coming from ProBA 3 contexts.

Site Descriptions

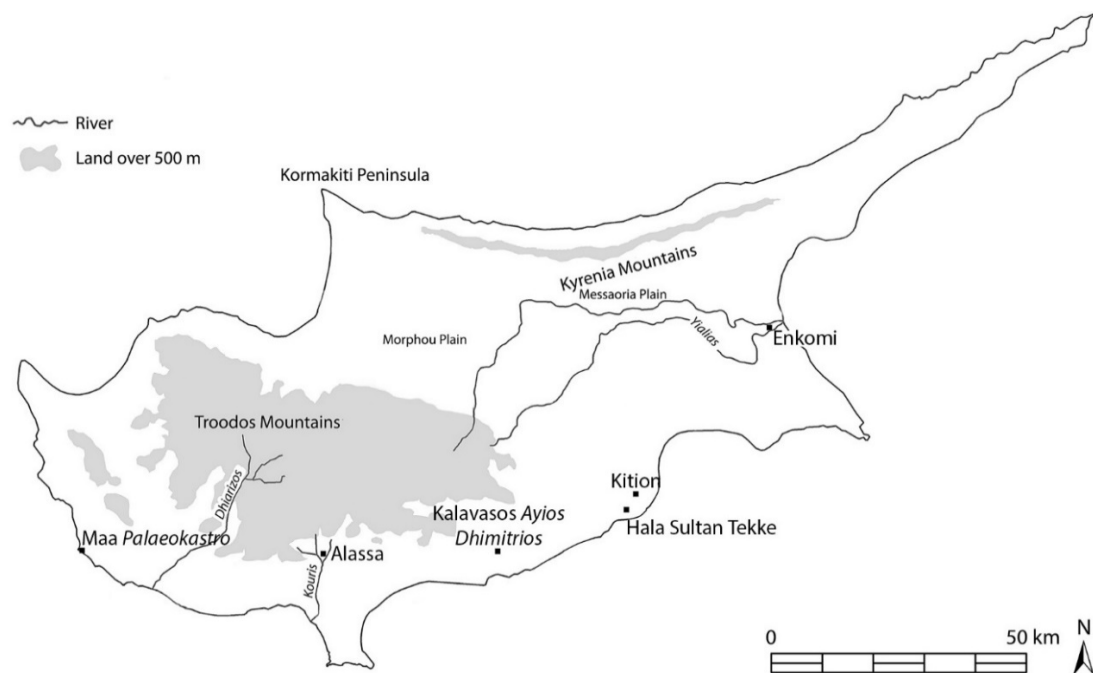


Figure 1.3: Map of case study sites. Adapted from Voskos and Knapp 2008: 665.

Enkomi (referred to in the database as *ENK*) has seen archaeological investigations since 1896, with the majority of excavations taking place during the 1940's and 1950's by the French Archaeological Mission and Cyprus Government Joint Expedition to Enkomi, under the directorships of Claude Schaeffer and Porphyrios Dikaios, respectively. Located on the eastern coast of Cyprus, it is now within the Turkish occupied territory; however, the majority of excavated material remains at the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. Enkomi is one of the earliest urban Late Cypriot coastal settlements in Cyprus, being established in the MCIII period, and seems to have been one of the most prominent centers at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Crewe 2007: 79). During its earliest phases (Level IA and IB), Enkomi's settlement includes a monumental "fortress" in Dikaios' Area III, with evidence for copper smelting in the building's second phase (Level IB; Dikaios 1969: 21; Knapp 2013: 362). In ProBA 2, two notable monumental structures appear: the Ashlar Building in Quartier 4W (Dikaios' Area I; see Courtois *et al.* 1986: 18-20; Dikaios 1969: 171-220), and "Batiment 18" in Quartier 5W (Schaeffer 1952: 239-369), as well as more densely-packed urban area throughout the site. By the ProBA 2, the site organization follows a grid layout. Dikaios' excavations of Areas I and III will be the main focus of analysis, as the Cyprus Department of Antiquities excavations are the ones best recorded (Area II is also well-recorded, but has no figurine data). Also included are some of the French excavations, particularly of the Ingot God sanctuary (erected during ProBA 3, see Courtois 1973; Webb 1999: 102; 2001: 77-80). Many of the figurine fragments from Enkomi (with documented findspots) come from the sanctuary "precincts," as do Enkomi's well-known bronze statuettes, including

the Horned God and Ingot God (discussed in Chapter Three), as well as around Area III's "fortress".

Kition (*KIT*) is, based solely on area, the largest site in this study.⁶ Excavations at the site were directed by Vassos Karageorghis for the Cyprus Department of Antiquities and focused on two areas of excavation, Areas I and II (see Karageorghis 1985b; Karageorghis and Demas 1985). Within this study, the site is unique in that it remained an important urban center well into the Iron Age (and beyond). Whereas Enkomi gives some of the earliest Late Bronze Age urban evidence, Kition gives some of the latest, with evidence in both Areas I and II of the excavations for occupation in ProBa 3, Protogeometric, and Cypro-Geometric I. The Late Bronze Age occupation in Area I is a series of rooms associated mainly with domestic occupation and some industrial activity, mainly dating to the end of the ProBA 2 (Floor IV in excavation reports; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 4-10). Area II, also referred to as Kition-*Kathari*, on the other hand, features a sanctuary complex with areas devoted to both textile and metallurgical production that was reorganized at the beginning of the ProBA 3 (Floor IIIA, early 12th century BCE, see Webb 1999: 66; Smith 2009: 51-70).⁷ Area II's textile production center, the Western Workshops, is of note in that weaving, something usually done in domestic buildings (as in Area I), had become an important industry at Kition (Bolger 2003: 48). The excavations also revealed wealthy chamber tombs with both locally produced and imported goods, including Mycenaean drinking vessels, carved ivory, and

⁶ However, see Iacovou 2007: 12-13 for case against such a large estimate in settlement size.

⁷ Two temples were constructed in this area during LC IIA/IIB, ca. 1300 BCE, but in LC IIIA there is an increase in more monumental architecture and expanded temple spaces (Karageorghis 1976).

hematite cylinder seals (Karageorghis 1976). The figurines from Kition come from a variety of contexts, but the majority are found in either domestic or cultic spaces. More importantly, Kition is striking for evidence of figurine use towards the end of the Protohistoric Bronze Age, after multiple of the other case-study sites had been abandoned; only Kition and Enkomi have produced figurines dating to Protogeometric contexts.

Hala Sultan Tekke (*HST*) is located on the outskirts of the modern city of Larnaca, on the southern coast of Cyprus, just to the west of Kition. There have been multiple Swedish projects at the site, originally The Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the early twentieth century, then excavations under Åström in the 1970's and 1980's, and the current work of the Söderberg Expedition under Fischer. While scholarship from a decade or more ago would have treated Hala Sultan Tekke as a large coastal settlement, but less important than sites such as Maroni *Vournes*, recent excavations have resulted in the recovery of impressive industrial and domestic areas with a significant amount of metallurgical evidence (Fischer and Bürge 2018). Evidence suggests that the site was founded in ProBA 1 and seems to have been abandoned in the Protogeometric (Fischer 2011; Fischer and Bürge 2018). The figurines from Hala Sultan Tekke are mainly from domestic contexts, and the site's figurine corpus is discussed in Chapter 4. The majority date to ProBA 3, with a few examples dating to ProBA 2.

Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (*KAD*), excavated by Alison South from 1979 to 1998, is located in the Vasilikos Valley on the southern coast of Cyprus, west of Hala Sultan Tekke. While the final excavation reports have not yet been published, Alison

South kindly gave me permission to access the figurine materials from the site.

Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* features an organized city center with a large courtyard and storage complex, Building X, an elite residence and administration center capable of storing at over 50 large pithoi. Also notable is the large street running throughout the site, leading to the entrance of the monumental Building X, as well as a narrower street directly west of the building, connecting the storage area with production-focused buildings (including olive). This street contained four rock-cut elite tombs with elaborate grave good assemblages, pointing to the importance of this street running through the center of the settlement and the elite control of a massive storage capacity (South 2000). While South excavated three additional areas that produced domestic evidence, the majority of figurine fragments come from the areas around Building X, providing evidence for elite, administrative, and production-focused contexts. Kalavassos was occupied during the ProBA 2 and abandoned in the ProBA 3, during the transitional LC IIC-LC IIIA period. The site is unique within this study as all figurines were found in ProBA 2 contexts, representing an earlier period of figurine use than is evident at Alassa, Kition, and Maa *Palaeokastro*.

Alassa (*ALA*), located in the Limassol area (west of Kalavassos), was excavated by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities from 1984-2000 under Sophocles Hadjisavvas. The large site is divided into two main areas of excavation: *Pano Mantilaris* for the “lower” settlement, and *Paliotaverna* for the “upper” settlement to the northwest (Hadjisavvas 2017: 5). It is, like the majority of the sites in this study, an urban center, but it is located at the highest altitude of all known urban centers from the Late Cypriot period (250 m) and is much further away from the coast than other centers. Its inland

location makes it unique within this study, and its location on a plateau in the lower Troodos Mountains likely emphasizes the importance of copper industries at the site. The “upper” settlement, *Paliotaverna*, is characterized by a series of monumental ashlar buildings, while the “lower” settlement, *Pano Mantilaris*, provides evidence for intensified metallurgical activities near domestic spaces (Van-Brempt and Kassianidou 2017). *Paliotaverna* includes evidence for the production of wine and storage of olive oil on a large-scale as well as a monumental ashlar building, suggesting it, like KAD, exercised at least a degree of control over the local economy (Knapp 2013: 357, 363-368). Interestingly, all figurine fragments were excavated in the lower, domestic area of *Pano Mantilaris*; there are no figurine fragments found in the elite, administrative *Paliotaverna* excavations. All figurine fragments were found in ProBA 3 contexts (LC IIC-III A).

Maa *Palaeokastro* (*MAA*) is located on the west coast of the island, north of the Paphos region. It is unique in this study as it is much smaller in scale compared to the other sites—on the “second tier” of Knapp’s settlement hierarchy (2008: 140). Because of its strategic location on the coast and its fortification walls (especially considering the site’s smaller size), it is usually interpreted as a defensive site, possibly as an outpost or secondary storage site (Karageorghis and Demas 1988; Keswani 2004: 155). Georgiou’s (2016; 2023) recent work on the site, however, suggests that there is significant evidence for social stratification, complex economic organization, and resource management at the site, and she argues that Maa *Palaeokastro* may have served as an important regional outpost for Alassa and/or Palaepaphos, with control in the hands of local elites.

Excavations were carried out first by Dikaio in 1954 and then from 1979 to 1986 under

Karageorghis and Demas (published in 1988). The site is divided into two areas of archaeological investigation: Area I, which includes multiple domestic structures, and Area II, which features an ashlar building near the large fortification walls. It is the smallest site in this study, and has the smallest number of figurine fragments preserved. It sees the shortest period of occupations, its foundation dating to the end of the 13th century BCE and its abandonment dating to the end of the 12th century BCE, and the figurine fragments from the site reflect this, all dating to ProBA 3.⁸

Methodology

The methodology employed to analyze figurines on Late Bronze Age Cyprus is focused on the elements that make up a figurine body, including body parts, production techniques, and decorative style, as well as incorporating recorded archaeological context and assemblage data. Data were collected through all available published information on figurines, figurine fragments, unidentified clay objects, and other clay miscellanea (for example, fragments of figures that were attached to vessels, or anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels) for each site (as well as unpublished data for Kalavassos *Ayios Dhmitrios*, courtesy Alison South).

Building upon art-historical analytical tools (e.g., formal description, consideration of style, decoration, and color), I draw on Mirea López-Bertran's work on Phoenician-Punic figurines (2016) to create a more nuanced methodology to describe and analyze figurines. Through patterns in human attributes and body parts emphasized in figurines and other clay and

⁸ Half of the fragments from MAA come from Floor II (ca. 1200 BCE) and the other half date to Floor I (ca. mid-12th century BCE).

stone objects in ritual contexts, López-Bertan argues that the concept of humanness was one focused on liquids. While it would be easy to associate the frequent inclusion of breasts and sexual organs with fertility, she instead suggests that, in combination with the common focus on eye, nose, and mouth attributes, as well as the frequent presence of hollow vessel shapes in figurine assemblages, these body parts emphasize the importance of liquids that flow into, through, and out of the body (López-Bertan 2016: 421). López-Bertan's work demonstrates the effectiveness of a combination of contextual, iconographic, and depositional analysis that can lead to a more nuanced, particularist understanding not only of the use and meaning of figurines, but also of embodied practices and identity.

From her work, I employ an analysis of bodily attributes in clay figurines. Bodily attributes include, but are not limited to, ears, hair, breasts, feet, legs, noses, and horns. The analysis of figurines and figurine fragments at each case-study site takes into account body attributes, different production techniques (such as hand or wheel-made, solid or hollow, Base Ring or White Painted Ware), decorative styles (incised, applied, or painted decoration), archaeological context, and archaeological assemblage. The patterns within these categories can then be compared both on a site-by-site basis and collectively, as will be done in Chapters Four and Five, respectively.

Through an analysis of the patterns in body attributes and style (of production and decoration) as well as context and assemblage, trends in the dataset can begin to answer key questions, including: How common are hands, ears, breasts, etc.; what parts of the body are important to represent? Do certain human body attributes appear more commonly combined with non-human features than others? What are the common

features of figurines in a domestic context? Are there significant similarities in the types of assemblage between figurines found in mortuary versus cultic contexts? These questions, and their answers, can then be situated within the theoretical framework of materiality, identity, and community that will be introduced in Chapter Two to interpret the use and meaning of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

One of the key things López-Bertran's work does is move beyond automatic assumptions of "breasts equal fertility" symbolism, and I intend to follow in her footsteps. My goal is to move beyond the assumed importance of human fertility based on the presence of different sexual organs, and instead closely examine how various elements in these figurines relate to one another and, in the end, what were the most important attributes of the body to represent in clay. This is not to say that these figurines were not fertile in function or meaning. Instead, I simply argue that we cannot use twentieth- and twenty-first century assumptions concerning gender as a starting point.⁹

Additionally, most figurine scholarship has made a clear divide between anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic figurines. Because this research is focused on a contextual analysis of figurines, it would be irresponsible not to include animal figurines, which far outnumber anthropomorphic ones. Additionally, in order to avoid automatic assumptions of humanness (where, for example, is the line between human and

⁹ See Bailey 2007; 2012; Kuijt and Chesson 2005; Mina 2008b (for non-Cypriot); and Bolger 2003; 2010; Talalay and Cullen 2002 (for Cypriot) work on figurines challenging modern assumptions of sex and gender.

divine in the “Astarte” figurines?), I use the terms bipedal and quadrupedal to describe the overall form of the figurine.¹⁰

Context Classifications

It is worthwhile also to touch upon my definition of different types of contexts, as these can be variable and are subject to interpretation, to an extent. Before this, however, the term context as it is used in this dissertation requires a quick discussion. Context as a word can have some ambiguity, as in English the term is used for both archaeological and functional classifications. Within the confines of this study, context as a term is used in three key ways. Historical context is the understanding of a given time and place that serve as the backdrop for discussion. For this dissertation, the historical context is Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the aspects of social life that may dictate how figurines are produced, used, and deposited. Stratigraphic context refers to the specific, scientifically-recorded context within which an object is found; stratigraphic context aids in understanding the relationship between figurines and the stratigraphically-recorded archaeological record. The final “type” of context used can be understood as the interpretive function of a given context, such as domestic or mortuary, and it is the more interpretive context categories that are described below. What must be recognized, however, is the semantics of context and that the word is used to describe different aspects of archaeological analysis that should not be conflated.

¹⁰ It should also be noted that not all of the figurines are animal or human-shaped, as there are a handful of chariot fragments as well. Chariot figurines, while rare in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, were common in Mycenaean Greece and become very popular in Iron Age Cyprus.

Mortuary contexts are perhaps the most easily distinguishable—they tend to be delineated spaces focused on or around the remains of at least one human. These remains can take different forms (skeletal, cremations, etc.), but in order for a context to be considered mortuary, the essential element is a deceased human (or at least the suggestion of one).¹¹

Domestic contexts are, for the purposes of this research, defined as spaces around and within living quarters. These contexts are often more “mundane” than mortuary and cultic ones, usually comprised of small rooms and courtyards with assemblages that reflect daily practices: everyday ceramic vessels and cooking wares, or weaving paraphernalia, such as loom weights and spindle whorls. While some buildings may have evidence for production, they are small scale, likely only serving the needs of a family or group of families.

Production contexts are different from domestic contexts in that these areas are dedicated to specific industries, such as pottery or oil production, that are not part of a house structure. Often, production contexts can be identified through evidence for large storage beyond the needs of a domestic group.

The most difficult context to differentiate is cultic. Many scholars have tried to settle on what exactly defines a ritual or cultic context, and there is no clearly defined answer. What is important to note here is that, while an object may have a ritual or cultic function, its ritual meaning does not necessarily require a cultic context. A krater

¹¹ As will be discussed in Chapter 3, tombs were used over multiple generations in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and bodies within tombs could be rearranged or even moved.

deposited in a tomb, for example, clearly had a ritual function and meaning within funeral practices, but its actual context is not solely one devoted to cultic practices. A figurine within a domestic context could easily have a cultic function, being a focus of ritual activities within the home, perhaps, but its context is still that of a domestic space. Renfrew (1986) presented a list of 18 potential elements that point towards cult in the archaeological record. Of these, the four key requirements to defining a cultic context for Renfrew are: social participation or offering, liminal spaces, attention-focusing (such as through architecture, decoration, or ritual activities), and the “presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus” (Renfrew 2007:115; 1986). A cultic context, as I define it, is a context with its primary purpose focused on religious activities, with clear evidence in line with Renfrew’s classifications. A temple or shrine is the best and most obvious cultic context, as they include courtyards for offerings and participation, can be considered restricted, liminal spaces, and include niches that presumably held cult items.

The final context category is “miscellaneous.” This includes a variety of contexts that do not fit within the above categorizations, including street contexts and spaces with little to no information to interpret their general use.

There is overlap between the different context categories described above. These classifications have been made through close analysis of material and the interpretations of the excavators at each case-study site.

Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation comprises six chapters. The first two chapters focus on laying the historical, methodological, and theoretical groundwork. The current chapter introduced Late Bronze Age Cyprus, the sites chosen for study, and the methodology used to analyze figurines. Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical framework of this research. I employ a multidisciplinary approach to clay figurines, drawing from recent figurine studies (e.g., López-Bertan 2016; Mina 2008a; Nanagolou 2008 and 2009), as well as wider scholarship on the archaeology of the body (e.g., Joyce 2005; Robb and Harris 2013; Hamilakis et al. 2002), materiality (e.g., Knappett 2005; Hodder 2012; Steel 2013), identity (e.g., Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Clarke 2001), and community formation (e.g., Yaeger and Canuto 2000; Knapp 2003).

The third chapter delves into the variety of ways in which the body is observable in the archaeological record in Late Bronze Age Cyprus— what, following Robb and Harris (2013), I refer to as the Late Cypriot “body world”. This chapter will be an overview of material, using specific case studies to exemplify different trends and patterns in how the body is used, manipulated, experienced, and understood in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. I draw upon treatments of the physical body (e.g., body modification, bodily decoration, mortuary body positions, embodied practices), and representations of the body (e.g., images and artistic depictions in media other than clay, including bronze statuettes and stone cylinder seals). The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize clay bodies at the six case-study sites and how figurines do, and do not, fit in within other types of bodies visible in the archaeological record. This chapter includes a discussion of both human and animal bodies, but because figurines are made and used by

humans and reflect the needs and desires of people using them, primacy is given to archaeological evidence for human bodies.

Chapters Four and Five focus solely on the available dataset, analyzing the patterns in body attributes, context, assemblage, and fragmentation to understand the meanings, uses, re-uses, and deposition of figurines. This is a multi-scalar analysis, discussing individual figurines, site assemblages, and larger regional and island-wide patterns. The analysis compares attribute patterns within domestic, production, mortuary, and cultic contexts, as well as on a site-by-site basis.

Chapter Four focuses on a single site, Hala Sultan Tekke, and serves as an example for how the methodology was applied at all case-study sites. The chapter begins with a corpus description, with each figurine fragment introduced. It then moves on to an analysis of patterns in body attributes, context, and assemblage. Finally, the chapter connects the observed patterns to the theoretical frameworks introduced in Chapter 2, making interpretations focused on fragmentation, elite consumption, and the connection between human and animal bodies.

The other five case study sites are included in a discussion of broader patterns in Chapter Five. This chapter follows the same organization as Chapter Four: examining patterns in body attributes, context, and assemblage. The chapter also includes a discussion on patterns in fragmentation to consider the possibilities of intentional fragmentation. One of the striking aspects of Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines is the individuality of figurine use at each site. Thus, counterpatterns within figurine attributes, context, and assemblage are introduced to consider local adaptations of figurine traditions not as anomalous, but as a characteristic of Late Bronze Age Cyprus more broadly.

Chapter 6 brings the dissertation full-circle and asks the pivotal question: why are figurines important both within the Late Bronze Age Cypriot context and elsewhere? It connects all of the parts of this dissertation: the theoretical frameworks of materiality, identity, and community discussed in Chapter Two, the Late Bronze Age Cypriot body world outside of clay figurines introduced in Chapter Three, and the detailed analysis of patterns in attributes, context, assemblage, and fragmentation discussed in Chapters Four and Five. This dissertation is focused on Late Bronze Age Cyprus; however, it should also be considered as a case study in the need to focus on archaeological context as well as visual analysis for small decorative objects such as figurines. As will be shown in this project, figurines are powerful, intimate objects that are portable and easily made, and can be imbued with complex ideas of identity, the body, and one's place in the world.

Conclusion

Figurines are an ubiquitous part of life. They can be religious idols, toys, wealth display items, family heirlooms, or any combination of such things. Figurines are also powerful objects of memory, embodiment, identity, and community. These everyday items are full of symbolic meaning and their contextual use deserves to be unpacked and analyzed. While this dissertation draws upon work done in other areas of the world and in other disciplines, it represents a new approach to figurine studies within Cypriot archaeology. It argues for the importance of provenance in figurine analysis, as without contextual analysis many of the observations discussed would be missed. The following

chapters lay out the theoretical, methodological, and archaeological groundwork for a detailed analysis of contextual clay bodies on Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

For the purposes of this dissertation, I define figurines as miniaturizations resembling larger forms in different media. Figurines are small-scale objects that resemble, but are not necessarily copies of, bodies or objects. While figurines have been addressed by archaeological scholarship since the late 19th century, they have been undertheorized, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean. Their use and meaning within Cyprus have been theoretically investigated to varying degrees of success in the past three decades, yet context is still considered as a secondary concern. Cyprus' unique and abundant figural traditions provide an excellent opportunity to apply theoretical frameworks of materiality, identity, and community to further understand contextual figurine use and meaning.

This dissertation is foremost about clay figurines as physical objects, but it is also concerned with concepts of the body, identity formation, and Cypriot life during the Late Bronze Age; thus this chapter examines theories surrounding the figurine, the body, and the Cypriot community. The chapter's organization is reflective of this with a focus on three overarching theoretical concepts that drive the dissertation: materiality, identity, and community. Within each of these sections, other supporting interpretive frameworks will be introduced. Within materiality, the concepts of scale, miniaturization, stereotyping, and fragmentation are included to better contextualize the impact of the material turn on

interpreting figurines. The next section, focused on identity, expands beyond the object and considers the importance of the body and individual interactions with figurines. Under the umbrella of identity, concepts of personhood, otherness, the body, and gender are all explored. Finally, community is introduced, examining the ways in which communities (both real and imagined) are formed, as well as discussing communities of practice and ritual. Together, these three themes lay out how figurines can be used to interpret different aspects of human life, be it concepts of the body, markers of changing identities, or creating communities focused on specific beliefs or activities.

First, however, a brief summary of previous scholarship on Cypriot figurines is discussed to contextualize the role this dissertation plays in moving the conversation forward in new, theoretically-minded ways, as well as to acknowledge the foundational work that this dissertation draws upon.

Previous Scholarship

Figurines are common throughout the majority of human history—some of the earliest examples of human decorative arts are figurines—and they are still present today in many forms, like toys, religious icons, and memorabilia (Bailey 2012; Faust and Halperin 2009). Because of the varied, long histories of figurine use, there is no straightforward methodology for interpreting them. What follows is a brief overview of the trends in previous figural scholarship specifically on Cyprus, followed by the core

theoretical concepts that collectively make up my own interpretive framework—aspects of materiality, identity, and community.

There are many studies on Cypriot figurines, including historical categorizations, excavation reports, and more recently, thematic and theoretical case studies. Within this scholarship, there are three main trends: separation of prehistoric and historic figurines, a focus on stylistic classification, and gender and identity interpretative frameworks. These studies have had a lasting impact on both figurine studies and archaeological scholarship on Cyprus and their importance cannot be understated. However, as will be outlined in the following sections, there are many theoretical aspects that can and should be applied to figurine analysis on Cyprus that have thus far been ignored.

In general the field of Cypriot figurine scholarship has been typified by a distinct separation between prehistoric and “historic” periods, meaning pre-Iron Age and Iron Age-and-beyond. The focus on prehistory has created a distorted picture of figurines on Cyprus, and this is particularly true for clay figurines dating from the late Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age, ca. 3000-1750 BCE (see Morris 1985; Orphanides 1988; Karageorghis 1991; 1993; Begg 1991; a Campo 1994; Bolger 2003; Budin 2011; Knox 2012; 2017). Iron Age figurine studies tend to focus on the Cypro-Archaic (ca. 750-475 BCE) period and later, and little work has been done on Early Iron Age figurines, as they temporally do not fit within prehistoric studies, nor do they fall within the heavily Greek-influenced styles of the later Iron Age.¹ The figurines of the Protohistoric Bronze Age—

¹ One exception is Murray (2022), which examines representations of male nudity beginning the end of the 2nd millennium BCE and includes some discussion of Cypriot material.

meaning the Cypriot Late Bronze Age—have also been treated separately and have not seen the same amount of theoretical scrutiny that Middle Cypriot and Cypro-Archaic figurines have. When they are included in broader Bronze Age figural studies, Late Bronze Age figurines are usually discussed in terms of chronological changes, Aegean colonization, and foreign influence.²

Until the mid-1990s most figurine studies on Cyprus focused on stylistic classification and analysis, and many still do. These studies rely on categorization based on artistic style and represent the formative works for modern scholarship (Morris 1985; Orphanides 1988, Karageorghis 1991; a Campo 1994; Knox 2012; 2017). Since the 1980s, style groups have been worked and re-worked, with little emphasis on context (one exception being Begg 1991). In fact, the primary goal of analysis has been so focused on stylistic classifications that even in recent discussions of prehistoric clay figurines, unprovenanced materials (which sometimes make up their own individual style groups) have not only been included, but are relied upon as an essential source (Bolger 2003; Budin 2011; Knox 2012). While there are drawbacks to stylistic typologies, including a relative lack of attention to context, especially those that heavily rely on unprovenanced material, they nonetheless serve as the backbone for figurine chronology on Cyprus as well as established interpretations for the use and meaning of Cypriot figurines. Visual analysis is a key element to any figurine analysis, and is at the core of this project's methodology, but the definition and meaning of different styles can only be understood when contextualized within archaeological assemblages and excavation data.

² See Knapp 2013: 389-397 for detailed overview of these arguments.

In addition to stylistic analysis, beginning in the 1990s Cypriot prehistoric figural studies saw an increased focus on gender and identity. Most studies point to the preponderance of nude female figurines throughout Cyprus' Bronze Age as a proxy for reconstructing religion and cult beliefs on the island, especially the belief in a female divinity associated with fertility (Orphanides 1990; Karageorghis 1991). The emphasis on female genitalia in Cypriot figurines has been a major factor in the insistence on their divine, religious nature. Recent studies by Budin (2011) and Bolger (2003) have begun to question the divine nature of the representation of females and have instead considered more nuanced aspects of Cypriot gender and sexuality. Yet even these analyses focus almost solely on religious aspects. Moving beyond goddesses and fertility, and engaging with issues of identity, Knapp and Meskell (1997) and Talalay and Cullen (2002) questioned the assumptions of binary genders in Middle Bronze Age plank figurines. Knapp and Meskell (1997) argue that Cypriot Plank figurines did not represent divine figures and instead represented actual people. To the average observer, these abstract figurines may all seem the same, yet the small differences in bodily decoration could point to the representation of distinct individuals. Talalay and Cullen (2002), on the other hand, have argued that these same figurines do not represent individuals, but a collective identity. In a more recent study, Falconer *et al.* (2014) have argued that plank figurines at the Middle Bronze Age site of Politiko-Troullia represent group identity, likely related to textile production activities (Falconer *et al.* 2014: 11-12). Although their ultimate conclusions can be viewed as opposed, these studies argue that Cypriot figurines reflected and reinforced identities, whether individual or collective. Beyond this, these

studies step away from the automatic associations of female sexual attributes and divinity. Knapp and Meskell, Talalay and Cullen, and Falconer *et al.* show the potential for theoretically-informed Cypriot figurine analysis, particularly one focused on identity and community formation. The traditional gender and interpretative frameworks for Late Bronze Age figurines need to be further challenged, which this dissertation does.

Cypriot figurines have been subject to a significant amount of scholarship (e.g., Morris 1985; Orphanides 1988; Karageorghis 1991 & 1993; Begg 1991; a Campo 1994; Bolger 2003; Smith 2009; Budin 2011; Knox 2012; 2017), yet in most of this context is given secondary, if any, importance, with stylistic analysis providing the evidence for interpreting figurine meaning.³ Figurine fragments, signs of reuse or modification, and assemblage data are rarely mentioned. What results is a static analysis that treats these objects as being frozen in time, separate from the archaeological record and the sites to which they belong. As scholarship of figurines from other regions has shown, by performing detailed contextual and object analysis, scholars can understand far more about the practices associated with figurines, including their production, life-cycle of use, and deposition (for example, Talalay 1987; 2004; Mina 2008a; 2008b; López-Bertran 2016; López-Bertran and Vives-Ferrándiz 2015; Porčić 2016). Scholarship on prehistoric figurines goes far beyond Cyprus and, as will be introduced in the following sections, the interpretations of this dissertation are shaped by theoretical approaches from a wide range of fields of study, including Mesoamerican archaeology, anthropology, and sociology.

³ The best example of this is Desmond Morris' (1985) *The Art of Ancient Cyprus*, in which he makes detailed stylistic classifications based on his own private collection of Cypriot antiquities with no provenance information provided.

The Material: Materiality, Scale, Stereotyping, and Fragmentation

This dissertation's analysis of figurines is first and foremost driven by theories surrounding objects, materials, and the human interactions with them. The concepts of scale, miniaturization, stereotyping, and fragmentation are all considered under the broader umbrella of materiality.

Materiality

Figurines are tactile objects: their small size allows them to be held in one hand, they are three-dimensional, and some cannot even stand on their own and literally require assistance—whether in the form of a stand or human hand—to be positioned upright. There are complex relationships that develop between humans and figurines, best understood within the framework of materiality. There is a large body of scholarship on materiality, but for the purposes of this dissertation, I draw from Ingold, Latour, and Hodder, with an emphasis on the complex roles objects and materials can have in interactions and relationships with humans.

The material turn is, in essence, a paradigm shift within archaeology and other disciplines that allows for exploring the relationships between people and things. As humans, we interact with other materials and objects constantly. While they are not alive, things can interact with humans and other objects in ways dictated by their material, size, and shape. This interaction is best understood through the concept of affordances, first introduced by Gibson as “what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or

furnishes, either for good or ill” (Gibson 1979: 119, original emphasis).⁴ Knappett applies Gibson’s psychological theory to archaeological data and argues that affordances are not independent from human agency but instead can be seen as “a sort of nexus, where mind, agency and material meet and merge” (Knappett 2005: 57).

Think, for example, of the objects used in a game of tennis. A tennis racket has a very specific form and material that requires the human to interact with it in a very specific way. The racket affords the player specific ways to hold it, and the affordance of the grip the player uses to hold the racket impacts everything from the player’s swing to the speed and spin on the ball. Sometimes the grip and strings need adjusting during a match, and the player’s embodied experience of tennis is inherently tied to the material relationship and interactions with the racket; re-wrapping the grip, smashing the racket on the ground in anger, and so on. As with all material things, the racket can also interact with other objects as well. During the match, the racket is in sudden, heavy contact with tennis balls. Beyond this, the racket indirectly interacts with the opponent and fans watching on the sides through sight and sound. The affordance of a tennis racket in interactions with both other objects and people demonstrates the potential influence of objects on everyday life.

Hodder’s discussion of entangled relationships between people and things, and

⁴ The Material Turn is frequently focused on the agency of objects (see, for example, Gosden 2005, or the discussion of symmetrical archaeology in Olsen 2010; 2012). However, this implies an intentionality and consciousness that inorganic objects do not have. By using the term affordances for inorganic materials, I make a clear distinction between the agency of living things (such as humans or animals) and inorganic matter (such as clay). Another possible term to use would be Knappett and Malafouris’s (2008) “material agency”, which is distinct from “human agency.”

their interdependence, is helpful in considering daily interactions with figurines (Hodder 2012). Relationships between different agents—be they human or non-human—can be imagined as a web with many different strands connecting agents within interactions. This is related to Latour’s (2005) Actor-Network-Theory, which focuses on associations within assemblages—all things, people, and elements of the environment within a given place and time. Ingold’s *Making*, on the other hand, is of note within the scope of figurine practices, as he emphasizes two-way relationships between maker and material—that the material, whether it be stone or clay, raw or “finished”, has an impact on the maker and how the maker interacts, or makes, with the material—and the continual process of making (Ingold 2013). A recognition of the material impact of clay and figurines is necessary when considering contexts of figurine production, modification, re-use, and destruction. Interactions with figurines are two-way relationships in which the material can reinforce or challenge social structures. The interactive relationship between maker, material, user, and object results in figurines “filled with mindful intention” (Mina 2008b: 215).

Materiality is, like many of the concepts to be discussed in this chapter, linked to other bodies of theory, including corporeality. Materiality plays an integral role in “being and becoming human” (Knappett 2014: 4701). The corporeal, embodied experience of and interaction with things is dependent on how the body, its place in the world, and its connection to others are conceived. As Nanoglou concisely explains, “materiality is the quality that refers to the physical presence of the materials, their being tangible, their being part of the material world” (Nanoglou 2008: 313). As material things, figurines

have an active role in interactions with people. Figurine shape, weight, size, assemblage, and context can all have an impact on the figurine-human relationship.⁵ Additionally, many figurines are material projections of the body or embodied experience, and their physical materiality is a key element to their power. “Through a combination of iconicity and materiality, images help create subjectivities—they shape people’s embodied experience by providing enduring points of reference both discursive and affective” (Lesure 2005: 238; see also Lesure 2010; 2017). The materiality of figurines, especially those with a relationship to the body, may not only have reflected, but also shaped people’s embodied experience and understanding of their bodies (Nanoglou 2008: 316).

This dissertation takes a material approach focused on the affordances of figurines and their entangled relationships within a network, considering the impacts of things, materials, people, animals, and places. However, it needs to be emphasized that while figurines have affordances in human interactions, it is the human element that drives these interactions—there would be no figurine without the human, but there would certainly still be a human without the figurine. This perspective allows for a consideration of the objects humans create, use, and interact with, and how these interactions can reflect or manipulate certain understandings of the body and its place in the world.

⁵ Materiality and affordances allow for a relationship between different things that may exist outside of direct human interaction. Within the tennis example, the racket affords specific interactions with the tennis ball and the racket bag that, while created by and caused by humans, may happen without humans present.

Hybridization and Post-Colonial Materiality

Building off the materiality focus, this discussion now turns to considerations of postcolonial theory and its place within a material-focused approach. Hybridization and postcolonialism are essential theories to engage with on Cyprus, as the island is, throughout its history, exposed to foreign contact through trade and migration in the eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 2012: 34). Within the context of figurines, postcolonialism aids in centering the narrative on local communities instead of foreign actors, as was often the case in more traditional analyses of Cypriot figurines, particularly during the Late Bronze Age (i.e., Karageorghis 1991; 1993; Begg 1991; Budin 2011; Knox 2012; 2016).⁶ For example, the female nude figurines of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age are frequently referred to as “Astarte” figurines—the very name assumes a non-Cypriot meaning for Cypriot produced-and-used objects. Instead, this dissertation uses the concepts of hybridization, appropriation, and postcolonialism to center the analysis on the local Cypriot communities.

Many scholars have already persuasively argued for the inclusion of hybridity and postcolonialism within an analysis of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (i.e., Feldman 2006; Keswani 2004; 2005; Knapp 2012; 2013; Smith 2009; Voskos and Knapp 2008), so I simply summarize the key concepts and how they specifically apply within this study.

In brief, studies of hybridity involve the analysis of the combination of materials and practices from different origins that become transformed, losing some of their

⁶ Iacovou 2005 and 2013, critiques of the “Aegeanizing” of Cyprus at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, serve as excellent arguments against more traditional interpretations.

original meaning and taking on new meanings (Knapp 2012: 32-33; 2013: 455; see Hitchcock and Maeir 2013; van Dommelen 2006). I take influence from Knapp in defining hybridization and resulting hybrid material culture as an active and on-going process that centers on local community agency (Knapp 2012: 33). Hybridized objects and practices are local interpretations of imported ideas, images, and items, often combined with local traditions. Hybridization is an “in-betweenness” of new and native traditions, but squarely situated in the local context (Stockhammer 2011; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012: 28). Hybridization is closely tied to post-colonialism, as it counters the assumptions of cultural superiority of colonial encounters (Russell 2009: 7), and focuses on the material mixing and negotiations that happen at the local level between colonizer and colonized (Knapp 2012: 33).

Another concept that emphasizes the importance and agency of the local population is that of appropriation (van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012: 25). Whereas colonial interpretations focus on a passive, dominated local population, appropriation instead highlights the agency of local communities during these encounters. Hybrid material culture and practices can come about in far more equal power relations and locals usually are selective about the types of materials, objects, and styles that get incorporated into the local repertoire (Killebrew 2006; Knapp 2013: 456).

Within a framework of postcolonialism, Cypriot acculturation of foreign ideas, technologies, and culture can be viewed as part of local, active choices intended to establish, maintain, and display control at the different coastal centers. The postcolonial premise gives Cypriots the agency they long have been denied in interpretations of

foreign contact and influence. These terms also force scholars to consider *why* and *how* locals chose to adopt some outside elements and not others.

The material aspects of hybridization and appropriation are also important within the confines of this dissertation, as they tie into the methodological approach introduced in Chapter 1. Specifically, the material analysis focuses on elements, or attributes, that make up a figurine. These elements can be analyzed in a number of ways, including through a postcolonial, hybridization lens, focused on considering the aspects of foreign culture that are incorporated (i.e. the Aegean *psi*-style form) while centering the analysis locally (i.e. how these influences are appropriated and altered to fit Cypriot desires/needs).

Size, Scale, and Miniaturization

Size is one the most visually striking things about figurines. Their small size and ability to be held and maneuvered make them intriguing objects. Small-scale objects are, in general, distinctive in their ability to trigger memory through personal engagement. People interact with small-scale objects in different psychological and behavioral ways than they do with other, non-miniature or monumental objects (Bailey 2005: 33-34). Because of their size, figurines can be manipulated by people, and are easy to move, hang, and deposit (Faust and Halperin 2009: 3). The scale of figurines points to private actions; their size would not be functionally effective for large public events (López-Bertran and Vives-Ferrándiz 2015: 88). They engage multiple senses in an intimate

way—they can be held in one hand, can be brought closer to see detail, rotated to view from every angle, and are interacted with in specific sensorial contexts. Because of this personal focus, figurines can serve functions and be imbued with meanings central to both the individual and, through interactions between people and figurines, the community.

Attached to the concept of size is that of miniaturization; the creation of something at a smaller scale than it normally is. Miniatures are not recreations, but entirely new objects. Because of their smaller size, figurines usually cannot serve the same function as their full-sized counterparts. In modern society, for example, trains and railways are a popular subject for miniaturization. But miniature trains clearly cannot transport people or mass quantities of goods across long distances. While some miniatures can be considered small copies or imitations of natural or man-made things, the very act of miniaturization results in an object that is different in purpose and meaning. As Lin Foxhall explains, miniatures “epitomize, echo and reverberate meanings captured in and associated with other objects, while creating new meanings of their own, which potentially enrich and alter both the miniature itself and its prototype” (Foxhall 2015: 1).

Through their small scale, miniatures, and by extension figurines, allow for a different, intimate relationship than that which larger-scale objects would afford. Some figurines are, of course, miniatures of living things—either human or animal bodies. For these miniaturized bodies, a “change in scale may serve to make the ordinary extraordinary, signaling a change in the sociality of an object which mirrors its change in

relation to the body” (Foxhall 2015: 3). Miniatures can, for example, be used to reinforce ideas about human life and how objects can be used, particularly when they are presented as toys (López-Bertran and Vives-Ferrándiz 2015: 89). One cannot live in a doll house, but one can act out everyday life as culturally conceived through the act of play. Joyce (2008) argues that the anthropomorphic figurines of the Classic Maya period served as ritualistic ways to concretize visual markers and performances of gender and age. Where monumental representations of bodies were idealized and ageless, Classic Maya figurines were able to depict different types of bodies with a wide range of visual markers such as age and sex (Joyce 2008: 102-103). Through the act of miniaturization, the form a figurine takes is drastically changed. While a figurine can look like a human, it is not the same as a human. Anthropomorphic figurines can be imbued with multiple aspects of corporeality, but these clay bodies can also become more than human, carrying ritual or cultic meanings. The same can be said for zoomorphic figurines; a mundane-looking bovine can become special through the act of miniaturization.

Like bodies, as material objects figurines “serve as a medium through which social identities are constructed and [have] the ability to store and communicate social information” (Mina 2008b: 215). One way this functions is through the creation of stereotypical images which allow people to define and construct their sense of the world (Bailey 2005). Stereotyping results in standardized, miniature replicas of a person’s “object of reference” (López-Bertran and Vives-Ferrándiz 2015: 82), whether that is a physical individual in the world or an abstract divinity. All figurines, including house-models, miniature vessels, and zoomorphs, can be reflections of one’s understanding of

his or her world. Anthropomorphic figurines—i.e., those that have a physical resemblance to the human body—are particularly enlightening, as they have the potential to represent or reflect understandings of the body’s place and experience in the world. However, stereotypes are also fictitious as they are used to construct social relations “by which false senses of order are imposed on otherwise unordered worlds” (Bailey 2012: 253). Stereotypes, then, reflect and create, as well as distort, culturally-specific identities such as gender, age, or status, which shape a community and the individuals in it.

The theoretical concepts surrounding scale, miniaturization, and stereotypes are central to the materially-focused interpretive framework of this dissertation. These concepts provide an avenue for nuanced interpretation of figurine use and meaning in Late Bronze Age Cyprus that has been overlooked. The material and ideological transformation of forms when they are miniaturized, as well as the standardized, stereotypical figurines that result, can reveal as much about the function of figurines in a given context as they can about the culturally-constructed human experience.

Fragmentation

As will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5, the majority of figurines in this study are fragmented. The possible meanings of this fragmentation will be analyzed in these data-focused chapters, but a discussion of fragmentation as a theoretical framework is necessary here. It is rare to find fully intact artifacts, and even those that can be reconstructed often are missing small pieces. More often, objects are found as fragments.

As laid out by Chapman, there are five different interpretations for fragmentation in the archaeological record:

“(1) objects are broken accidentally or through use; (2) objects are buried because they are broken; (3) objects are ritually ‘killed’ and deposited, either complete or in pieces; (4) objects are broken to disperse fertility throughout the settlement and beyond; and (5) objects are broken deliberately, used in relations of enchainment and then buried.” (Chapman 2000: 23)

Material culture in the past did not necessarily follow modern, Western understandings of deposition (i.e., if something is broken, it is discarded), but instead can be “susceptible to chronologically sensitive practices such as hoarding, the creation of heirlooms and middening” (Chapman 2013: 12). With this in mind, Chapman (2000) introduced the “fragmentation premise”: many incomplete or broken objects in specific contexts are the result of deliberate fragmentation, or breakage, dispersal, and deposition, and the resulting re-use of these fragments can be understood as an extended life after “death”. The focus within fragmentation studies is on deliberate fragmentation and distribution of fragments or “orphan sherds,” those which cannot be refitted to other fragments (Schiffer 1987: 299-301).

Studies such as that by Singer (1984), which was able to re-fit two fragments of a yellow chert flake from two contexts located 63 kilometers apart in the Chuckwalla Valley of California, show that not only can fragments have second lives after breakage, but can also be used in social exchanges, linking objects both whole and fragmented to people and places spread over some distance. This process of fragments taking on social meanings and becoming part of social practices is referred to as enchainment (Chapman

2013: 8; Brittain and Harris 2010: 583). Another example, and one much closer to Cyprus, is Talalay's (1987; 2004) study of figurines in Neolithic Greece and Anatolia. She argues that the pattern of broken leg fragments, with large amounts of orphan leg fragments found in settlement contexts such as the Franchthi Cave in Greece, suggest that these figurines were intentionally broken as part of social and economic contracts and the fragmented pieces were disbursed as part of social interactions between different Neolithic sites. Beyond this, the figurines were deliberately created with split-legs to make breaking easier; these figurines were, from their creation, intended to be fragmented as part of social interactions. Talalay also suggests that there were figurines with removable or interchangeable heads, emphasizing the role of "breaking" figuring bodies in social and economic interactions (Talalay 2004). The enchainment relationships between individuals in these interactions are intertwined with the physical practice of breaking and distributing parts of figurines. The meanings behind these contracts become tied to the fragmented bodies, hence their enchainment. This concept is, in my mind, directly related to the material turn and situating objects and materials within meaningful, enmeshed relationships with people. Fragmentation adds nuance to a materiality-focused analysis by considering the meaning, both in a practical use and mnemonic and metaphorical sense, of the practice and distribution of fragmentation.

Gamble (2007) goes even further and argues that, from the creation of the first stone tool, "all hominin societies" (Gamble 2007: 144) have fragmented objects and used them to create enchainment concepts of identity (Brittain and Harris 2010: 583). Within these fragmentation studies, intentional fragmentation is not just a practice extending and

changing the use-lives of objects, but the fragmentation of such objects can be central to the creation of personhood and a “dividual” sense of self, where one is defined by both their own body as well as their relationship with others.

Clearly, the fragmentation premise is a provocative concept and one that deserves more inclusion in archaeological investigations going forward, as does the concept of enchainment. However, Chapman’s work presupposes that fragments within the archaeological record are deliberate and that the concept of enchainment is universally applicable when it comes to fragmentation (see Brittain and Harris 2010 for a critique). What is not discussed is how deliberate fragmentation can be determined in any substantive way. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, there are no clear indications for either deliberate or purely accidental breakage of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Thus, most of the focus within this dissertation’s discussion of fragmentation is on the very question of intentionality. Only once the mechanisms behind figurine breakage are analyzed can concepts like enchainment be applied. For the purposes of this dissertation, the important takeaway from fragmentation studies is that the very act of fragmentation and the deposition of said fragments can be intentional and laden with social meaning.

Identity: Personhood, Otherness, the Body, and Gender

Figurines are not just objects—they can be reflections or projections of an individual’s perception of their place in the world and their identity, particularly when

considered through the material-focused concepts of miniaturization and stereotyping. The following section moves to consider the aspects of identity to which figurines are closely tied in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and that they may have reflected, reinforced, or distorted. First, the concepts of identity and its formation, personhood, and otherness are introduced. Style as a means of interpreting identity within material culture is also discussed, considering how figurines can be analyzed within an identity-focused theoretical framework. Finally, the section focuses on the body, embodiment, and gender, as these are common themes within figurine studies.

Identity Formation

In accordance with Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005), I define identity as “individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant” (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1). Identities, or senses of belonging to different groups, are maintained and reproduced as a result of social interactions and practices. They are based both on characteristics and qualities individuals see themselves sharing with others, as well as those which distinguish them from others (Anderson 1991; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 6). Identities are variable, ever-changing, and stackable; an individual can have many identities, some of which evolve contextually and over time (Cohen 1994). There are sets of material culture that are intended to display and reinforce belonging to certain groups, which can be

archaeologically traced through examining elements such as dress and architecture (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9).

Identity and its formation have material traces and often it is through material interactions that identities can develop. Growing up, my identity as a young female was displayed and concretized through my interactions with objects of play and items of dress—all intended for “girls” to reinforce twentieth-century roles and activities associated with femaleness. These objects of identity formation also aided in forming a framework for how I should dress and behave as I aged. As I grew older, these identities and their material counterparts changed, but they were formative to my perception of self.

However, I was not a passive actor in identity formation. Instead, identity is heavily dependent on agency—the ability to act or perform an action regardless of other actors (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 6). While choices of how an individual dresses and behaves are impacted by outside influences, there is still an agentive choice in the actual identities one creates for oneself and who one sees as belonging to the same groups as oneself.

This agentive choice within identity formation brings us to the related and intertwined concepts of individualism and personhood. Individualism as understood in the twenty-first century is a focus on the autonomous physical human body and internalized sense of self—the epitome of the classic Cartesian philosophical quote “I think therefore I am” (Fowler 2004: 7-8; Meskell 1999: 10). Personhood, on the other hand, is defined as “the condition or state of being a person, as it is understood in any

specific context. Persons are constituted, de-constituted, maintained and altered in social practices through life and after death” (Fowler 2004: 4; see also Poole 1994; Meskell 1999: 32-36). Individualism is often conflated with personhood due to the focus on the individual within modern western society. However, the work of Fowler (2004, 2011), Jones (2005), and Kirk (2006) has pushed to separate personhood from the modern concept of individualism. Instead, personhood is dependent on context—a person is defined through their interactions with their surroundings, including humans, non-humans, and objects alike. The term individual is not completely useless; following Meskell (1999: 9-10), if an individual is defined as the physical body in which personhood, identity formation, and bodily practice occur, I argue that the term can be used to consider more nuanced understandings of community and the self (Meskell 1999: 9-12). As Knapp and van Dommelen explain:

“The materialization of an embodied individual is realized through interpersonal social actions, and the individual person is composed of multiple natural and cultural materials, brought together in a specific time and place by the accumulated acts and relations of other social beings, be they ancestors, elders, family members, craftspeople, masters, servants or slaves.” (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008: 20)

The concepts of identity and personhood drive the theoretical framework for interpreting figurine use. Through their materiality, miniaturization, and stereotyping, figurines regardless of their similarity to the human body have the ability to reflect and impact understandings of one’s world; yet how can this actually be accomplished? Within the archaeological record, identity formation can be detected in a variety of ways, including through dress, body modification, social practices, diet, and use of living spaces

(Steel 2008: 156). These will be explored in depth in Chapter 3, which focuses on evidence outside of figurines for bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Within an analysis of figurines, Clarke's (2001) work on Neolithic Cypriot ceramics provides a method of analysis focused on the impact of style within identity formation. Style, as it is used in this theoretical context, is "a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a certain way that communicates information about relative identity" (Clarke 2001: 72). There are three main categories of style; emblematic style: the conscious choice to use material culture to express group identity; isochrestic style: the "subconsciously embedded, dependent on culturally constructed choices made by an individual in the production of specific goods" (Steel 2008: 156); and passive style: natural variation due to slightly different ways of producing something (Weissner 1983; 1985; 1990; Steel 2008: 156).⁷ Through an analysis of patterns in ceramic decoration, Clarke argued that there are close regional stylistic ties that reflect shared kinship and work-groups. These regional styles were visible markers of regional identities that were characteristically different from styles from other regions in Cyprus (Clarke 2001: 77-78). Emblematic style—the active production of material to reflect identity—is particularly useful to consider within this dissertation because the focus is on a comparison of case-study sites. The patterns in figurine bodily attributes, decoration, context, and assemblage can not only be reflective of practical use, but also local or regional identities.

⁷ See Weissner 1990 for more on style as a marker on identity, Weissner 1983 and 1985 for more on emblematic and isochrestic style.

What divides or separates people is as important to identity formation as what brings groups together. This is best understood through the concept of “otherness”. The “other” refers to the creation of an outside group identity that stands apart, and often in direct contrast, to the group identity of insiders (Anderson 1991; Duncan 1993; Cartledge 2002; Gruen 2011; Jervis 1999). The concept and attributes of the outside group are created by an inside group in order to strengthen, reinforce, and justify their own group identity and ideals; otherness is “internalized in self-identity *and* projected outwards onto ‘others’, through disavowal” (Jervis 1999: 5).

Othering to create and support group identities can be seen in both the New and the Old Worlds, with many well-known cases in the Mediterranean. One such example is the royal Egyptian representation of outside ethnic groups such as Nubians, Libyans, and Asiatics, who were distinguished from Egyptians through their artistic portrayal. In order for Egypt to construct an ethnic identity—an identity of shared territory, descent, language, and religion—a contrasting “other” was needed (Booth 2005: 8). Through artistic depictions and literary descriptions, representing enemies as distinctly not Egyptian, Egyptians created an “imagined community” (see discussion below, pp. 75-76) that formed a unified Egypt (Kemp 2006: 21).⁸ Again, the “other” is used more to reflect the fears and values of the internal group than accurately reflect those of the external other.

Interactions with and representations of the “other” are not always negative, and

⁸ Another ancient example, among many, is the creation of the polis-uniting Hellenic identity during the Persian Wars, establishing a unifying “us versus them” mentality in the Aegean (see Cartledge 2002, Hall 2002).

selective foreign ideas and objects can be incorporated into local identity. Gruen's 2011 examination of otherness in Greek philosophy and thought argues that, although Greek and Jewish thinkers viewed one another through their own particular sets of cultural "lenses," they did not completely reject, distance, or demean the ideas of the other. Instead, they, and many other Mediterranean cultures, could take influence from an outside group to "augment one's own" (Gruen 2011: 5, 308).

As part of this dissertation's focus is on identity and community formation, how these group identities are created, and who is left out and considered an "other" are central concerns that may be physically displayed in material culture. Langin-Hooper's (2015) work on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines is an excellent case study on how the concept of otherness can be incorporated into figurine studies. She argues that the variety of clay figurine shapes, forms, and contexts directly reflects and reinforces Babylonian flexible attitudes towards identity and multiculturalism at the time. On the other hand, she argues that cases of little variation in figurine forms can point to periods of more rigid community identities. Neo-Babylonian standardized figurines, with little to no variation throughout sites in the Neo-Babylonian heartland, for example, demonstrate the desire for a unified group identity (Langin-Hooper 2015: 62). She argues that Hellenistic figurines of women with children such as Figure 2.1 reflect adaptive cultural identities, as they combine both Greek elements (the double-knotted hair and contrapposto form) and Near Eastern ones (hairstyle is enlarged and flattened, breastfeeding). This hybridity is paralleled in the production, which incorporates Greek and Near Eastern traditions (Langin-Hooper 2015: 75). Her work presents otherness as neither good nor bad, but

instead a factor used in identity formation that can be represented and displayed in miniature.



Figure 2.1: Hellenistic Babylonian figurine of woman with child. BM 91800. Langin-Hooper 2015: 72.

Langin-Hooper's analysis of Neo-Babylonian figurines directly inspires the ways in which style variation, identity, and otherness is approached in this dissertation. Otherness is directly tied to concepts of identity and community. How Cypriots identified themselves was likely impacted by increasing contact with foreigners, or "others," and the material ways in which locals chose to distinguish themselves can

reveal information about their conception of the world and their place in it.⁹ This is particularly true during the Late Bronze Age, as Cyprus' coastal sites were key entrepôts at the time. Because of their ability to be miniaturized and stereotyped representations, figurines likely played a role in identity formation on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Through a detailed analysis of attributes, productions styles, and contexts, and the variations therein, we can begin to understand how these representations reflect local understandings of and interactions with outside communities.

Understanding how people define both themselves and those that are not part of their groups is central to identity formation. The individual as a physical body in which personhood, embodied experience, and identity are experienced can have active, meaningful interactions with figurines on a daily basis. These interactions are not mundane, but instead can be powerful practices that mirror or establish elements and understandings of one's identity and body.

The Body: Archaeology of the Body, Embodiment, and Corporeality

Because human bodies make and interact with (and sometimes break) figurines, a central theoretical framework within the umbrella of identity for interpreting figurine use and meaning is that of conceptions of the body. Figurines, particularly those with visual resemblance to the human form, are inherently tied to the body. As small bodies themselves, they can be reflections of one's embodied experience and visual

⁹ This is also informed by the postcolonial framework discussed previously (see pp. 46-48).

representations of the key elements that make up one's cultural-specific body through processes such as stereotyping. Regardless of their visual resemblance to the human form, figurines are also interactive objects that have sensorially-engaging, intimate relationships with individuals. They are produced and used by human bodies for particular purposes and the experiences of these interactions, as well as the broader cultural conceptions of the body, are elements essential to the role of figurines.

To that end, the following introduces key theoretical concerns surrounding the body, embodiment, corporeality, and animal bodies, and how they will be used in this dissertation. First, I discuss trends within the archaeology of the body and how figurines fit within this. The discussion then moves to corporeality and embodiment—the experience of living in/as a body, archaeology of the human body, embodiment, and “body worlds” (Robb and Harris 2013). Finally, animal bodies are discussed. Not all the figurines in this study are bipedal, and thus a discussion of other, quadruped bodies and how they relate to the human experience is essential in forming an interpretative framework. The concept of a body world is investigated at length in Chapter 3 within the context of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

The living body, as I define it, is a physical form in which life is experienced. It is core to society; it can be inscribed upon, interact with other actors, including other bodies, be added to or changed, can physically impact its environment, and be physically impacted by its environment (Joyce 2005; Robb and Harris 2013: 2-3). This broad definition allows us to consider multiple types of bodies within the same category, including human bodies and animal bodies. While figurines are bodies, they are not

living bodies in the literal sense, but they can still be considered within a broader framework of the archaeology of the body. Figurines are physical objects that can be held, manipulated, and even deliberately broken (Talalay 1987). Their clay and stone bodies are visual in nature, meant to be seen, and human interactions with them can encapsulate multiple elements of the human experience. Not all bodies are the same, and their meanings and uses are context-dependent: the material, size, bodily attributes, decoration, and social context of bodies all have an impact on function and meaning. The majority of this discussion focuses on the human body, as it is the human experience with which this dissertation is most concerned. Moreover, it is human bodies that create and interact with figurines. However, animal bodies are still present and can have active roles in a person's corporeal, embodied experiences.

What constitutes the body and what meanings are placed on it is not universal, but instead culturally dependent (Hamilakis et al. 2002: 24). In fact, the exact definition of the body is culturally variable. What we in the 21st century see as the key elements of the body may be vastly different from that of 18th-century America, let alone Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Archaeology of the body, which interrogates the human body as the nexus of the material world, aims to answer questions surrounding what makes up the human lived experience in the past through the examination of bodies. Early studies on the archaeological body were highly art-historical, interpreting human life through its artistic representations. Processual studies and research up until the 1990s tended to focus exclusively on the physical human body (see Robb 2009 for a critique), reversing the direction of earlier interpretive frameworks. Studies such as Rautman (2000) and Robb

and Harris (2013), however, have persuasively argued for the inclusion of all aspects of the body, including its representation or image, and there has slowly been an increase in theoretically-informed analyses of past bodies. It is this more recent scholarship that shapes my own interpretative framework.

There are two main current trends in interpreting bodies in the archaeological record. First is the social constructivist framework of understanding the body as a “scene of display” upon and through which social relations and power are negotiated (Meskell 2000: 15; Boric and Robb 2008: 4). Much of this body of scholarship is inspired by Foucault, who argued that bodies are social constructions that are small elements of a dominant *episteme*, or system of understanding, which governs life (Foucault 1970). The second approach, focused on phenomenology, is influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1990) and his concepts of *habitus*, ingrained practices that shape lived experience both consciously and subconsciously, and *doxa*, concepts concerning the natural world that are self-evident or go without saying (Boric and Robb 2008: 2; Bulger and Joyce 2013: 68).

While embodiment and corporeality are mentioned frequently in archaeology of the body scholarship, their definitions are often left vague. Embodiment is essentially the way people live their lives. For the purposes of this dissertation, I use Bulger and Joyce’s definition of embodiment: the ways the material world impacts a body’s perception, experience, senses, and representation (Bulger and Joyce 2013: 71). Drawing on feminist scholarship, I situate the body as a subject in constant transformation (Bulter 1990). Each body is unique and its embodied experience “is subjective and depends on its relations

with the other” (Moore 1994: 43; Bulger and Joyce 2013: 73). Embodied subjectivities are not universal, but instead historically and culturally specific.

Corporeality—somatic, embodied human experience of the world—is a key element to understanding the body and the experience of humanness in the past (Hamilakis 2002: 122). It goes hand-in-hand with the archaeology of the body, and emphasizes bodily, sensorial experience. Archaeologies of embodiment and corporeality can be investigated through many veins of analysis, including how the body is represented in life, the manner in which the body is treated during death, commensality (Hamilakis 2002: 129), and personal adornment and body modification (Fisher and Loren 2003; Bulger and Joyce 2013), all of which are explored further in Chapter 3. Through a combination of embodiment and corporeality the body can be seen as the center of lived experience and a physical object upon which the negotiation of multiple identities and meanings occurs (Joyce 2005: 140).

How do clay figurines fit within a discussion of living bodies? In order to consider the ways in which figurines may reflect or impact understandings of the body and its place in the world, I draw upon Robb and Harris’ concept of “body worlds”. Body worlds incorporate “the totality of bodily experiences, practices and representations in a specific place and time” (Robb and Harris 2013: 3). The body world, and the larger conceptions of embodiment and humanness, in Late Bronze Age Cyprus can begin to be analyzed through comparison of many types of bodies found in the archaeological record. Focusing solely on clay bodies would reflect only one element of the Late Cypriot body world. In order best to understand Cypriot embodiment and how clay figurines fit within

this category, Chapter 3 delves into the multitude of other types of bodies present in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Gender, Sexuality, and Fertility

Concerns surrounding gender, sexuality, and fertility are intertwined with theoretical figurine studies, particularly within the category of anthropomorphic figurines (see Bailey 2012; Bolger 1996; Lesure 2010; 2017; López-Bertran 2016; Mina 2008a; 2008b). Entire books have been written about gender roles based on iconographic depictions, many of which are figurines (e.g., Bolger and Serwent 2002; Budin 2011). While the aim of this project is not specifically focused on gender, there are two main reasons gender theory is an essential element to the interpretive framework. First, gender has been the core framework for interpreting Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines (see Bolger 2010; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002; Knapp 2009a; Knapp and Meskell 1997; Knox 2016; Merrillees 1980; Peltenburg 2007). Second, gender identity is one of many defining characteristics of being human, is culturally-specific, and is formed and reinforced by one's lived environment. How concepts of gender are displayed and used can help in understanding the meaning of bipedal figurines as well as the broader picture of embodied experience in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In order to analyze possible gendered meanings of figurines, we must first understand contextually variable ideas of gender and recognize our own 20th and 21st century preconceptions. This discussion

focuses on the application of third-wave feminist theory within archaeological analysis and concepts of fertility in figurine scholarship.

Judith Butler is perhaps the best-known third-wave feminist scholar, and her book *Gender Trouble* (1990) has influenced many archaeological studies on women, gender, and sexuality (e.g., Conkey and Tringham 1998; Meskell 1995). Taking influence from Foucault's concepts of juridical law, she argues that gender is but one of many identities an individual can hold and is culturally dependent; there is no universal definition of "woman" or "man," but instead there are highly variable gender identities that are governed by cultural and political forces (Butler 1990: 6). Butler further defines the body "not as a ready surface awaiting signification, but as a set of boundaries, individual and social, politically signified and maintained" (Butler 1990: 44)—the body is not a passive thing that meanings or identities are inscribed upon, but instead can be subversive and active. Butler's discussion of culturally-variable gendered identities fits nicely within the larger scholarship on the archaeology of the body.

The duality of male and female characterizes much of the modern western world. However, as Butler and third-wave feminist literature explains, gender is not a binary, but a spectrum (Butler 1990; Monro 2005). This concept has helped to move archaeological studies of the body beyond the male-female divide. Take, for example, Bailey's (2005; 2012) work on Neolithic European figurines. The traditional assumption is that most figurines from the period are female and represent a matriarchal system. However, figurines with no sexual markers, which he refers to as asexual or corporeal figurines, far outweigh either male or female ones. As he explains, "the total population of figurines

from this period and region speak not of male or female, but of the human body in a way that does not have a clearly sexed depiction” (Bailey 2012: 247). Moreover, the absence of certain bodily attributes on figurines can emphasize what is missing from the representation rather than what is actually depicted (Bailey 2007; 2012). The more is left to the imagination—the more the figurine is abstracted—the more important its role in identity formation and politics, including gender (Bailey 2012: 250). The definitions of specific genders, “what it means to be a male or female,” are culturally and historically specific—they can change, shift, merge, or be pluralized. There may, at the end, be significant evidence for a gender binary on Cyprus, but this cannot be the starting assumption.

This brings us to the issue of sexuality and fertility. As discussed previously, much of the scholarship on anthropomorphic figurines on Cyprus, and more generally in the eastern Mediterranean, has focused on divine fertility. Nude females, from the earliest prehistory, have been discussed in terms of their fecundity with an emphasis on motherhood. This is best evidenced in the work of Marija Gimbutas (1974; 1989), who argued for a global Mother Goddess that reflected the importance of women and fertility in early prehistory. Much of this scholarship was a reaction to the male-dominated interpretations of the past, which focused on patriarchal assumptions of maleness (Conkey 2012; Conkey and Tringham 1998; Meskell 1995). Gimbutas’ rejection of scholarly assumptions based on modern western culture is worth noting, and her work has had far-reaching impact on prehistoric figurine scholarship. However, her claims of a universal prehistoric Mother Goddess cult are generalizing, create a homogenous

narrative of Indo-European prehistory, and assume all figurines to be cultic female representations. As Meskell best puts it: “To assume *a priori* that there is a Goddess behind every figurine is tantamount to interpreting plastic figures of Virgin Mary and of ‘Barbie’ as having identical ideological significance” (1995: 82).

In general, prehistoric nude female figurines are depicted with large breasts, rounded stomachs, pubic triangles, and genitalia. While the emphasis on sex organs could denote an importance on fertility, these figurines are rarely depicted with the results of their fertile bodies: children.¹⁰ As Lesure has argued, the presence of female sexual organs, what he usually refers to as “female attributes,” does not necessarily point to themes of fertility (Lesure 2010: 14, 17). Generalizing interpretations of fertility goddesses assume a universal, essentializing view of the female body and its relationship to reproduction (Conkey and Tringham 1998: 22; Budin 2011: 28). Nude bodies could also be intended for erotic, sexual purposes or to be used as toys dressed in other materials much like modern dolls. As with gender identification, we must be careful not to impose modern preconceptions of sexuality and fertility—or the automatic correlation between fertility and motherhood—onto the past.

I have given no concrete definitions for male or female within the context of Late Bronze Age Cyprus on purpose—they are variable and difficult to trace archaeologically. Gender, gender roles, sexuality, and fertility are complex subjects that are not only key to this dissertation, but also to archaeology writ large. Gender and feminist theory need to

¹⁰ One exception are the child and mother figurines from Late Bronze Age Cyprus, the majority of which, however, lack archaeological context (see Bolger 2003).

be applied more widely within the field. Based on the above, this dissertation uses a theoretical framework that rejects the automatic correlation between female attributes and divine fertility, and instead uses concepts related to materiality, corporeality, and miniaturization to interpret possible meanings of sex markers, whether they be breasts, pubic triangles, or phalluses.

Human-Animal Relationship

Thus far the discussion has focused only on humans. However, as will be shown in Chapters Four and Five, a large portion of figurine fragments in this dissertation can be identified as quadrupeds. The majority of archaeological studies on animals are focused on faunal remains and animals-as-food (Russell 1999: 153). Yet animals were not just part of subsistence. As Galaty and Johnson (1990: 5) describe:

“Although domestic animals are productive resources, they are also living beings, expressive and interactive, with whom people form relationships and share their lives. It is this convergence of the instrumental and the intimate that may imbue domestic animals with the extraordinary potential of serving as palpable signs, not just of nature or economy, but of humanity, divinity, and life itself.”

Animals are essential aspects of human daily life, whether that is through using and consuming their byproducts, such as milk or wool, or the animals themselves.

For example, the site of Kfar HaHoresh in the southern Levant includes Neolithic funerary contexts that combine human and animal remains that may have reflected human-animal relationships that are very different from today. Not only are humans and animals buried together, but their body parts are combined and intertwined; there are

multiple examples of children buried with fox mandibles and plastered human heads with headless gazelles (Casella and Croucher 2011: 214). Different nonhuman animals had different relationships and connections to people: Domuztepe's Death Pit (c. 5500 BCE) provides evidence for a similar preparation of human and canine body parts and demonstrates that dogs were "significant enough to warrant inclusion in this funerary event, as participants that were, unlike their cattle counterparts, not there as food" (Casella and Croucher 2011: 214). In Cyprus, the Neolithic site of Shillourokambos provides evidence from the burial of an adult human and an 8-month old cat, while Khirokitia provides evidence for the burial of caprine bodies and deer antlers with humans, demonstrating the close ties between humans and animals on the island (Le Mort *et al.* 2008).

The symbolic importance of domestic animals is compounded within this dissertation in two ways. First, the animals themselves are artistically rendered in miniature, stereotyped forms. As discussed above, the act of making something in miniature with standardized or abstracted forms can transform an ordinary animal into a clay figurine with extraordinary meanings. Second, the majority of quadruped figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, including those in this study, are bovine-shaped. Bulls were frequently used in cultic imagery throughout the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, to be discussed further in Chapter 3. In the Aegean, for example, cattle were precious commodities and their use in ritual practices marked such activities as special.¹¹ Bulls and images of bulls in cultic contexts in Late Bronze Age Cyprus were

¹¹ See Guggisberg 2009 for a discussion of bovine figurines in Aegean cultic contexts.

probably imbued with complex ritual meanings that are similar to bovine cultic practices throughout the eastern Mediterranean at the time. However, can the same be said of bull figurines within domestic or production contexts? Nonhuman animals can play important roles in personhood and identity formation, and the miniaturized, stereotyped depictions of animals in clay may reflect very different types of human-animal relationships than those of the 21st century. Just like the formation of personhood and identity, the meaning of human-animal interactions and their depictions are context-dependent. Although a small clay bull may seem mundane and unimportant, zoomorphic figurines have as much to do with the culturally-constructed human experience as anthropomorphic figurines.

To fully understand embodiment and corporeality on Cyprus, and to contextualize the clay body on Cyprus, it is necessary to consider all aspects of bodily practice. Representations of the body, in any medium, can create, reinforce, and define social identities and ideologies of status, gender, and agency (Hamilakis et al. 2002: 4). One way this functions is through the creation of stereotypical images which allow people to define and construct their sense of the world (Bailey 2005; see discussion of stereotypes above). As bodies, figurines can be used as a means to create, reinforce, and negotiate different understandings of embodied experience and social practice. The physical and cultural body creates and reinforces social, economic, and ideological relationships. As material culture, figurines serve as a tangible medium through which social identities and ties can be constructed (Mina 2008b: 215). They can be foci for identity formation, as well as projections of idealized visions of what constitutes the social, political, or ritual body. Moreover, figurines, especially when considered within a diachronic study, are

discursive objects, telling of the changing ideas of, and attitudes towards, the human experience, regardless of their physical resemblance to the human body.

Community: Community Formation and Communities of Practice and Ritual

An individual body cannot be separated from its relationship to other bodies, human or otherwise. If the body is culturally dependent, it is also community dependent. Bodily conceptions and embodied experience are in part constructed through the expectations and reactions of others. The human body can be seen as the epitome of a cultural object, being both defined by social relations and the primary channel through which social relations are created and negotiated (Knapp and Meskell 1997: 188; Joyce 2005). Just as figurines need to be considered within the framework of materiality and their relationships with other actors within a network, bodies need to be understood within the context of community. As alluded to above, identity and community formation are key elements of embodied experience. This section examines “the collective”—how communities are created and reinforced.

Community formation and identity formation go hand-in-hand, but there are key differences. Yaeger and Canuto (2000: 5-6) define community as:

“An ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time. Daily interactions rely on and, in turn, develop shared premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities.”

Communities can be formed by people from differing group identities united through shared interactions with one another and their lived environments. However, community identities are not dependent on other forms of identity. Because of the reliance on daily interactions, changes in the interactions can cause communities to evolve or even dissolve without impacting familial, ethnic, or gendered identities (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 7). Thus, communities can be created by different social, economic, and political groups, all of which interact with one another on a daily basis. Repeated and shared daily activities and beliefs can “build, modify, and reshape [a community’s] physical surroundings in order to preserve memory and experience, to rationalize the meanings bestowed on the landscape, and to provide their community with a meaningful sense of time and space” (Knapp 2003: 566). Communities are also important sites of learning (see Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998); whether children learn certain behaviors and practices from parents within the home or an apprentice learns a specialized set of tasks for their profession, individuals learn ways to interact with fellow community members on a daily basis.

Not all communities are physically manifest and obvious. Imagined communities are defined as communities of individuals and groups that may never meet face-to-face yet are still self-defining through an internal sense of comradeship and finite boundaries that separate them from the “other” (Anderson 1991: 6-7). These imagined communities importantly do not just rely on daily physical interactions between community members, but instead can be created and reinforced through symbolic practices, indirect

interactions, and most importantly memory and connections to the past (Knapp 2003: 566-567). In fact, social memory is key to all types of community formation.

Social memory, also frequently referred to as collective memory, is the remembrance (or forgetting) of the past by a group of people, often used in creating social identities and establishing social practices and traditions (Connerton 1989, Nora 1989, Alcock 2002). It is based on the premise that memory is, in essence, a social thing, and it requires multiple people to remember and create memories. Due to the fact that memory groups, just like identity groups, are ever-changing, multiple, and often overlapping, memories are also multiple, and can often be conflicting and competitive (Alcock 2002). Connerton described the production of social memory as taking place in two categories of bodily practice: “inscribed” practice, which is experienced through monuments and very visual materials created for a specific purpose in the community, and “incorporated” practice, which is the embodied experience gained through the participation in practices, frequently ritual, of individuals, and can be found in both the actor (the person doing the ritual action) and the observer (the person passively participating in the ritual action) (1989: 72-73). These practices, both focused on embodied experience, can tie activities and material culture to the creation, reinforcement, and distortion of social memory. This social remembrance creates strong community ties that may be reflected in the production, style, use, and meaning of clay figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Communities of Practice and Communities of Ritual

Households and household archaeology are key to understanding communities within archaeological scholarship. Sharing living space is one of the main methods of community formation and thus households and domestic spaces have been the focus of much of the archaeological scholarship on communities, beginning in the 1980's (MacEachern et al. 1989) and culminating in Canuto and Yaeger's 2000 edited volume, *The Archaeology of Communities*. Households are centers of multiple types of daily activities, including food preparation and consumption and ritual practices that connect household members who share some identities, but do not share others (i.e., gender, age). Because of their prominence in life, domestic spaces are the primary contexts of community formation—shared practices among different households create a sense of belonging, even if the community itself is made up of multiple, competing identity groups.

Communities, however, are not just defined by household groups. Communities can also be formed through non-residential daily activities, commonly referred to as practice, as well as cultic activities, which I refer to as religious ritual. Practice is a way of “doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do” (Wenger 1998: 47). Communities of practice are best defined as having three elements: mutual engagement (actions with meanings defined and negotiated between community members including community maintenance and relationships), a joint enterprise (such as accountability within the community and the development of rules and standards), and a shared repertoire (such as tools, style, and stories) (Wenger 1998: 73,

81). A community of practice does not necessarily center on households, although it can do so; for example, weaving on a household level can create a community of practice both within that individual house as well as a larger community encapsulating multiple households using the same practices. Within the context of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, communities of practice as a concept is essential to understand the relationships and identities of the people living within larger settlements and interacting in production contexts, a common context for figurine use and deposition.

Another type of community that is perhaps the most difficult to examine archaeologically, but the most important within this dissertation, is that of ritual. Communities of ritual, as I define them, are collectives engaging in similar activities guided by the same ritual beliefs. This broad definition allows for the incorporation of Anderson's (1991) "imagined" communities that share beliefs and practices but may never meet face-to-face. At the center of communities of ritual are ritual practices, which integrate belief into physical actions (Bell 1992: 25-26). Shared ritual practices create communities of groups of diverse individuals joined through repeated interactions and activities, such as funerary rites, offerings, or ritual feasts. As discussed above, ritual practices are often part of the creation of social memory, and thus reinforce communities through remembrance as well as daily actions. Communities of ritual are best evidenced in funerary and temple contexts. These communities use these spaces and the material culture in these spaces as part of ritual practices that can concretize collective memories, connections to the past, and the relationships between community members.

Figurines are often found in cultic contexts, and thus a consideration of communities of religious ritual and how locals express these ritual ties is essential. Interactions with figurines within ritual spaces—both as active elements in cultic practices as well as inactive objects within the space—give figurines symbolic importance that can be read by the practitioners using the religious space. In Chapter 5, a temple complex at Kition will be explored, examining the stylistic patterns in and provenance of figurine fragments to interpret the connection between figurines and ritual practices. As votive objects, figurines can represent shared ritual beliefs and practices that are found in both public-facing temples spaces as well as private-facing domestic ones. Because of their presence in multiple context types, figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus can be used as a case study to analyze identity and community formation through shared figurine practices.

Identity and community formation are agentive and relationship-focused activities that happen constantly on both a conscious and subconscious level. They are key to a person's conception of the self, the body, and the lived environment. As miniatures, figurines can be considered as decorative, play, or even ritual objects, making them excellent subjects for an interrogation of identity and community formation. Figurine scholarship and studies on the archaeology of the body are often, and rightfully so, focused on issues of identity and it is clear that these theoretical frameworks, much like the objects and people themselves, are interwoven and inextricably linked.

Moreover, identity formation and community are an integral part of human life and embodied experience. Relationships with other people and objects create a “cultural

body” that is both shaped by and shapes these interactions. Viewing one’s self as part of a collective, or distinguishing one’s self as an outsider, creates identity groups that shape how people perceive their place in the world. One individual can have many identities and feel a belonging to multiple groups, all of which can change and shift over time. Communities are composed of multiple identity groups and are formed in daily interactions between different groups in household, production, and cultic contexts. The daily interactions between members of different group identities, such as economic class or gender, reinforce the systems of power that define community life. Figurines are just as connected to community as they are individual bodies. As will be argued in Chapter 6, Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines were produced and used within specific social systems and likely aided in establishing or reinforcing certain identities within a given community.

Conclusion

In summation, the theoretical framework of this dissertation focuses on three main concepts: materiality, identity, and community. When interpreting figurine use and meaning, this study first begins with the concept of material affordances—that non-living objects such as figurines afford certain behaviors and interactions with living actors that influence the ways in which one can act. Figurines, through their materiality, afford intimate relationships with humans that are specific and unique due to their size and scale. Through the acts of miniaturization, making something smaller and, thus creating

a brand-new thing, and stereotyping, creating a standard stylized representation that changes its object of reference from mundane into something special, figurines are objects imbued with extraordinary meanings that can mirror (or distort) different aspects of human life. They can both reflect and impact embodied experience, identity and community formation, and culturally-specific practices best understood and investigated through materiality and affordance-focused human-object interactions. Due to the fragmentary nature of figurines from solid archaeological contexts, fragmentation theory is also essential to engage with. Patterns in fragmentation can be a result of intentional breakage and distribution of figurine parts as part of social and ritual actions, referred to as enchainment. While fragmentation is essential to discussion within the context of figurines, the primacy of this research must be to consider if there is substantial evidence for intentional fragmentation.

Identity is used in this chapter as an umbrella term to consider the ways in which people define and group themselves. Because this dissertation's figurine corpus is primarily composed of human and animal bodies, much of the discussion of identity is focused on embodied experience and the concept of "body worlds". Gender and sexuality were also discussed, as these are two elements of identity that are frequently discussed within Cypriot figurine scholarship. This dissertation rejects the assumed connection between female sexual attributes and divine fertility as well as a clear male-female duality. While female figurines may ultimately be representations of some divine fertile figure, this cannot be the starting point for interpretation. Animal bodies and the ways in which they are treated can be just as important in expressing identity and

community as human bodies. Animals can reveal important elements of consumption, ritual, and agrarian practices, as well as the intimate relationships people can have with domestic animals. The human body is the center of lived experience, is agential, and can be seen as a physical object where the negotiation of identities takes place. These identities can be multiple, contradicting, evolve over time, and can be reflected through the material culture people use. The Late Cypriot body world and associated concepts of embodiment and identity will be explored in detail in Chapter 3, in which I present archaeological evidence outside of clay figurines for bodies (both human and animal) in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

The final thematic section focused on community. Communities are groups of people with multiple, different, and sometimes conflicting identities. Community formation is strongly tied to sites of learning, whether that occurs in the home or elsewhere, as well as the creation of social memory. While most communities are the result of daily interactions between groups, communities can also be “imagined” through shared practices and beliefs between people who may never meet face-to-face. Most archaeological scholarship, rightly, focuses on households as the nexus of community formation. However, there are also communities of practice and ritual that can form outside of the domestic, familial sphere. Communities of practice include those joined by daily activities centered on production or work, while communities of ritual are formed through shared ritual beliefs and practices. Figurines are found and used in production, funerary, and cultic contexts that may have played roles in identity and community formation, joining together different people through shared beliefs and activities.

These concepts do not just aid in answering questions about figurine use and meaning, but instead also help to investigate questions about Late Bronze Age Cypriot corporeality, identity, and community on the island. Although figurines are diminutive in size and resemble mundane things from reality, they are powerful objects that can be interacted with in intimate, personal ways unique to the small-scale. Figurines are, at the end of the day, representations. What they represent and how they relate to and impact human life can be interpreted in a variety of ways. As Bailey explains, “[e]very act of representation is an interpretation of a reality or, more likely, every act is one element within many constructions of one of many realities” (Bailey 2012: 245).

The following chapters employ the theoretical frameworks laid out to both contextualize clay bodies among other types of Cypriot bodies visible in the archaeological record and analyze patterns in figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages. Chapter 3 focuses on the former, and is an in-depth examination of archaeological evidence for the Late Bronze Age Cypriot “body world” as defined by Robb and Harris (2013). Chapter 3 also serves as a contextual background for identity and community formation in Cyprus as understood through the archaeological record. Chapter 4, which focuses on a single case study site, Hala Sultan Tekke, demonstrates the applicability of both the methodology laid out in Chapter 1 as well as the theoretical frameworks of materiality, fragmentation, and identity. Within Chapter 4, the relationship between human and animal is given more attention, and challenges the typical human-animal divide. Chapter 5 examines the data from all case study sites, and, through this comparison, is able to more closely consider aspects of community

formation. It argues that there is clear evidence for local variability in figurine production, use, and deposition, and this local adaptability is representative of community identities writ large in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Chapter 6 then concludes the dissertation, bringing all the moving parts together. The chapter focuses on the impact of this dissertation on the field of Cypriot figurines: the importance of provenance, the inclusion of both animal and anthropomorphic bodies, and the careful, close analysis of patterns in attributes, context, and assemblage to analyze figurines.

CHAPTER 3: THE BODY IN LATE BRONZE AGE CYPRUS

Introduction

In order to analyze the contextual production, use, and meaning of clay figurines in close detail, an understanding of the wider framework of the body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is required. Like many elements of Cypriot material culture, treatments, practices, and images surrounding the body go through shifts and changes in the middle of the second millennium BCE. While the cause of this is likely a combination of factors including increased access to trade and foreign commodities, political and economic emphasis on coastal centers, and the increase in monumentality in large urban settlements, the more critical aspect within the confines of this project is the result: the new ways the body is decorated, depicted, practiced, and performed in the Late Bronze Age. How do clay figurines fit within the wider repertoire of images and practices of the body? Are there similarities in the contextual form or use of figurines to that of other bodily treatments or representations?

This discussion will be divided into three main sections: definition of terms, treatments of the physical body, and representations of bodies. First, the key terms are defined. What exactly makes a body—whether human or animal—and how does a body relate to the world around it? The treatment of the physical body, focused on the corporeal form and how the body was shaped, moved, and decorated, will explore Late

Bronze Age trends in interment, jewelry, body modification, and bodily practice.

Representations of the body, on the other hand, examines artistic depictions of bodies—the different visual schemata and their elements recognizable as bodies—excluding clay figurines of course. As will be shown, there is large overlap between the categories of treatments of bodies and representations. Instead of thinking of them as completely separate categories, they should be considered as elements of a whole that may or may not have similarities in different forms, contexts, uses, and meanings.¹

When bodies are a primary topic of analysis, there is a frequent assumption that all bodies are human. This dissertation does not limit the body to humanness. As will be explained in detail in Chapter 5, anthropomorphic figurines actually make up the minority in this dataset. Instead, zoomorphic—animal shaped—figurines are the predominant form for clay figurines during the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. How animal bodies fit alongside human bodies in both the treatment of physical bodies and representations of bodies give hints to the complicated nature of embodiment and better contextualizes the bodies represented in clay figurines discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The section on physical bodies will include a discussion of the evidence available for animal bodies as well as human. The distinction between human and non-human is not as clear within representations of bodies. This lack of separation between

¹ This perspective is also used as a starting point for the interpretive analysis of figurines in Chapters 4 and 5.

anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations suggests that artistic depictions reflect a different understanding or type of body than what is evident in physical evidence; rather than treating human and animal as a given distinction or fixed parameter, it is variable. Within representations, the evidence will be categorized by material, as the types of bodies, including various elements of animals and humans that can be combined, are dependent on the context and medium that is used. Contextualizing clay figurine bodies with other types of bodies present in the archaeological record allows for more nuanced understandings of not only clay embodiment, but also the experience of the body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus more broadly.

Clay bodies are just one form of the body that occur in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, but they are often one of the primary sources of evidence used to discuss and make claims about what it means to be human during the period. There have been numerous edited volumes, books, and museum exhibits on the Cypriot body, and the evidence drawn upon in this chapter reflects this extensive corpus of work (Alphas and Zachariou-Kalia 2015; Bolger 2003; Budin 2011; Hamilakis and Steel 2012; Knapp 2006). However, often in these volumes, all forms of the (human) body—whether the physical human body or those in other media—are treated as ultimately being the same. This is problematic for multiple reasons. First, it assumes that all images of the body are direct reflections of the human body. This contrasts with the frequently assumed divine functions of many statuettes and figures. If these images represent (or are) gods, then their classification as anthropomorphic is only partly correct—they are *god*-shaped in

addition to being human-shaped. The divine aspect of an anthropomorphic god makes it unlikely that they depict elements of everyday life, and instead are likely more symbolic. This is further complicated by the use of animal elements in bipedal representations, something that will be discussed at length in the Representations of Bodies section below (see section summary, pp. 150-152). These assumptions can ignore the variety in form, style, function, and meaning between different types of bodies in different contexts. Conflating all the diverse types of bodies, anthropomorphic or otherwise, ignores the possible implications or importance of a specific type of body or bodily practice and its possible contextual meanings.

This is particularly true for clay figurines, which are often used as one-to-one correlations for life and living in ancient Cyprus. Instead, the differences in production, form, use, size, medium, and context need to be considered as primary to understanding how the body can have different meanings and functions in different social contexts. These social contexts are key to understanding, as Robb and Harris (2013) define it, “body worlds,” all-encompassing understandings and experiences associated with the body at a specific time and place. By considering the diversity of ways the body is present in the archaeological record, what can be considered different elements that partially make up the Cypriot body world, the relationship between clay figurines and the lived body can be better understood.

This chapter argues that an analysis of just one type of body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus—be it clay or otherwise—is incomplete without understanding how it relates to

other bodily evidence available in the archaeological record. Through an overview of the types of evidence available, the trends in physical evidence for bodies and representation of bodies, and the interpretive frameworks within which these bodies are best understood, an analysis of the function and meaning of clay figurines gains far more nuance.

Contextualizing Clay Bodies – Terminology

In this dissertation I use the phrase treatment of physical bodies to refer to the ways the physical body is decorated, modified, and positioned. This can refer to the physical body, how it is dressed, decorated, shaped, and displayed, during both life and death, but it can also refer to the decorations themselves—the type of jewelry, clothing style, etc. Within this category, I draw upon archaeological data concerning interment, jewelry, and body modification. It should be noted that the ancient evidence for treatment of bodies is limited by preservation. We do not have physical, corporeal evidence for Late Bronze Age Cypriot clothing or hairstyles.² However, interment, jewelry, and body modifications visible on skeletal remains can begin to help scholars understand embodied experience and the essential elements of being human in Bronze Age Cyprus.

The treatment of physical bodies is a contradiction—it is inherently personal in

² As will be discussed in the Representations of Bodies section, there is some, albeit limited, evidence for clothing and hair on images of humans on bronze figures, bronze stands, and ceramic kraters.

nature but also intended to be viewed by others. One can decorate, modify, and shape one's physical body as well as one's embodied experience. Tattoos, for example, are a permanent modification. They can draw on specific memories of the pain associated with getting the tattoo, the meaning behind the tattoo, and the responses others have to it. Although a tattoo may be acceptable in some social contexts, such as casual gatherings, it may also be frowned upon and needed to be covered in others. Thus, treatment of bodies assumes an audience; that the body must look and move in a certain way for a certain audience or in a specific space. Beyond this, the majority of evidence available within the archaeological record relies on dead bodies. These bodies, unlike living bodies, have less personal agency in how they are presented. Remains can help to reconstruct how a living Late Cypriot individual could decorate or experience one's body, but they are far more reflective of the impact of external actors on the physical body.

The ways people decorate and present their bodies can be considered media for the creation and solidification of social relationships—one's status or identity can be "read" through its artificial presentation (Joyce 2005: 142). While the sensual aspects of the weight of jewelry or the feel of clothing are very personal, they are also intended for a much wider audience and can be adjusted to suit different social contexts and they may be gender or class specific. As Harris *et al.* (2013: 79) explain:

"Whether it involves a Bronze Age woman fastening her tunic with a pin or twenty-first-century business man girding himself in suit, tie, watch, smart phone, briefcase and haircut, ornamenting the body involves making it conform to a look or aesthetic sense which is constructed socially and materially and is meaning-laden".

As discussed in Chapter 2, embodiment has as much to do with the individual as the communal experience. The body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is tied to identity formation and community. Much of the evidence drawn upon for the treatment of the physical body comes from tomb contexts and it can easily be argued that the majority of the evidence drawn upon reflects less the individuals interred and more the living community who buried them.

Under the rubric of treatment of bodies, I also explore the concept of bodily practice. There are two main competing definitions of practice. For Bourdieu (1984), bodily practice refers to the ways one lives, moves, and experiences the world, from mundane activities of everyday life to unique and special events or activities. Foucault (1976), on the other hand, emphasizes the effects of power and social control on “disciplining” the body. For present purposes, I take inspiration from Bourdieu and broadly define bodily practice as the ways the body is actively performed in different contexts; how it moves and interacts with other bodies and materials. This can shape or discipline different meanings and functions of the body, as well as how a body relates to its world. However, as Foucault emphasizes, the impact of outside actors cannot be ignored. Even within the most banal practices, the body and its embodied experience are influenced by social factors. The best example of this, and the easiest to trace archaeologically, is feasting and drinking. The material remains of such events, while not directly reflective of the body, are key elements to the specific bodily practice of consuming (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012; Steel 2004b; 2013). The type of vessels used,

as well as the sensorial experiences of taste, touch, smell, sight, and sound can carry powerful notions of the body and how it is supposed to act within a specific context (for example, a funerary feast in or outside of a tomb; see Fisher 2023: 281-285).

Representations of the body, as I use it here, refers to artistic renderings and depictions of the body, and can be in any form, from images on pottery, to statues and statuettes, to carvings in stone. Within this section, I use the term anthropomorphic to refer to images that bear physical similarities to the human body, including bipedalism, clothing or bodily decoration, as well as human hands, feet, genitalia, facial features, and hair. These “representations” may not, in fact, represent the human body as understood by their users, but their closeness to the physical attributes that characterize the human form forces scholars to consider why these images use human attributes. The same can be said for animal bodies, which include traits such as quadruped forms, elongated snouts, tails, and horns. Why, for example, depict a god or a non-human with human-looking legs, eyes, and ears? Alternatively, why depict a human with animal-like eyes or noses? This overview of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations is not just historical background, but meant to preface and contextualize the phenomenon of Late Bronze Age clay figurines in Cyprus within other ways the body is presented, performed, and depicted.

The term “anthropomorphic” often goes hand-in-hand with both representations of bodies and figurines. The etymology of the word, “human-shaped,” suggest that the term should be applied to what I have defined as human representations, images with

physical similarities to the human form. However, anthropomorphic is a loaded term:

“Every artwork—of whatever media—could be considered as a moment in an endless effort to ascribe human form to the forever nonhuman, as if we could only make sense of our humanity by seeing it projected onto what is patently other than human” (King et al. 2012: 13).

There is an eternal contradiction within anthropomorphism, as these representations may be *like* human bodies, but, due to their material nature, will also always be *unlike* human bodies. This dissertation uses the term anthropomorphic in its literal sense, as something human-shaped may not in fact represent a human. Conversely, the depiction of animals, such as the zoomorphic figurines in this dissertation’s dataset, can represent as much of the human experience as anthropomorphic depictions.

Art is subjective in every stage of an object’s life. The artist or maker has an agenda—to create an artistic depiction for a specific need or person—as do the individuals interacting with such objects. Just as bodies themselves can be shaped and decorated to suit the needs and requirements within a specific community or context, so too are representations of bodies. These are not passive images representing human life, but instead are agentive through their materiality and continual interactions with living bodies.

Bodies can come in a variety of materials, shapes, forms, and sizes. These, along with their social contexts, help make up their body worlds; how bodies are experienced and understood within their environment. Physical evidence for the body allows for a

close examination of the ways the body can be shaped and moved to suit different societal needs and practices. Representations of the body are another perspective of embodied experience, as the elements of the body and the material used can tell us what the most pivotal parts of the body were within different contexts, activities, and for different groups.

What follows is a discussion of the multitude of ways the Cypriot body is archaeologically present. Each section will present different examples of the treatment of bodies, including practice, and representation as I have defined them here. This is not meant to be comprehensive, but instead meant to highlight some of the more prominent, varied types of bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, as well as those that are worth noting within the context of clay bodies.

Treatment of Physical Bodies

This section examines the main forms of treatment of physical bodies in the Late Bronze Age: interment, jewelry, body modifications, and feasting practices, examining how these treatments relate to larger social, economic, and political developments in Cyprus throughout the Late Bronze Age.³ The majority of evidence comes from tombs,

³ See Alphas and Zachariou-Kailia 2015 for a wider chronological overview of the Cypriot body; Bolger 2003, and Knapp 2013a: 322-344; 389-397 for more detailed Prehistoric and Protohistoric Bronze Age overview.

particularly elite tombs, and thus this discussion will first introduce burial practices in Cyprus and then expand to grave goods and paraphernalia of the body. The discussion will then turn to the body itself, examining permanent body modifications and bodily practice. Finally, zooarchaeological data will be discussed. While limited, archaeological evidence for animal bodies points to complex relationships between human and animal bodies during both life and death.

The evidence for treatment of physical bodies is dependent on what has survived in the archaeological record and where and what was deemed important to excavate and record in Cyprus, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This results in an elite bias in material and data. However, the elite data themselves are of note because they correspond to the emergence of a new class and social structure in the middle of the second millennium BCE on the south and southeast coast of Cyprus.⁴ The formation of elite identities is reflected in increased differentiation between groups; how elites chose to present their bodies is key to the creation and solidification of these social hierarchies.

We need to remember that that people chose to practice these types of decoration, modifications, and movements because at least some audience—whether oneself or others—found it appealing. Although body treatment is inherently personal, the evidence

⁴ See Webb 2018; Webb and Knapp 2021 for overview of evidence for elite burial practices on the north coast during the Early and Middle Cypriot periods.

for presentation in the Late Bronze Age emphasizes the importance of display to others.

Interment

Interment, how the body is positioned and decorated in burial, is an essential source of evidence for bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, as the majority of physical human remains come from mortuary contexts. To understand what elements of interment are pertinent to the treatment of physical bodies and their meanings, a summary of mortuary practices in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, including tomb type, assemblage, body positioning, and associated funerary activities is introduced. The majority of this summary relies on Keswani's *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus* (2004), which is an essential guide to examining the interplay between mortuary contexts and the larger socio-political developments on Bronze Age Cyprus. Mortuary practices are key to understanding both living and dead bodies within a very specific funerary context, and demonstrate how the body can be shaped, decorated, and moved for a specific purpose within a specific space. The trends in tomb type, grave good assemblages, and burial practices reflect different preferences about how the body is intended to be displayed, or treated, in death. Beyond this, mortuary practices are not necessarily activities for the dead: instead, they are predominantly for the living (Fleming 1973: 189-190), and the choices in interment reflect social ideals of bodily treatment, remembrance, and community identity (Metcalf 1982; Hertz 1907 [1960]; Van Gennep 1909 [1960]).

As with many aspects of social life in Cyprus, burial practices saw significant change at the beginning of the Late Cypriot period. While extramural burials were common in the first half of the second millennium BCE, ProBA 1 saw a shift to burial within settlements, including in workshop, administrative, and private complexes (Webb 2018: 218). Secondary treatment of remains, including disarticulation and rearrangement, and collective burial continued to be popular through the end of the Bronze Age, and there is a significant increase in prestige goods, mainly of foreign importation (Alphas and Zachariou-Kailia 2015: 181; Keswani 2004: 85). The continued use of collective chamber tombs over multiple generations, presumably by the same group, emphasizes familial ties, and the activities that took place at these sites, including the rearranging of remains, were probably material ways of reinforcing group identities through the establishment of a lineage (Keswani 2004: 107).

In a slight contradiction, however, there is also evidence for the destruction of older elite tombs: for example, the Ashlar Building at Maroni *Vournes* and Buildings I and II at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* were all built on top of destroyed tomb, while at Enkomi older tombs were essentially erased with the construction of the Ashlar Building and the associated road system (Webb 2018: 220). There is a clear effort on the part of the newly emerging Late Bronze Age elites to erase old lineages and memories to “appropriate ancestral authority” through the creation of new multi-generational chamber tombs in central settlement locations (Manning 1998: 48-53). Generally, coastal sites have higher numbers of larger, more elaborate tombs and luxury grave goods than inland sites,

particularly on the southern coast, which likely corresponds to the rise of coastal centers that controlled inland settlements (Keswani 2004: 134; see Knapp 2013a: 354 for a model of Protohistoric social organization on Cyprus). There is an increase in social stratification evidenced in burial practices, from tomb location, to grave goods, to tomb architecture—a common method of establishing and displaying inequality evidenced in the prehistoric eastern Mediterranean and Europe (Harris et al. 2013: 71).

Although the amount of exotica and imported luxury goods in mortuary contexts rises in the Late Bronze Age, there is a general decrease in the tomb elaboration and use-life compared to the earlier Prehistoric Bronze Age periods. As Fisher and Keswani have argued, this is likely tied to the emerging socio-political hierarchy, with a shift from the importance of funerary activities within a less stratified community to the “privatization” of these events within elite spheres on the island (Fisher 2009; Keswani 2004: 143-144; Webb 2019: 224).⁵

Compared to the Early and Middle Cypriot periods, infants and children appear at much higher frequencies in burials, something Keswani attributes to shifts in groups that are ascribed certain burial honors (Keswani 2004: 141). Non-elite female skeletal remains were found less frequently in chamber tombs than male counterparts and in

⁵ Instead of a focus on community-wide events, the Late Cypriot period sees a turn towards private, controlled events intended for a limited, elite audience, most often in monumental spaces such as the courtyard areas of Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, the Ashlar Building at Maroni *Vournes*, and Building II at Alassa *Paleotaverna* (Fisher 2009; 2014; 2023; Knapp 2013a: 363-367).

general non-elite females have very little visibility in the Late Bronze Age mortuary record (Bolger 2003: 174). However, this gender disparity is not evident in elite tombs. Females belonging to higher, elite-status groups were just as frequent as elite male counterparts, and just as elaborately equipped (Keswani 2004: 108). For example, of the nine sexed skulls from the extravagant multigenerational Tomb 9 at Kition, seven are female (Schwartz 1974). Women of elite status were clearly important figures in a community, best evidenced by burials such as those in Tomb 11 from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, a chamber tomb under a road adjacent to the elaborate administrative and production center of the city, which is comprised of three female bodies with fine grave goods, including a full set of painted Mycenaean drinking vessels, jewelry, and cylinder seals (Goring 1989; South 2000).⁶ Elite female burials are also found at other coastal centers, including Enkomi and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* (Knapp 2013a: 285). Although there is a clear difference between elite and non-elite tombs, there is little differentiation between male and female-sexed burials in terms of tomb and grave good elaboration when elite female burials are found.

While the mortuary practices characterizing Late Bronze Age Cyprus are varied, there are a few things worth noting. First, as previously mentioned, tombs began to be located within settlements, and usually near domestic or administrative areas. This most

⁶ Also included in Tomb 11 are a child and three neonate remains, emphasizing the familial and child-rearing importance of these elite women (South 1997; South 2000).

obviously shares resemblance to Levantine mortuary practices, and there are notable similarities to tomb location, architecture, and grave good assemblages between Enkomi and its Syrian neighbor, Ugarit *Ras Shamra* (Steel 2004a: 169; see Keswani 2012 for an overview). Second, in addition to the life and death of an individual, bodies often had multiple “lives” after death, as they would be rearticulated and moved to make room for more remains, as in Tomb 11 at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. The choice of generational burial practices emphasizes group and familial ties, and the inter-settlement location of such burials makes these relationships visible to the living. Third, there is a clear social differentiation visible in mortuary assemblages, with elite tombs on the coast bearing large amounts of luxury goods and imported materials (see also Knapp 2018b). These objects are not just symbolic grave goods, but many have visible signs of use, suggesting that these objects were used as much during life as they were in death (see Bodily Practice section below, pp. 111-113, for discussion of grave good use). The mortuary paraphernalia, then, reflect more than just what materials are needed for the dead and can be understood as elements of presentation for one’s body throughout life and death.

Jewelry and Bodily Decoration

Of all forms of body treatment, bodily decoration is the most recognizable and relatable today. Just as people decorate their bodies with clothing and jewelry today, so too did people in the Late Bronze Age. Currently there is no extant archaeological

evidence for clothing or fabrics in Late Bronze Age Cyprus⁷, but decorative items like jewelry and clothing pins made of metal, stone, and bone do survive in both mortuary and domestic settlement contexts.⁸ This overview will focus mainly on mortuary evidence for jewelry because closed-context tombs give us a clearer idea of how and where jewelry was worn on the body⁹, but it must be remembered that these items were not only intended to decorate the dead, but also the living.

The most frequent types of jewelry found at Late Bronze Age Cypriot sites are beads. They were made from a variety of materials, including stone, shell, or bone, and come in a variety of shapes and sizes. Most often, they are cylindrical in form and made of semi-precious stones such as haematite or lapis lazuli. Figure 3.1, for example, includes beads of multiple precious stones such as carnelian and turquoise. Cylinder seals, discussed at length under *Representations of Bodies* below (pp. 134-140), are frequently found alongside groups of beads in tomb contexts, and share many similarities with beads, including material, size, and shape. Their presence on or near the body in assemblages of beads suggest that these seals were worn as decoration. As will be

⁷ There is, however, significant evidence for textile production, especially at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, where entire textile workshop areas have been excavated (Smith and Tzachili 2012: 148). Additionally, there is iconographic evidence that comes from archaeological artifacts. However, as these objects are not directly related to the physical body, they will instead be discussed under *Representations of Bodies*.

⁸ See recent excavation at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer and Bürge 2018); Alassa (Hadjisavvas *et al.* 2017); Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South 2002).

⁹ Because of secondary treatment and moving of some remains, this is still vague. Deposits near specific skeletal remains give us hints to whom jewelry sets belonged, and quantity of beads and bangles suggest the size and number of necklaces and bracelets.

discussed, cylinder seals blur the artificial line between treatment of physical bodies and representations of bodies, and remind us that they do not occur separately.



Figure 3.1: Bead assemblage, including carnelian, turquoise, and amethyst, Tomb X, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer 2019: 242.

The second most common jewelry finds are rings, both for the ears and fingers. Almost all earrings that have been preserved in the archaeological record from Late Bronze Age Cyprus are hoop-shaped, meaning they are thin rings that hang down from the ear. While most are relatively simple in decoration, there are some examples of embossed images, and the majority of earrings are gold. Common motifs include vegetal designs, especially pomegranates, and bulls (Ward 2003: 533-534). Figure 3.2, for example, is a gold earring found in the 2014 excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer

2014) that features a bull pendant hanging from a circular earring in a way that makes the hoop look like horns.



Figure 3.2: Left: gold earring with bull's head, Hala Sultan Tekke. Blog post. Fischer 2014b; Right: gold intaglio finger rings, Tomb 11, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Smith 2018: Figs. 1, 2.

Although there is evidence of elaborately decorated earrings, such as the bull head earrings at Hala Sultan Tekke and Alassa (discussed below), plain gold earrings are far more common and worth further consideration. These earrings usually come in pairs, with the assumption that one would be worn on each ear and, when found in elite tomb contexts, multiple pairs are present for a single individual. “Individual 1” in Tomb 11 at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, had six pairs of plain gold earrings. Six pairs of plain gold hoops are also found in Tomb 18 at Enkomi, all of which are similar in size,

shape, and weight (Goring 1989: 104; Lorentz 2016: 353-354).¹⁰ These earrings, while seemingly simple, demonstrate the importance of bodily decoration in the display and projection of wealth, which likely correlates to elite identity.

Finger rings are also closely connected to elite identity in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Fifty-five intaglio rings have been found dating to the Late Cypriot period and have been interpreted as being from or influenced by Egyptian styles of signet rings (Smith 2018: 245; see also Boardman 1970). They are in a variety of sought-after materials, including bronze, silver, and gold, and have been found in tombs associated with elite groups; in Tomb 11 at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, two gold intaglio rings were found in the bones of the right hand of Skeleton 1 (Figure 3.2; Smith 2018: 245-246, 248). According to Smith, who has done careful analysis of signet rings in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, the majority of these finger rings were worn on the right hand and belonged to female-identified skeletal remains (Smith 2018: 253). Like cylinder seals, which are discussed later in this chapter (see pp. 134-140), rings could be symbolic tools of elite identity and power (Smith 2012).

¹⁰ Goring (1989: 103-104) noted that the average weight of a gold earring is similar to that of the weight standard argued to be used in Cyprus at the time, 10.8 grams (Courtois 1984: 114-134). Due to this similarity, she suggests that not only do the number of earrings reflect one's status within the community, with the more earrings symbolizing greater importance, but they could have even been used as an alternate form of currency (Goring 1989: 103).

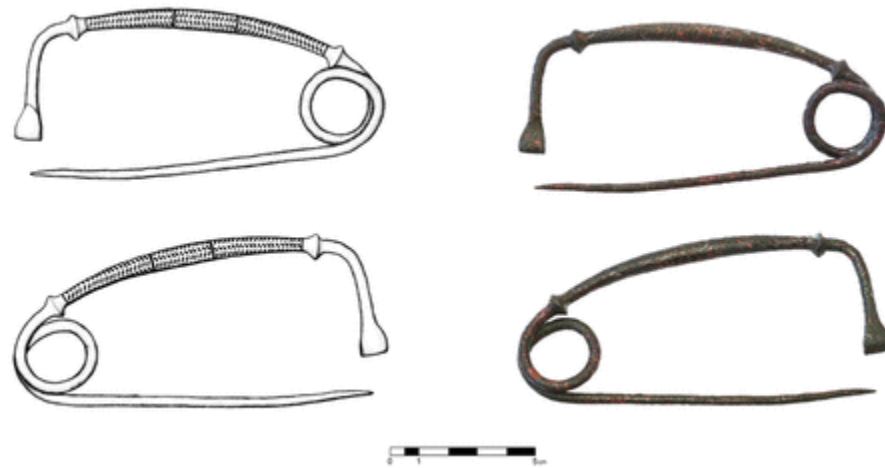


Figure 3.3: Bronze fibula, or pin, Stratum 1, City Quarter 2, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer 2019: 240.

The final categories within jewelry are those of bracelets and pins. Bracelets in Late Bronze Age Cyprus are typically bangles, large rings meant to slide onto the arm and rest by the wrist with no clasp, sometimes with the ends overlapping (see, for example, Hadjisavvas 2017: 93, 97-98; T3-43 and T3-46, two pairs of bronze bracelets from *Alassa Pano Mantilaris*). They are metal, usually bronze, and most are undecorated. Metal clothing pins are similar to bracelets in material and size. They are large and meant to clasp or pin on the clothing and served a decorative and practical purpose (see Birmingham 1963 for overview of Cypriot fibulae; Figure 3.3). They are far less common than bracelets, but their large size and weight suggest these were prized decorative objects. While purely supposition, we may imagine the sensorial impact of these metal jewelry pieces. Made of bronze, they would have shone in the light. An individual would likely have worn multiple bracelets, at least one on each arm, and these

would shift and bump against one another, making a metallic clinking sound as the wearer moved. The majority of discussion of decorative arts focuses on artistically complex pieces of jewelry, such as cylinder seals or embossed earrings, yet even the simplest of bracelets had an impact on the visual appearance of the wearer.

None of these decorative items appear in isolation, but instead would have been worn together, as best evidenced by mortuary contexts. Tomb 3 at Alassa *Pano Mantilaris* is located within the settlement under the East Street and is the richest of the tombs excavated at Alassa thus far (Hadjisavvas 2017: 85; 102). Remains of four individuals have been identified, and the majority of grave goods were excavated in the central chamber depression just east of the human remains (see Hadjisavvas 2017: 88, Figure 3.20 for plan and distribution of finds in). Of the 93 grave goods, 13 are jewelry, with the majority being fragments of bracelets.¹¹ Five pieces are gold, one faience, and the rest are bronze. Three gold earrings—one matching pair and one single earring—include bull pendants very similar to Figure 3.1 from Hala Sultan Tekke, clearly demonstrating the desire for bull iconography within elite tomb contexts.¹²

Also found in the tomb were a Derivative style cylinder seal, bronze bowls, and a bronze dagger. The location of the tomb under a large central street, much like Tomb 11

¹¹ The excavation report groups matching pairs of earrings and bracelets together with a single object number. For ease of corroborating published data, I have kept to the numbering system the excavation report uses.

¹² These three earrings, along three other gold earrings with a foliate design, may suggest that not all earrings were worn in pairs, but that multiple earrings would have been worn at a time (Hadjisavvas 2017: 104).

at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and the array of decorative and prestige objects emphatically point to the importance and wealth of the people buried in the chamber and their living kin. The jewelry interred with these individuals reflects the ways they likely decorated their bodies during life as well as the ideal for how a body of a particular status should be presented in death and life.

The stone beads, metal pins, and gold earrings and finger rings of Late Bronze Age Cyprus are evidence of the importance during the period of decorating the body in a variety of materials, colors, and shapes. While not all of the materials used for jewelry are fine, the large majority are indeed made of luxury materials. Some of the materials were foreign, such as gold, likely coming from Egypt, used to make earrings, and this foreignness or otherness added inherent value. Other materials such as bronze or hard stones are difficult to work and therefore required specialized skill and knowledge. The luxury value of these materials would have been visual markers of one's access and thus one's elite status and were likely worn only by a select group of individuals in the Late Cypriot period, being prestigious items symbolizing power and access to foreign goods.

This does not necessarily mean that other, lower-status groups did not also wear adornment. On the contrary, mortuary evidence from Enkomi demonstrates that most burials included at least some jewelry, such as simple beads and earrings (see Tables 1 and 2 in Keswani 1989). The hierarchical difference comes in the amount, weight, and elaboration of bodily decoration—rich tombs have heavier and more finely crafted pieces such as larger toggle pins and ornate necklaces, decorated with symbolic motifs such as

rosettes, sacred trees, and pomegranates (Keswani 2004: 126; 131, see Table 5.11 for summary of tomb finds from southern Cyprus).

Jewelry is inherently personal. You decorate your own body and feel the cool touch and weight of metal earrings and stone beads brush against your skin. Yet paradoxically you cannot see yourself in these decorations—they are intended to be seen by others. Earrings, for example, usually cannot be seen by the person wearing them. They can be sensorially engaging for the wearer, but also engaging for a wider audience. These adornments can make themselves known before being seen, as jewelry, particularly beads, can be audible. Bodily decoration and the audience it is intended for are contextually and culturally specific.

Body Modifications

One of the most striking types of treatment of the physical body is body modification. Cyprus has archaeological evidence for body modification—artificial cranial deformation in particular—throughout the Bronze Age, but it is during the Late Bronze Age that the frequency of cranial modification reaches its peak (Lorentz 2009: 89; Bolger 2003: 140).

There are three types of cranial modification present in bioarchaeological evidence on Cyprus during the 2nd millennium BCE: infant cradle-boarding, plagiocephaly, and post-bregmatic deformation. Cradle-boarding is the most common

form of cranial deformation prior to the Late Bronze Age and is attested in both physical remains and artistic representations dating to the Early Cypriot and Middle Cypriot period (Bolger 2003: 140). Plagiocephaly, the flattening of one side of the head and associated “bulging” of the other, increases during the Late Bronze Age. For example, it was present in all twenty-two intact skulls studied by Schwartz (1974) from Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke. Post-bregmatic deformation (PBD) is the one form of cranial modification that specifically requires artificial binding—the flattening of the top of the head through a padded board held in place at the top of the cranium— and becomes the most popular form of cranial modification during the Late Bronze Age and is the focus of this discussion (Figure 3.4; Harper and Fox 2008: 8; Bolger 2003: 141).

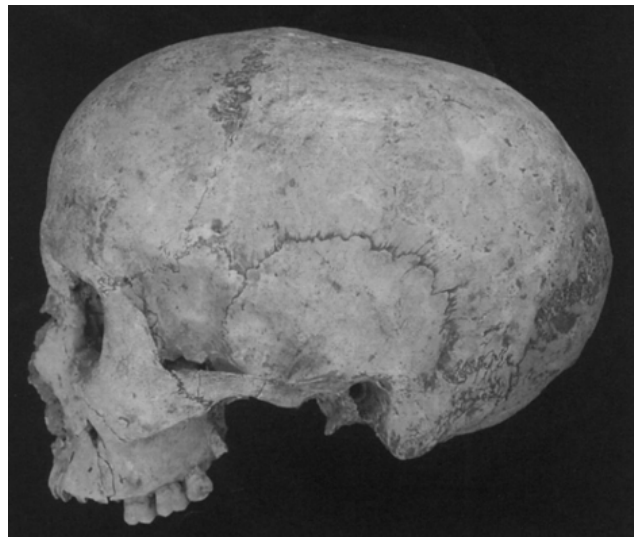


Figure 3.4: Skull with post-bregmatic deformation, HST. Lorentz 2009: Fig. 5.2

During infancy, the skull is very malleable and most susceptible to shaping. This idea of malleability can be expanded beyond the infant’s skull and define infancy more

broadly. If the adolescent body is considered, as Hamilakis *et al.* (2002) have suggested, material culture that is pliable and adaptable, then the body prior to adulthood is a continuous project that can be shaped into the appropriate material and social form. Head-shaping is not a one-time activity, but instead is a process over time in which “[t]he infant body becomes malleable raw material, from which the culturally significant, altered child and adult bodies are created” (Lorentz 2003:10). Artificial, intentional cranial modification is a practice that aids in reconstructing the different stages and development of the adult body within the Late Bronze Age Cypriot body world.

Post-bregmatic modification is present on 11 of 44 skulls from Kourion-*Bamboula*, 19 of 44 from Enkomi, five of 11 at Hala Sultan Tekke, and nine of 11 at Kition (Bolger 2003: 141). In Schwartz’s analysis of cranial remains from Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Akhera, Pendayia, Toumba *Tou Skourou*, and Enkomi, he found that all skulls showed signs of cranial deformation to some degree. Most interestingly, all skulls that were sexed female showed signs of PBD (Schwartz 1974: 120). Additionally, there is evidence that more than one type of cranial modification technique was used on a given individual. While the PBD was found universally in the dataset, Schwartz argues that secondary flattening of skulls, in both males and females, could be site-specific (Schwartz 1974: 121).

Post-bregmatic modification could be, as Shilling (1993) has suggested, “physical capital” to mark one’s belonging to a particular group from an early age (Bolger 2003: 143; Lorentz 2009: 92). Due to the high percentage of modified individuals, as well as

the general trend of increasing class distinctions in the size and wealth of burials, cranial deformation can be seen as a powerful, “permanent emblem of their elite status” (Bolger 2003: 144).

Body modifications are a permanent, physical way to place meaning on the body, artificially changing the body from its “natural” state to one that better suits the needs and requirements of a given individual or group. It marks an individual from an early age, develops with age, and is a tangible, visual way to mark one’s gradual entrance into an adult group identity, whether it is of a particular elite group, family, or larger settlement community.

Bodily Practice

Bodily practice refers to the physical actions and movements one does within one’s own body, which shapes a person’s embodied perception of both oneself and the world around. “Body techniques” (Mauss 1935 [1979])—the way one walks, sits, and stands—are culturally dependent and can differ greatly from modern western practices (Lorentz 2003: 7). Sensorial experiences are difficult to trace in the archaeological record, but we can try to reconstruct them through analyzing artifact assemblages and contexts associated with specific types of practice, most notably feasting and the associated concept of the “consuming” body. Feasting paraphernalia, including vessels to mix, pour, eat, and drink, can point to modes of ritual consumption (Steel 2004b: 283-

284). These consumption practices, usually communal, typically included imbibing of alcohol, as both a social as well as ceremonial activity. The consumption of altering substances (such as alcohol) can have a marked effect on the body, and it is argued that these feasting events often focused on this embodied experience (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 188, Table 12.1; Fisher 2023).

The question then becomes: is this type of evidence found on Late Bronze Age Cyprus and, if so, can it help us understand specifically Cypriot notions of treatment of the physical body at this time? During the Cypriot Prehistoric Bronze Age, funerary feasts were a predominant center of embodied experience and served to reinforce social and familial ties; but there is a shift in mortuary practices at the beginning of the Protohistoric Bronze Age (MC III – LC I), likely including funerary activities (Steel 2004b: 297). One of the most noticeable changes are the “drinking sets” that become prominent in Late Cypriot elite tombs. These sets of ceramic vessels comprised of locally made wares often had a large pictorial Mycenaean krater as the centerpiece (Steel 1998: 293). The use-wear on rims, handles, and bases on many of these vessels suggests that not only were these objects used before mortuary deposition, but that they were *extensively* used during life (Steel 2004a: 174; Keswani 2004: 138).¹³

While these drinking sets may in some way represent a “consuming body,” it

¹³ See Lis and Van Damme 2020: 198-203 for detailed analysis of abrasion patterns on pottery to interpret use-wear within Mycenaean tomb contexts.

seems more likely that these objects were placed alongside individuals and groups that used these objects, just like bodily jewelry, clothing decoration, and cosmetics, to reflect their status and the elite activities in which they participated during life (Keswani 2004: 138; Goring 1989: 103). Bodily decoration and modification are public types of presentation, visible to large groups of people, yet the kraters and feasting activities associated with them are selective and private. The practice of performative feasting and the embodied experience within this specific, controlled context is understood to have reinforced elite group and kin identities (Fisher 2009: 201-202; 2014; 2023). Those excluded would likely know activities were taking place—these feasts took place in monumental settlement centers—but would not have intimate knowledge of the feasting and social practices going on. The interment of kraters with elite bodies suggests that, even in death, these kraters and drinking practices were intended for a very limited audience, creating a mystique about the lives and power of local elites.¹⁴

Treatments of Animal Bodies

There is a paradox in archaeological evidence for animal bodies. Faunal remains are found at almost all Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus.¹⁵ However, the actual amount

¹⁴ Although Fisher has recently argued that in some cases, these large kraters may have played an important role in more public-facing events that involved a larger subset of the local population (2023: 285-286).

¹⁵ See Croft 1989 for Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*; Croft 1988 for Maa *Palaeokastro*, Ducos 1976 and Reese and Lernau 2018 for Hala Sultan Tekke; Karageorghis 1985b: 317-433 for Kition; Croft 2017 for Alassa.

of zooarchaeological data available is surprisingly limited; the discussion of physical evidence focuses on the data available in excavation reports, considering what the treatment of animal bodies in death might reveal about the relationship between humans and animals.

Domestic cattle (*bos taurus*) were reintroduced to Cyprus during the second millennium BCE after being missing in the archaeological record during the Chalcolithic period (Swiny 2008). Zooarchaeological evidence of bovines is found at almost all Late Bronze Age coastal settlements on Cyprus and is found in all sites in this study. They are present in a variety of contexts, but, as Croft (1988) best demonstrates, the actual amount of faunal evidence in general is surprisingly small. The zooarchaeological data from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, is concentrated mostly in tombs, wells, and the Northeast Area of the site (Croft 1988: 70). The excavations were extensive, yet only 148 identified mammalian fragments were recovered. This includes 14 bovine fragments—including left maxillary fragments, mandibular tooth rows, pelvis fragments, phalanges, and radius fragments—which can account for a minimum of two cattle (see Croft 1988: 71, Table 7).

Zooarchaeological evidence for bovines is found throughout settlement and tomb contexts, but there are concentrations of specific body parts in cultic centers. Bucrania, male cattle skulls, for example, are mainly found in ritual contexts. The Horned God Sanctuary at Enkomi, for example, contained 15 bull skulls deposited within the

sanctuary area of Rooms 9, 10, 13, and 45 (Webb 1999: 92).¹⁶ Bucrania are also found in the courtyard of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi, Temple 1 at Kition, and Temple 5 at Kition (Courtois 1971: 183-186; Karageoghis and Demas 1985: 156; Averett 2020: 725-727). Ritual deposits of bovine remains are also found in the temple precinct in Kition's Area II, where 5 fragments of incised bovine scapulae date to Late Cypriot levels. Two (Inv. Nos. 5383 and 5036) are associated with Temple 1, and the other three are all found in a stone well deposit associated with Temple 4 (Webb 1985: 317). Incised *bos* scapulae are also found at Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke, and come to prominence within sanctuary deposits during the Cypriot Iron Age (Reese and Lernau 2018: 529). There is a clear ritual importance of cattle in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, with evidence for ritual deposits of multiple pieces of the body within established cult centers.

Bovine bodies were not just deposited at cultic centers, they were also actively interacted with and used by people within these settings. Iconographic evidence from the Iron Age depicts the use of bucrania as masks, as shown in Figure 3.5. As Averett (2015; 2020) notes, bovine skulls in Late Bronze Age Cypriot cultic contexts, particularly those from Kition's Temple 5, show signs of alteration: they were smoothed and rounded and could have been used as masks (see Averett 2020: 728, Figure 3 for a worked bucranium). This, plus iconographic evidence of horned individuals such as the Ingot

¹⁶ Also found in the sanctuary were three large vessel deposits consisting of 276 individual bowls (Papasavaas 2014: 248)

God and Horned God, discussed below in the Representations of Bodies section (see pp. 123-126), point to a ritually-laden relationship between human and animal, a blurring of boundaries within the natural world, and the creation of a contextually-specific “human-animal-divine” relationship (Averett 2020: 739).



Figure 3.5: Cypro-Archaic votive clay figurine, Athienou-*Malloura*. Inv. No. AAP-AM-1170, Kallinikeio Municipal Museum, Athenienou. Averett 2020: 731.

Horses (*equus caballus*) are generally considered valuable animals in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean (see detailed discussion in Feldman and Sauvage 2010). Zooarchaeological evidence for horses in Cyprus is scarce, but they are found at most coastal centers. At Alassa, for example, horses make up only 1.9% of the identified faunal remains, and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* has thus far produced only one fragment

(Croft 2017: 520; 1989: 70-71). The actual number of horse remains is limited and they are primarily found in tomb contexts, but they are also found in settlement contexts at sites such as Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi (Reese and Lernau 2018; Feldman and Sauvage 2010: 97-98; Recht and Morris 2021: 123). Horses are fairly rare, but they would have been visible within the lived environment of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. While physical evidence for horses is limited, the representational evidence, discussed further in this chapter (see pp. 147-149), is far more expansive and demonstrates the prestigious nature of horses at the time.

Goat and/or sheep (*ovis/capra*) are the most frequent mammalian faunal remains found in Late Bronze Age Cyprus as attested in excavation reports (see Croft 1988; 1989; 2017; Ducos 1976; Karageorghis 1985b; Reese and Lernau 2018). These remains are found in a variety of settlement and domestic contexts, and sheep and goats were clearly an important part of everyday subsistence and production. Textile production workshops at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke demonstrate that these animals were not just subsistence, but their byproducts were also an important part of the Cypriot economy; animals are central to textile production, and materials from their bodies literally covered human bodies. Humans and domestic animals can be viewed, in a sense, as co-dependent; human interference was needed to maintain animal or herd health, while animals were needed to clothe and feed humans.

Caprine astragali, or knucklebones, are worth noting as they are often worked and found in multiple context types (see, for example, the astragali at Hala Sultan Tekke:

Reese and Lernau 2018: 523), and yet again show the interconnections between treatment of the physical body and representations of the body. Astragali are found throughout the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, and are found in Cyprus from the Middle Bronze Age to the Classical period (Gilmour 1997: 196). There are two main interpretations for knucklebone use: gaming pieces and ritual offerings. Within the context of Cyprus, the majority of astragali are found in cultic or tomb contexts (Gilmour 1997: 171-172). At Kition, astragali were found in temple spaces near incised scapulae and incised kidney and liver models, suggesting that they were used as part of divination practices (Reese 1985; Susnow *et al.* 2021: 73-74). Additionally, out of 30 different findspots (astragali are typically found in groups) for worked astragali at Hala Sultan Tekke, only 6 are not associated with a ritual or tomb context (Reese and Lernau 2018: 523-524). However, the knucklebones deposited in Tomb 23 at Hala Sultan Tekke were found alongside other gaming paraphernalia, suggesting that these specific astragali were interred as part of a gaming assemblage, versus ritual (Niklassen 1983: 171-172).¹⁷ Like clay figurines, astragali had multiple functions and meanings; as Susnow *et al.* best put it, “The wide range of contexts ... reveals that animal astragali were inherently and perpetually meaningful to humans, and that the bone was perceived as an ideal object for many different purposes” (2021: 75). While goats and sheep have a mundane presence in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, their status as central to textile production and foodways, as

¹⁷ These include an ivory box and three faience “spool-shaped” objects. The knucklebones and faience may have originally sat on top of the gaming box.

well as the (sometimes) ritual use of body parts after death demonstrate that these animal bodies were deeply linked to the lived experience in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

The treatment of animal bodies is difficult to understand as animals can have multiple uses and embodied lives. Just like the treatment evidence for humans, the evidence for physical animal bodies is specifically the treatment of these bodies *after* death. Bovine bodily attributes in cultic contexts suggest a ritual importance not only of these animals, but also their death and deposition. The use of astagali in social (gaming) and ritual practices (divination, ritual deposits) point to further use of animal attributes separated from their original bodily context. The use of animal bodies within ritual practices blurs the line between what is human and animal, particularly in the case of bucrania. Animal bodies are an essential element of communal identity formation in Late Bronze Age Cyprus through their presence in the lived environment, clothing and textile production, foodways, cultic activities, and funerary practices.

Summary

Treatments of physical bodies are varied ways that individuals and groups can visually mark themselves as belonging to a certain identity—be it of a family, a social hierarchy, or gender. The ways the body is changed, positioned, decorated, and performed in specific contexts reinforce specific roles and identities both for the individual and for observers. Treatments and practices are personal; the embodied

experiences of head-shaping, wearing jewelry, participating in communal feasting, and other special and mundane activities engage multiple senses in specific ways that may create or reinforce associations of personhood and identity with these practices. Yet these treatments are also performative and intentional, intended to be viewed by others. The embodied experience of the body is not only sensorially engaging, but also constantly shaping one's body to fit within social and cultural norms, beginning in infancy.

The evidence presented demonstrates that the increased focus on rising social hierarchies at Late Bronze Age Cypriot coastal sites is strongly reflected in treatment of physical bodies. Human and animal bodies and their decorations are highly performative in the mortuary and ritual contexts discussed. Within human bodies, there is an emphasis on kin groups evidenced through multigenerational tombs, importance of elite women, head-shaping throughout infancy and childhood, and the general privatization of mortuary and feasting practices. As for animal bodies, there is a symbolic emphasis on the use of bodily attributes after death within ritual spheres, particularly when it comes to bovines. Horses also demonstrate the increased necessity to display wealth access status. Although these themes and trends are important by themselves, they can be used in comparison to clay bodies, helping to understand who interacted with and used clay figurines, and for what purpose.

Representations of Bodies

While representations of bodies are not directly associated with bodies in the very physical, literal way that treatment is, representations can often provide even more insight into embodied experience. Through being representations—and often miniaturizations—images of the body can reflect the ideals and understandings of what it means to be human or animal. These can include conceptions of gender, age, community, and divinity. Artistic images of the body are idealized and stylized to suit a very specific set of needs within culturally-dependent contexts, whether that is to depict a deity with its symbolic icons of kingship and divinity in a shrine context, or a standardized depiction of a female body emphasizing its sexual and maternal nature in a workshop.

Where animal bodies could be discussed separately within treatment of the physical body, the distinction between what is human or animal is more complicated within representations. As will be shown, the most recognizable anthropomorphic images from Late Bronze Age Cyprus incorporate animal elements, whether that is through animals being present in scenes or the adoption of animal attributes within humanoid figures themselves.

This discussion is divided into the three most popular materials for representations of bodies, going from the rarest to the most common: metal, stone, and clay. Metal representations include such famous Late Cypriot bronze cultic statuettes as the Ingot God and Horned God. These are joined by smaller metal figurines and bronze

stands, all of which also have strong cultic themes. The stone category is focused on cylinder seals. These small, easily portable items have very different functions and meanings than those of metal or clay. While clay figurines make up the majority of clay representations of bodies during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age, there are a number of examples of sealings: the result of cylinder seals being impressed on clay. Sealings are closely associated with the use of stone cylinder seals, but their materiality and specific meanings are uniquely tied to the medium of clay. Also within the category of clay are painted scenes on Mycenaean kraters, objects that have already been touched upon in the Bodily Practice section on feasting (see pp. 111-113). These representations come from a variety of different contexts, but they are, as with the treatment of physical bodies, generally connected to elite consumption.

Metal

Metal is the most exclusive of the materials discussed in this section; bronze is a precious commodity that is at the core of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age economy. The material itself required specific expertise to mold and shape the metal into intricate designs, and the control of, and access to, bronze was a clear indication of one's status and power (Kassianidou and Knapp 2005). Metal objects are generally rare archaeological finds within Late Cypriot contexts. As one of the key commodities in the Late Bronze Age trade networks, bronze was a valuable, expensive material. Metals can

be melted down and reused to avoid wasting a precious resource, so it is unsurprising that metal artifacts are uncommon. A bronze statuette found in the archaeological record could simply have been thrown away; however, it is more likely that they were ritually important and intentionally deposited, as in the case of the bronze statuettes at Enkomi discussed below.

Within the category of metal, there are three types of representation upon which to focus: statuettes, figurines, and images attached to larger objects—in this case, bronze stands.¹⁸ The sample size of metal representations is extremely small—there are only a handful of metal three-dimensional figures, all of which come from (or are claimed to have come from) Enkomi. The final category, bronze stands, are also extremely rare, with three known examples, and only one with a recorded provenance.

The Ingot God and Horned God bronze statuettes are two of the most emblematic objects from the Cypriot Late Bronze Age and are featured in almost every scholarly work on Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus. They both come from ritual contexts at Enkomi; the Ingot God (Figure 3.6), named for its bronze ingot-shaped base, was recovered in the sanctuary in Quartier 5 during the French excavations, while the Horned God (Figure 3.7), named for its prominent bull horns on its headdress, was excavated in

¹⁸ Statuettes, as defined here, are three-dimensional objects that, while smaller than a statue (something similar to life-size), are larger than hand-held figurines. The main difference between a statuette and a figurine is size; a figurine is small enough to be held in one hand, while a statuette is larger and would likely need both hands to hold securely.

Area I's sanctuary of the Horned God by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities (Diakaios 1969). They are often discussed in their relationship to copper production and trade due to their material composition, but they are also often included in discussions of religion, economy, and class structure (see Knapp 1986a; 2008; 2013; Knox 2012; Muhly 1980; 1996; Smith 2009). Their cultural significance is beyond the scope of this chapter, but what is important to discuss is the iconography, artistic styles, and function of these metal bodies.



Figure 3.6: Ingot God statuette, 35 cm H, bronze. Schaeffer 1971: Pl. III.



Figure 3.7: Horned God statuette, 54.2 cm H, bronze. Hadjioannou 1971.

The Ingot God and Horned God are both standing figures with one leg slightly in front of the other, similar to standing poses in Egypt and the Levant at the time, as well as the later *kouros* statues of Archaic Greece (Papasavvas 2011; Feldman 2002; Negbi 1976: 38-41; Renfrew 1985: 307-308). Because they lack breasts and do not have exaggerated hip and waist curves, they are described as male. Both figures wear headdresses with curved horns, a common visual signifier of divinity in Mesopotamia and the Levant throughout the Bronze Age (Negbi 1976; Green 2003: 283, 286; Webb 2015: 630). This tie to wider eastern Mediterranean iconography is emphasized especially in the Ingot God, which incorporates the “Smiting God” motif common from the Near East and Egypt, all the way to Sicily, originating in Predynastic Egypt (Renfrew 1985: 308-310; Müller-Karpe 2008: 175).

Both bronze statuettes are clearly cultic in function.¹⁹ They were found in ritual precincts (referred to as sanctuaries in excavation reports) with many ritual deposits, such as the bucrania in the main room of the Ingot God sanctuary, as well as clay figurine deposits. Combined with their iconography, it seems probable that these are divine statuettes, likely being cult statues that were the prominent focus in ritual practices within these spaces.

The bovine elements in these statuettes is clear, and their horned headdresses demonstrate the potentially blurred line between human and animal in artistic depictions. While these bronze statuettes could simply be incorporating foreign iconography of divinity, the presence of bucrania within the cult sanctuaries, discussed in the Treatment of Physical Bodies section above (pp. 114-115), suggests that bovines—and bulls in particular—were just as important as the human form when creating a representation for a cult sanctuary.

From a production perspective, both of these objects are remarkable pieces of bronze-work for their time, being some of the largest bronze statuettes found in the Mediterranean during this period (Papasavvas 2011: 59). Their material, bronze, was a crucial commodity and objects made of bronze were frequently employed as markers of elite status and as tools legitimizing the increasing social, political, and economic

¹⁹ Knapp (2023: 41-43), however, argues that they were “ceremonial” and *not* cultic.

hierarchy and control throughout Cyprus at the time (Knapp 1986).

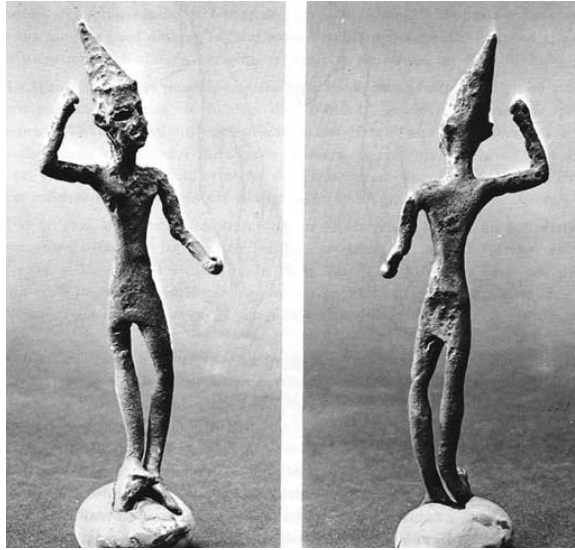


Figure 3.8: Smiting figurine, often identified as Baal, bronze. Domestic context, Level II, Enkomi. Schaeffer 1971: 511, Fig. 4.

Beyond these two famous statuettes, there are a handful of metal figurines that also come from Enkomi. These include a small version of the Ingot God—spear in hand, body in the traditional Near Eastern “smiting” stance, Figure 3.8—and two often-ignored seated figures with chair accessories from domestic contexts (Figure 3.9; Schaeffer 1971; 1952: Pls. LXII and LXXV). These also fit within wider Mediterranean traditions and are often tied to seated cultic figures from the Levant, and especially Ugarit. This, to some, reflects the adoption by local elites on Cyprus of Levantine prestige and elite symbolism, and these figurines are sometimes referred to as representations of the god El (Peltenburg 1996; Webb 2015). While I would not go so far as to correlate these figurines, or any of the bronze figures in Cyprus, with non-Cypriot gods, the

craftsmanship, luxury medium, and borrowing of Levantine iconography to denote divinity do suggest that, at the very least, these seated bronze figurines were of symbolic importance.

Unlike the other bronze figures discussed, the smiting figurine and seated figurines were not found in cult-specific contexts. Instead, they are from domestic contexts, perhaps speaking to a different, more intimate ritual activity, accessible to a specific domestic group and their guests. The seated figures are not permanently attached to their chairs. While this could be a result of practicalities in the production process, this could also suggest that interacting with, moving, and adjusting the figurines was a key element of domestic ritual activity, and in fact the figurine and chair depicted in Figure 3.9 (both from Sol I), likely did not originally go together. Regardless of these suppositions, these and all the bronze three-dimensional figures from the Cypriot Late Bronze Age emphasize a connection between ritual activities and metallurgy (Webb 2015: 628).

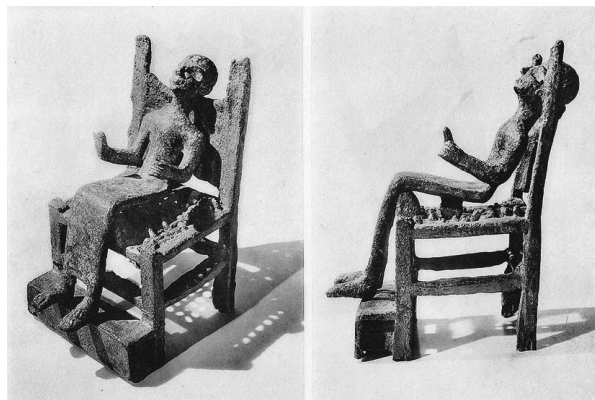


Figure 3.9: Seated figurine (14 cm.) placed on chair (two separate pieces), bronze. Schaeffer 1952: Pl. LXII.

In addition to the male figures, there are a few metal female figurines preserved in the archaeological record from the Late Cypriot period. Although there are two (likely) provenanced examples of bronze female figurines, the unprovenanced (but Enkomi-claimed) Bomford figurine is most frequently discussed (Figure 3.10; see Catling 1971).²⁰ These figurines, with a braided hairstyle, necklaces, and belt, have pronounced breasts and pubic triangle. They have clear similarities to other Levantine-style bronze and clay figurines from the period. The hair and belted decoration, for example, are only attested in metal female representations in Cyprus, but these are more common artistic tropes in the Levant (Negbi 1976; Knapp 2008: 181-182). Because the Bomford figurine stands on an ingot base, it has been identified as the “consort” of the Ingot God and, although unprovenanced, was even included in a volume of the French excavation reports from Enkomi (Catling 1971). It is consistently used to discuss the worship of a fertility goddess in Bronze Age Cyprus and present in virtually all discussions of anthropomorphic clay figurines (see, for example, Bolger 2003; Budin 2012; Knapp 2008). It is of ambiguous origin, however—purchased at auction in 1967 as a Syrian piece (Catling 1971: 19). What this discussion does show, however, is that Cypriot metal bodies can have female sexed attributes such as breasts and pubic triangles.

²⁰ There are two other bronze statuettes, the first is from Nicosia and referred to as the “Bairaktar Bronze,” which comes from an area with evidence of Late Cypriot structures, but its actual findspot is unknown (Figure 3.10, see Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973: 162). The second is from a tomb at Pyla-Teratsoudhia (see Karageorghis 1990). There is extremely limited information about these statuettes.



Figure 3.10: Left: Bomford Figurine, bronze, Catling 1971. Right: “Bairaktar Bronze”, Nicosia, Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973: 475.

The final outliers within the category of metal are the bronze stands from Enkomi and (possibly) Kourion.²¹ Metal stands were a popular elite item in Cyprus and the Levant and are considered part of the luxury *koiné* of the Late Bronze Age (Catling 1964; Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001). The typical stand shape is a tripod—three legs supporting a circular frame—and the decoration is usually abstract and relatively simple. There are less common examples, however, that are square in shape, featuring four legs connected with images on the sides. Within this category, two stands will be discussed, as they have the best archaeological provenance.

²¹ There is an additional bronze stand with unknown provenance, but that is clearly of Cypriot production. See Papasavvas 2003; British Museum Inv. No. 1946,1017.1.

The first decorated stand (Figure 3.11) comes from Tomb 97 at Enkomi. While difficult to see detail because of preservation, the images include two frontal faces on each side—8 in total—seeming to look out above walls, framed in elaborate geometric decoration. The frontal faces feature protruding, triangular noses, wide eyes, and large ears. These figures, similar to the Bomford figurine, are depicted with twisted hair styles on both sides of the head, leading them to be interpreted as females. While the hair shares similarities with Cypriot bronze figurines, the images also have a strong resemblance to decorative arts from the northern Levant, especially Ugarit, as well as Mycenaean kraters, discussed below (Steel 2006: 150, 152; 2016: 391-392).²²

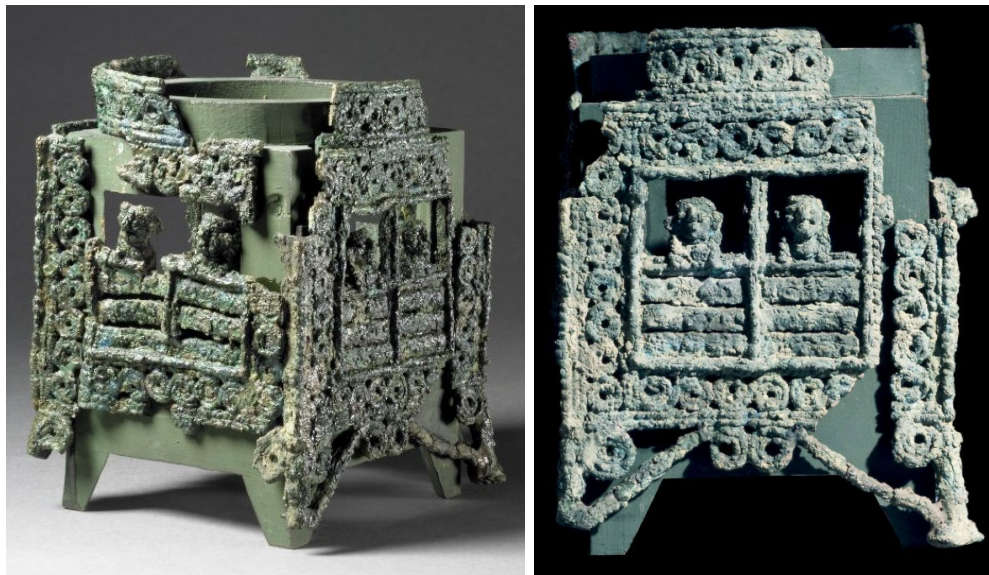


Figure 3.11: Four-sided bronze stand, Tomb 97, Enkomi. British Museum Inv. No. 1897,0401.1296.

²² The geometric guilloche pattern is borrowed from Mitannian styles and resembles ivory pieces of the period coming from both Cyprus and the Levant (Knapp 2008: 269-270, 272)

The second stand is of more dubious origin, with a claimed provenance of Kourion, but what is certain is its clear connection to elite *koiné* artistic styles. This stand is far better preserved and features four unique scenes in relief (Figure 3.12). The scenes include what stylistically seems like the same figure performing different actions before a stylized tree, including playing a stringed instrument, offering different (indeterminate) objects, and, most notably, holding an oxhide ingot (see Figure 3.12, left). The figure itself is bare chested and wears a skirt from the waist down along with curve-pointed shoes. There are no clear indicators of sex or gender markings, although the strong chin may be interpreted as a beard. The figure is depicted with large ears, eyes, and nose, and the shoulders and arms are large and rounded, much like that of the Horned God. Again, the Levantine and Near Eastern connections are very explicit. The abstracted tree is likely a “sacred tree,” a motif common throughout the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age (Tully 2018: 148-149). The body position—a frontal torso and legs in profile—is also a common Egyptian artistic style and is attested in other small decorative arts from the Levant and Aegean during the Late Bronze Age, such as the Mistress of Animals ivory plaque from Minet el-Beida (Feldman 2006: 63-64, Plate 11). Yet the stand also prominently features an oxhide ingot, which can be read as an icon of Cypriot elite identity (Knapp 2008: 274). The stand’s mixture of foreign and local iconography, style, and material creates a symbol of prestige and power that could be interpreted by both Cypriot and foreign audiences. These stands were part of the elite Late Bronze Age *koiné*, also referred to as the “International Style,” discussed at length by Feldman

(2006).



Figure 3.12: Four-sided bronze stand, possibly Kourion. British Museum Inv. No. 1920,1220.1.

Unlike statuettes and figurines, representations of bodies on these two stands, as well as the rest of the materials discussed below, are part of a larger object; they are artistic decorations that do not necessarily reflect the function of the stands themselves. Also, as the shape and name would imply, these stands were intended to hold something, likely a round-shaped vessel such as a krater or open bowl. The bodies represented in bronze here were part of an assemblage that would have been interacted with and used by people in very specific spaces and contexts, such as feasting or funerary rites. Both stands share similarities with foreign artistic styles and luxury objects such as ivory plaques, reinforcing their elite designation. Metal stands, and by extension of the bodies

depicted on them, were created to be viewed by elite audiences and were subjective objects that functionally, artistically, and symbolically met the needs of their users.

Metal representations of bodies are unique, as it seems no two are exactly alike. What they do have in common is the use of an expensive, symbolically laden material that is at the core of Cyprus' socio-economic identity during the Late Bronze Age. As emphasized multiple times already, copper is of extreme importance not only to Cyprus, but to the whole eastern Mediterranean.²³ The Cypriot metal representations presented here all have a connection to outside artistic traditions and the intentional use of the elite "International Style" makes it most probable that these bronze objects, regardless of context, were for prestige and elite consumption. Thus, metal bodies can be considered as bodies created for and used by only a small section of the population, not only because of their medium, but also the symbolic iconography used.

Stone

Stone-carved figurines have a long history in Cyprus, with a notable popularity during the Chalcolithic (Goring 1991; Bolger 1996). However, by the Middle Bronze Age, stone was no longer key for figurine production as reflected in their diminished

²³ Perhaps the emphasis within Cypriot art on ingots was intended to heighten the sense of importance of both copper and Cyprus' role in the eastern Mediterranean beyond what was actually true, perhaps to bolster and distort the actual power elites had, and, by extension, legitimizing control within Cyprus.

prevalence in the material record (Goring 1991). As a result, representations of bodies in stone during the Late Bronze Age are limited to one genre: carvings on cylinder seals. Cylinder seals are extremely small, usually the same shape and size as beads, and, as the name implies, cylindrical. They have a long history of use in the Levant and Mesopotamia, but they were not used and produced in Cyprus until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Webb 2002a: 113). Many of the cylinder seals present in the Late Cypriot archaeological record are imported, but Cyprus also experienced a surge in local seal production, with multiple local production centers near large coastal settlements such as Enkomi and Kition (Porada 1948; Webb 2002a).

Contextually, the majority of cylinder seals in Cyprus are found in mortuary contexts, often in wealthy tombs near bodies, but others have been excavated in a variety of domestic and administrative contexts as well (Keswani 2004; Webb 2002a).²⁴ Cylinder seals in tomb contexts are frequently excavated alongside semi-precious jewelry, like the bead assemblage in Figure 3.1 from Tomb X at Hala Sultan Tekke, and it is very likely that seals were worn on necklaces and were display objects, reflective of one's elite status (Keswani 2004: 136). Their small nature and the need to handle them up-close limits visual access to the images delicately carved in their surfaces.

Like figurines, cylinder seals can easily be held and manipulated in one hand.

²⁴ See discussion of seals from excavations of "City Quarters" at Hala Sultan Tekke in Fischer and Bürge 2018: 417-420; seal PM 94 from Alassa *Pano Mantilaris* in Hadjisavvas 2017: 477-478.

While the images on the seals are two-dimensional, the seals themselves are three-dimensional and their engravings encourage the holder to examine the small object from many sides. Their diminutive size suggests that, unless these objects are intimately interacted with, it would be very difficult to make out the imagery.²⁵ The small size of cylinder seals forces a close examination to see details, while the cylindrical form demands the seal be turned and moved in order to impress and see the whole design. This intimate nature is reflected in the fact that cylinder seals were owned by individuals and, as in Mesopotamia and the Levant, they served as an authenticator of someone's identity, much like a signature (Smith 1994; Peck 1963). Although the use of cylinder seals in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is still somewhat contested and they likely served multiple functions, they were most prominently used as visual markers of status (Webb 2002a: 131; Webb 2005; Knapp 2008: 154-156). These are precious items that were held—quite literally—close, even in death.

There are two main types of cylinder seals present in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age: imported and locally produced seals.²⁶ Imported seals come in a variety of styles, including the Mittanian style from the northern Levant and the Old Babylonian from southern Mesopotamia (Porada 1948: 180-182; Webb and Weingarten 2012: 86-

²⁵ Stones such as dark haematite or veined lapis can make the carvings almost impossible to see. Such seals may have required pressing into clay to properly make out carved imagery.

²⁶ Porada's 1948 AJA article, "Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age," is the seminal work on cylinder seals in LBA Cyprus and lays out the general trends in both imported and locally-produced seals on the island.

87). Foreign seals found in Cyprus are relatively uniform in style during this period, while Cypriot-made cylinder seals are more diverse in material, style, and imagery. Porada (1948) separated the locally-produced cylinder seals into three categories: Elaborate, Derivative, and Common; these categories have been further refined by subsequent studies (i.e. Smith 1994, 2002b, Webb 2002a). Elaborate seals (Figure 3.13) tend to have, as the name implies, the most intricate carvings. They also tend to be made out of harder, more valuable stones like haematite. Elaborate seal imagery includes human figures, both sitting and standing, as well as quadrupeds, floral motifs, and geometric guilloche patterns. Derivative seals (Figure 3.14) are similar but tend to be more crudely carved and in softer stone. Common style seals (Figure 3.15) are more abstract in design and use little to no fine-detail carving.²⁷ Local seal carvers incorporated many of the motifs and iconography from cylinder seal traditions from the Near East. These include recognizable decorations such as rosettes, guilloche patterns, and “sacred trees” (Smith 1994; 2009). Aegean elements are also present on Cypriot cylinder seals, most notably in the elongated style of bulls, lions, and sphinxes (Knapp 2008: 274-275).

²⁷ See Table 6.1 in Webb and Weingarten 2012 for overview of the main differences in Cypriot seal carving styles.



Figure 3.13: Elaborate style cylinder seal and seal impression, steatite, unknown provenance, Cesnola Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 74.51.4312.

Human figures on cylinder seals both imported and local are typically depicted with robes and belts, and arms and hands are frequently articulated. The figures do not have many fine details—more a function of the size of seals than the skill level of the carver—but common features are a defined head in profile, eye, arms and hands, torso, skirted legs, and feet. Scenes of seated figures, common in foreign, Elaborate, and Derivative style cylinder seals, have parallels with the seated bronze figurines found at Enkomi previously discussed in the metal section (see pp. 127-128). Both media depict a seated figure with a long skirt and a hand out in an offering position (Webb 2015: 630). Perhaps these figures, then, represent something similar—whether it is a god or not is still unclear. While the bronze figures and the cylinder seals are completely different in material, production method, artistic style, and size, the iconography shares resemblances, and makes a compelling argument for comparing the form, style, and context of bodies in different media—including clay figurines—the better to understand the meaning and use of representations of bodies writ large.



Figure 3.14: Derivative style cylinder seal, haematite, Tomb X, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer 2019: 242.



Figure 3.15: Common style cylinder seal, "Egyptian Blue," reused burial pit, Stratum 3, City Quarter 2, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer and Bürge 2018: 418.

Like bronze stands, the bodies represented on cylinder seals do not exist alone but are instead part of larger scenes. These scenes are varied, but always feature different types of animals, often horned quadrupeds. As shown in Figures 3.13 and 3.14, animal bodies are present on all types of cylinder seals used and found on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. In fact, within the corpus of local seals, human bodies are not nearly as common as other types of bodies, including mammalian quadrupeds and fish (Porada 1948: 196-197).

Cylinder seals, like other objects discussed previously, fit comfortably within the repertoire of elite eastern Mediterranean trade networks. Their use and production are imported to Cyprus at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, and their introduction reflects a need by local elites to display their power symbolically by owning and wearing the seals. This still leaves the key question: what do the representations within the scenes reveal about images and concepts of the body? Cylinder seals are intimate objects. Their small size, iconography, and history of use combine to make the seals become powerful symbols of control and access to foreign ideas and material. This association with elite power could be displayed through the physical act of sealing an object, being worn around the neck along with beads of semi-precious stone, and being interred with the dead as a marker of one's identity.

Clay

The most obvious forms of representations of bodies in clay are figurines, and these significantly outnumber representations in all other media combined during the Late Bronze Age. Figurines, however, are not the only types of representations in clay present in the archaeological record. There are two other types of clay images present in the Cypriot Late Bronze Age: cylinder seal impressions and pictorial scenes on pottery. While vastly different in production and function, these representations of bodies have a similarity in being two-dimensional images with a focus on vessels.

Following the previous discussion of stone, this section first turns to sealings: the impressions left on clay from cylinder seals. Sealings are much rarer than their stone counterparts, but they aid in reconstructing sealing practices on Cyprus and represent a different function of images of the body in the Late Bronze Age.²⁸ Where cylinder seals are symbolic objects with a close association to individual and group identities, sealings are left on clay objects as a visual way of authenticating or claiming property. The evidence for sealings on Cyprus comes from pithoi, usually on the body near the neck. These sealings are generally made with Cypriot Elaborate and Derivative style seals, and thus the images are often those of standing humanoid figures holding animals or weapons, seated figures, and horned animals standing on hindlegs (Webb and Weingarten 2012: 90). Compared to the number of unimpressed pithoi, impressed examples are extremely rare, with the majority coming from Alassa *Palaeotaverna* and Maa-*Palaeokastro* (Knapp 2008: 168; Georgiou 2016: 128-129; Smith 2012: 54-55). The imprints of wood grain within some sealings suggests that at least some of the cylinder seals used in Cyprus were wooden, meaning archaeologists are missing a second category of sealing instruments (Georgiou 2016: 129; Webb 2002a; Webb and Weingarten 2012: 90).

²⁸ There are only five sphragistic sealings (i.e., meaning used to seal clay documents) that come from cylinder seals used or produced on Cyprus. The first, from the Ashlar Building at Enkomi, was impressed with an imported seal. The addition of a Cypro-Minoan sign alongside the sealing suggests that the impression was made in Cyprus. The second is an Elaborate style sealing found in the Archives Deposit at the Palace at Knossos, Crete. The remaining three come from cuneiform tablets at Ugarit, two on legal documents from the archive of Rasap'abu. All other known Cypriot sealings come from storage jars (Webb 2002a: 127).

At the small site of Maa-*Palaeokastro*, twenty-five seal impression fragments were excavated, all of which were impressed with one of two different cylinder seals, which Georgiou suggests were the larger wooden types (Georgiou 2016: 130). The cylinder seal scenes are a chariot hunt with an archer standing on a chariot and goats on hindlegs framing a tree. These motifs are found on pithos sealings elsewhere, including Athienou and Alassa, as shown in Figure 3.16 (Georgiou 2016: 135; Hadjisavvas 2017; Webb and Weingarten 2012: 90-91).



Figure 3.16: Cylinder seal impressed pithos fragments 97/252 and 97/251, Alassa *Pano Mantilaris*. Webb and Weingarten 2012: 91.

Notably, the scenes on surviving clay sealings throughout Cyprus contain elements relating to warfare and violence (Georgiou 2016). Scenes of anthropomorphic figures holding weapons have a clear link, and those holding animals are argued to be scenes of hunting. The sealing iconography is frequently described as Aegeanizing because of the focus on scenes of violence, common tropes in Aegean art during the Late Bronze Age (Webb 2002a: 137). However, these images can be seen as part of an iconographic *koiné* focused around war that reaches beyond the Aegean, with

iconographic parallels of bull fighting and chariot hunting coming from Egypt (Georgiou 2016: 137). Similar images are present in cylinder seals hoards in mainland Greece, dagger sheaths from Tutankhamun's tomb, and ivory furniture pieces from Ugarit (Feldman 2002: 15, Figures 13 and 14; Feldman 2006: Plate 1).

While more utilitarian in function than the stone cylinder seals discussed previously, the iconography used within sealings is connected to wider elite artistic tropes used in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. Based on the limited number and distribution of sealings, as well as the imagery used, Webb (2002: 131) has convincingly argued that Cypriot sealings were extensions of an individual's or group's authority, power, and control of resources, as they would have been rolled on pithoi as both a physical and symbolic way to mark a group's control over the stored goods as well as the procurement of materials needed and production itself.

The second type of clay representations of bodies are pictorial kraters—large pots intended for the mixing and pouring of liquids, usually wine (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 198). Pictorial kraters are found in elite mortuary contexts as part of a larger drinking and feasting ceramic set as well as potentially being used as containers for remains.²⁹ Previously introduced in the Bodily Practice section (see pp. 111-113), these large kraters found in Cypriot tomb contexts feature a very specific style of Late Helladic

²⁹ While painted kraters are exclusive to elite groups in Cyprus, Mycenaean pottery with large is common and available in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (see Cadogan 1993; Steel 2002).

painted scenes (see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982). Although variable in the elements represented, these scenes include images associated with violence and war, often with human, chariot, and horse figures as the focus. Some of the best-preserved examples of kraters (and companion dining sets) come from Enkomi, Maroni *Tsarroukas*, and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, including the example shown in Figure 3.17.

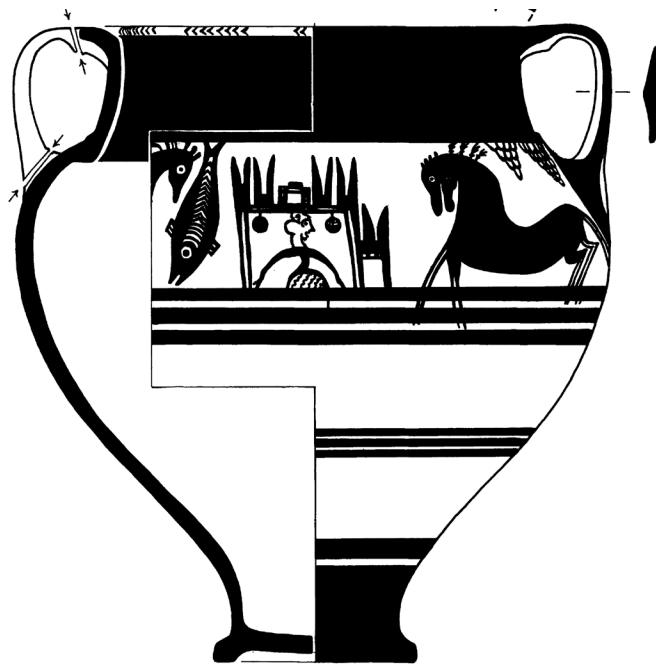


Figure 3.17: Chariot Krater, Tomb 13, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Steel 1994: 203.

The bodies present on pictorial kraters are represented with outlines of the body and head in profile in a deep brown or red that contrasts with the pale ceramic background. The heads usually feature a single large eye, nose in profile, and indications of short hair and the body is a single oblong shape filled in with a dotted design, as in

Figure 3.18. These human figures stand on top of decorated chariots. Other common motifs on Late Helladic kraters include stylized trees, geometric patterns, and aquatic life. Figure 3.17, for example, includes not only a chariot scene, but also a fish and a humanoid figure within a square area, likely a building, decorated with the common Minoan motif of horns of consecration. This figure, who is usually interpreted as female because of the skirted waist (Steel 1994), shares many similarities with the women in Figure 3.12, the bronze stand, as they are framed by a building, possibly a window and are only visible from the waist up.

Kraters provide the best evidence for possible clothing styles during the Late Bronze Age. The small form in Figure 3.17 includes a bell-shaped skirt with cross-hatch decoration, while the bodies represented in Figure 3.18 have a spotted pattern on the full-length garment. These are more abstracted, but seem to depict clothing with decorative patterns and animal hides. Figure 3.19, a krater fragment from an offering pit at Hala Sultan Tekke, gives even better evidence of what clothing may have looked like. It includes a large image of a human figure with an elaborately detailed skirt. The skirt is made up of layers of patterned material that contrast from the torso and arms of the figure, and the bell-like shape of the skirt is similar to the much smaller and abstracted body in Figure 3.17. To the left of the human figure is another bent arm, suggesting at least one other body present on the same plane of the krater. Directly in front of the large skirted figure is the wheel of the chariot, and, although missing in the surviving fragments, it can be assumed that additional human figures would have been riding the

chariot, with horses at the fore.



Figure 3.18: Mycenaean amphoroid krater with chariot scene, Enkomi. British Museum Inv. No. 1897,0401.113.

The skirted figure can be interpreted as female based on the overall hourglass shape of the body: broad torso, thin waist, wide hips, and billowing skirt. Other figures on kraters, such as the charioteers depicted in Figures 3.18, are far more ambiguous. Chariot scenes on frescos in the Aegean, such as the “Boar Hunt Fresco” at Tiryns, demonstrate that charioteers could be male or female (Recht and Morris 2021: 108). As Steel has discussed, there is a gender bias in interpreting these vases, with the assumption that, in the absence of specifically female attributes, figures can be “read” as male (Steel

2006). This bias is also important to consider within the context of clay figurines, and bodies on Late Bronze Age Cyprus more broadly, as it highlights the modern Western influence on understanding of gender and the body in the past.



Figure 3.19: Mycenaean krater fragment with head of figure reconstructed, Offering Pit V, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer 2019: 245.

As shown in Figures 3.17, 3.18, and 3.19, horses are featured frequently on kraters, as well as reliefs, seal impressions, and vase paintings throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and are almost always accompanied by chariots and riders (Feldman and Sauvage 2010; Recht and Morris 2021). These scenes are clearly associated with themes of warfare, but also highlight the relationship between human and horse during the Late Bronze Age. On Cyprus, representations of horses are limited two media: Mycenaean painted kraters and a small number of clay figurines. While other elements of Mycenaean painted pottery are copied in local Cypriot-made wares, horses are only

present on Aegean-made, imported kraters (Recht and Morris 2021: 98).³⁰ Horses on painted kraters are typically depicted in pairs, but with only one main horse body in profile.³¹ Painted chariot kraters were particularly popular in Cyprus, and outside of the Aegean, the majority of chariot kraters are from Cypriot contexts (Recht and Morris 2021: 99; Feldman and Sauvage 2010: 97).

Recht and Morris (2021) have convincingly argued that these chariot scenes demonstrate the two-way relationship between human and horse. Not only do these scenes depict animals as objects of prestige, they also depict the knowledge of and relationships with horses. The development of skill to drive a chariot is built through the relationship between human and animal. As Recht and Morris (2021: 124) explain:

The story of Alexander the Great and Bucephalus is not simply about each of them being magnificent on their own, but about the *combination* of the two as special and beyond what they would have been with another rider or another horse.

Chariot scenes could be interpreted as symbolic images of hunting and warfare, but limited distribution of horse imagery in Late Bronze Age Cyprus suggests that the presence of horses was something special and an important symbol of elite identity.³² Combined with the zooarchaeological evidence discussed in the Treatments of Animal Bodies section above (pp. 113-115), kraters suggest that the presence, ownership, and

³⁰ Representations of humans and animals *excluding* horses are also found on locally-made painted pottery.

³¹ The second horse is evidenced through 2 sets of legs, 2 tails, and 2 heads.

³² Fisher (2023: 281-282) has argued that chariot scenes on these large kraters were highly visible in larger spaces, suggesting that they were used in more public-facing feasting practices.

knowledge of horses was controlled and prestigious.

Yet again there is a connection to broader, eastern Mediterranean iconography and elite consumption within the category of Mycenaean kraters. Most obvious is the fact that these vessels were imported. While it could be argued that these kraters merely reflect Mycenaean preferences for pictorial scenes, Cyprus was the biggest market for them outside of the Aegean. Additionally, kraters held a focal role in Cypriot elite activities and there is a clear choice on the part of Cypriot elite groups about the types of scenes desired for display. The chariot scenes can be linked to hunting and warfare scenes in the Aegean, Anatolia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia (Feldman 2009: 65-67).³³ Fisher (2009; 2014; 2023) among others (Steel 2002; Keswani 2004; Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012), has argued that the conspicuous consumption of wine in Mycenaean kraters in elite domestic contexts was a key social practice that solidified economic, political, and social stratification at coastal centers during the Late Bronze Age. The scenes of hunting and warfare can easily be read as statements of power through violence, while the form and style of the kraters make its imported nature obvious to the observer.

Clay is the most readily available material of those discussed in this section. Yet both forms of representation—sealings and kraters—were used in controlled, regulated

³³ See, for example, the bow case from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Egypt (Feldman 2009: 65, Figure 42), the ivory game board from Enkomi, Cyprus (Feldman 2009: 65, Figure 43), the stela from Shaft Grave V, Circle A, Mycenae (Feldman 2009: 77, Figure 46), and the gold offering dish from Ugarit (Feldman 2009: Plate 8).

spaces. While the material is accessible, the contexts in which they were used and interacted with were not. Sealings were impressed on storage pithoi that were under the authority of local elites. Resources were collected and stored in warehouse areas at coastal settlements and impressions served as a visual marker of control and economic power. Kraters, on the other hand, were not utilitarian, and instead served a symbolic function in performative elite feasts. Both types of clay representation share similar motifs and tropes, such as chariot scenes, as well as the audience to which their images were primarily intended: social elites. The control of access to these items and images can be seen as symbolic ways to establish and reify social inequality and political power at coastal centers in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Summary

The focus on social status and elite identity shown in the treatment of bodies is paralleled in the representations of the body. There is a trend towards control of materials, technologies, and images in Late Bronze Age Cyprus within the categories presented here. The representations discussed above are all related to the creation and solidification of social hierarchy on Cyprus, whether that be through ritual activity, public displays of access to exotica, resource procurement and storage, or extravagant feasts. The bodies themselves are diverse in artistic style, but there are many similarities in iconography. Chariot riders and scenes of hunting and violence are most prominently

visible in stone and clay representations, but the smiting pose of the Ingot God also alludes to these themes. Animal bodies are depicted alongside humans and demonstrate the interconnected nature between human and animal. Beyond this, representations such as the Horned God incorporate animal attributes into their human form. This complicated, blurred distinction in representation is distinct from that of treatment of the physical body and is particularly important to consider within the context of interpreting clay figurines.

Having looked at metal, stone, and clay representations in this way, we now can bring this to bear on interpreting figurines in two ways: consideration of material and artistic style. Most obviously, clay is a far more accessible material than that of bronze, and this very fact suggests that metal and clay representations had very different use-lives. However, the representations of bodies present in clay outside of figurines clearly have at least some connection to bronze images, and even though the artistic styles are different between clay and other media such as stone and metal, many representations of bodies share similarities in interpretation. Should clay figurines be interpreted in a manner similar to that of international *koiné* such as bronze figures or Mycenaean kraters? The artistic styles of representations discussed above all contain strong foreign influence. Can the same be said for clay figurines, and, if so, what does this mean for the use and meaning of clay bodies?

Clay figurines have several things in common with the aforementioned representations of bodies. They are made out of the same material as pithoi and kraters,

yet their materiality bears more in common with small, hand-held cylinder seals. There are also clear differences that set figurines apart, which will be explored in the coming chapters. For the purposes of this chapter, the fact that there are multiple types of representations, all of which can have different meanings, suggests that there are no simple answers to the question of humanness or bodily being in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The connection between metal, stone, and clay representations shows that analyzing a single category of representations is an oversimplification of one element that makes up a complex body world, comprised of lived bodies, decorated bodies, deceased bodies, and images of bodies in multiple media.

Conclusion

As one of the primary questions this dissertation aims to answer concerns how the clay body relates to concepts of the body, understanding how figurines relate to other types of bodies present in the archaeological record is fundamental. The archaeological evidence for bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is diverse in function, meaning, and context, and this variety makes up the Cypriot body world. This body world, as all body worlds are, is complex and impossible to flesh out fully. Yet there are a few discernable trends in the evidence: a focus on the visual aspects of the body—such as head shape or artistic representation and bodily decoration—an integration of foreign goods and ideas, and a ritually-laden regard for human-animal interactions.

The way the body is physically altered, decorated, and moved is performative and intended to visually distinguish one's status or group identification. The types of burials, their locations, and grave goods reflect this emphasis on visibility and access. Elite burials at Hala Sultan Tekke and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, were constructed in central locations near storage and administrative centers. Their prominent position in the settlement landscape likely served to historically legitimize the power and wealth of elite families.

The objects interred with these elite individuals likely indicate the activities and treatments of the body practiced during life, albeit with some embellishment. Earrings and necklaces made of luxury materials such as gold and semi-precious stones, imported feasting sets, and cylinder seals were worn and used by a limited subsection of the Cypriot population—social and political elites. Just as imported European cars or designer clothes differentiate elite members of society today, treatments of the physical body could be used to visually distinguish different groups of people. Beyond the superficial treatments, the Cypriot body could also be permanently altered to fit Late Bronze Age needs and desires. Head shaping resulted in literal differentiated physical forms of the cranium that could visibly mark one's status and identity. These visual distinctions did not simply reflect social inequality and differentiation, but also distorted them; these forms of treatments were agentive and purposeful, not merely mirroring one's place in society.

The emphasis on visual differentiation and elite status is also reflected in representations of bodies. The artistic representations presented in this chapter are all closely linked to Cypriot exchange and trade. Bronze, a key commodity of Late Bronze Age trade, was used to create three-dimensional images of divinity. These bodies adopt Mesopotamian, Levantine, and Egyptian divine iconography of horned headdresses, seated god-kings, and smiting poses, but alter them to fit within Cypriot needs (the addition of the ingot base of the Ingot God, for example). Cylinder seals blur the line between the artificial categories of treatment and representation, as they were both artistic depictions *of* bodies and visual decoration *for* the body. Their presence on a person's body presumes one's status and authority, while their use for sealing and authenticating goods demonstrates the control of local and international economies. The scenes themselves are similar in theme to bronze bodies—adaptations of foreign motifs and iconography joined by Cypriot imagery. By coopting and adapting foreign technologies (sealing practices), iconography (scenes of war, divine headdresses, smiting scenes), and objects (kraters and cylinder seals), Cypriot elites created representations of bodies that visually created and reinforced social hierarchies.

Representations of animal bodies—and elements thereof—can be found in the same materials as anthropomorphic representations. In fact, zoomorphs are often found alongside humans in these artistic depictions, mirroring the physical evidence for the close relationship between domestic animals and people. Within artistic representations, the divide between human and animal can be further blurred, demonstrating the often

artificial lines between different bodies and the necessity to examine the contextually-specific Cypriot body world.

More than anything, this chapter argues that animals were not just beasts of burden or subsistence products. Instead, there is a deep connection that ties humans and animals—particularly domestic mammals—within Late Bronze Age Cypriot life. How animal bodies are treated and represented reflects human attitudes and beliefs surrounding the importance of animals on Cyprus. There is substantial evidence to argue for the heightened ritual importance of bovines during the Late Bronze Age, and there is even evidence for the active incorporation of bull skulls and horns into the human form during cultic practices both in treatment of the physical body and representation. This demonstrates the need to reject a distinct human-animal division and instead investigate the possibility of context-specific blurred boundaries to better understand concepts of the body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Understanding these different sources of archaeological evidence for the Late Cypriot body and how they are related helps to answer a pivotal question about figurines: how do figurines fit within the body world visible outside of clay? Body worlds are made up of the diverse ways the body can be presented, imagined, and experienced, all of which are imbued with a range of uses and meanings within different contexts. Clay bodies are just one element of the Late Cypriot body world.

The following chapters delve into detailed figurine analysis and this chapter serves as a background to the wider context for bodies in the archaeological record during the Late Cypriot period. The figurine analysis can be considered as a case study of how a close examination of one particular type of body fits within or reflects particular concepts of the human body and, by extension, how clay figurines relate to the wider body worlds of Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean. As discussed in Chapter 2, much of the scholarship on Cypriot bodies and embodiment relies heavily on clay figurines. This chapter has shown that there is enough evidence to begin to piece together an understanding of the variety of bodies present on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Clay figurines may be a key element in the Cypriot body world and embodiment regardless of their physical resemblance to the human form, but their scrutiny requires understanding the other types of bodies that are interacted with alongside figurines.

CHAPTER 4: HALA SULTAN TEKKE FIGURINE ATTRIBUTES AND SITE-BASED ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter explores the body attributes present in figurines and figurine fragments from one of the six case study sites, Hala Sultan Tekke. This site serves as a case study of this dissertation's methodology, as an example of how the data were collected and analyzed, and as an introduction to the interpretive framework for the patterns and trends that emerge at the site.

The discussion is divided into five main sections. To begin, each figurine and figurine fragment from Hala Sultan Tekke with a solid archaeological context will be described at length. The next three sections build off this catalog, examining the patterns in body attributes, context, and assemblage. Patterns in body attributes focus on two primary areas of the body, the head and midsection, as these are the most frequently preserved body fragments. The analysis then turns to patterns in context, examining the trends in figurines and figurine attributes in domestic, production, cultic, and mortuary contexts. Finally, patterns in assemblage are explored. Assemblages, like contexts, have been divided into four categories: Type 1, characterized by locally-made utilitarian wares and goods, Type 2, Cypriot-only material, Type 3, a mixture of Cypriot and foreign daily-use goods, and Type 4, luxury and prestige goods both local and imported. An analysis of assemblage helps to add nuance to the patterns in context, as, for instance, not all indoor domestic contexts are utilitarian nor are all outdoor courtyards elite.

After a detailed discussion of the patterns present in the Hala Sultan Tekke figurines, the chapter then moves on to explore the question of what these patterns in attribute, context, and assemblage mean in terms of interpreting figurine use. First, I argue that there are at least two examples of the intentional deposition of figurine fragments, suggesting that figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke could have multiple use-lives. Additionally, an emphasis on quadrupedal forms suggests the importance of bovine iconography, particularly in ritual practices, and bovines are a key element of the lived experience at the site. There is also a connection between figurines and vessels found in both figurine forms and assemblages, pointing to the presence and use of figurines and figural vessels in feasting practices. Beyond this, I argue that, based on patterns in facial attributes, decorative techniques, and elite assemblages, figurines gain a symbolic importance focused on the social power to be seen (or not to be seen). Finally, a close examination of a single bipedal figurine is used to explore trends surrounding the clay body at Hala Sultan Tekke, considering how bipedal figurines fit within the wider site corpus and the blurred distinction between representations of human and animal.

This chapter demonstrates the efficacy in using a contextual, attribute-focused analysis to interpret figurine use and meaning in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. It demonstrates the applicability of this dissertation's methodology on both a site and object-level, as well as the need to consider both contextual and assemblage information when analyzing figurines.

Case Study: Hala Sultan Tekke

As introduced in the first chapter, the site of Hala Sultan Tekke is located on the southeast coast, near other larger coastal centers such as Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Kition. This site serves as an appropriate case study for this project's methodology for three main reasons. First, the excavations are well-recorded and provide excellent contextual information for the figurines. Second, both human- and non-human-shaped figurines are found at the site. Third, there are 33 figurines from good contexts, which is about average for the sites in this study. It should be acknowledged that this dataset is slightly limited—since the trends in the dataset are not as statistically robust as one might hope. As will be mentioned multiple times, there are some areas of investigation, such as the contextual use of bipedal fragments, that cannot be examined in detail as there simply are not enough data to go by.

The Figurines

The following figurines are labelled HST (this dissertation's nomenclature indicating site location, see Chapter 1 pp. 21-26) followed by their unique excavation object numbers. Each object is given a physical description, a list of distinct body attributes, context and assemblage information, and interpretative commentary. Fabric type is determined based on published interpretations. Images are provided for all but three figurines (HST L46-59, HST L46-60, and HST L475-3 have no published images), all of which can be found in published excavation reports and summaries. Contexts are divided into four discrete categories: domestic, production, cultic, and mortuary, and are

determined based on published material and excavator comments. These contexts will be discussed at length in the *Patterns in Context* section. Assemblages are also divided into four categories, Types 1, 2, 3, and 4. As will be explained in the *Patterns in Assemblage* section, Types 1 and 2 include Cypriot-only material, while Types 3 and 4 have varying levels of imported materials.

One of the primary interpretative frameworks on which this project is focused is the meaning of bodily attributes, regardless of artistic style or similarity to the human figure. Because of this, the objects are not organized in the traditional stylistic or categorical way. The figurines from Hala Sultan Tekke described below are organized based on excavation area (see Figure 4.1). First, the figurines from Area A, located in the southwest of the site, are introduced, followed by Area 22, located centrally on the site plan, Area 23 (located directly east of Area 22), Area 8 north of Area 22, City Quarters (CQ) 1, and 2, located in the northern and northeastern parts of the site, and finishing with the British Museum (BM) tomb, which, due to poor documentation, is not indicated on the plan. CQ 1 and 2 excavations and finds all date to the LC IIC- IIIA period, with most coming from Strata I and II, which both date to the LC IIIA (Fischer and Bürge 2014: 80-83; Fischer and Bürge 2018: 603-605). Because the majority of figurines (23 of 33) come from ProBA 3 contexts, most of the discussion here pertains to the ProBA 3, beginning in the middle of the LC II period, occupation of Hala Sultan Tekke.

Catalog

Area A:

HST N57

Description: Body and leg fragment, broken diagonally across torso. Handmade, with reddish brown painted decoration in linear wavy lines. Cylindrical "leg" with fluted base. Arm curved upwards but not articulated from the rest of body. Hand circular. L: 5 cm; H: 12 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, shoulder, arm, hand, legs?

Context and Assemblage: Area A, Pit V. Assemblage includes other Mycenaean figurines, a high number of Mycenaean pictorial sherds, a fragment of a faience bowl, and ostrich eggshell fragments. Cultic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIA-IIC.

Comments: Based on the fabric, design, and decoration, this fragment is likely Mycenaean. This is significant because multiple Mycenaean-made figurine fragments (this fragment, N58, L46-59, and L46-60) come from the Pit V deposit, something that is relatively rare.¹ Pit V, located near multiple tombs, has been interpreted as a cultic offering pit. This offering pit has an intentional design, with a similar "figure eight" architectural shape as the nearby Tomb X. The tomb-like architecture would usually point to a mortuary function, but there are no skeletal remains in Pit V and the large majority of finds are of fired clay – an assemblage that bears more resemblance to offering contexts (Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 195, 199). Pit V includes material dating between the beginning of LC IIA (ca. 1400 BCE) to the end of LC IIC (ca. 1200 BCE; Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 210).



Figure 4.2: HST N57, Fischer and Bürge 2017b: Fig. 31, p. 197.

¹ The minimal number of Mycenaean figurine fragments coming from the same contexts stands in stark contrast to the huge number of Mycenaean ceramics that are found together in Cypriot contexts.

HST N58

Description: Handmade body and leg quadruped fragment, broken at neck and back leg. Reddish brown painted decoration on one side of fragment, with vertical curved lines on body and hind leg, horizontal curved lines on front leg and neck, and lines to outline the front leg and top and bottom of midsection. L: 6 cm; H: 4 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, legs, neck, tail?

Context and Assemblage: Area A, Pit V. Assemblage includes other Mycenaean figurines, high number of Mycenaean pictorial sherds, a fragment of faience bowl, ostrich eggshell fragments. Cultic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIA-IIC.

Comments: Because of the decoration on just one side, it is probable that this quadruped (likely a horse) would have belonged to a pair as part of a chariot set. Likely of Mycenaean manufacture based on color of fabric and the style of painted decoration (Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 195, 199). See above discussion of N57 for comments on context.



Figure 4.3: HST N58, Fischer and Bürge 2017b: Fig. 31, p. 197.

HST L46-59

Description: Handmade hind quadrupedal fragment with reddish brown painted decoration. No other information given; no illustration published.

Body Attributes: Torso, leg.

Context and Assemblage: Area A, Pit V, L46. Likely Mycenaean. Assemblage includes other Mycenaean figurines, a high number of Mycenaean pictorial sherds, a fragment of faience bowl, and ostrich eggshell fragments. Cultic context, Type 4 assemblage (Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 208). ProBA 2, LC IIA-IIC.

Comments: Likely a chariot set horse fragment but does not belong to the set to which N58 belongs.

HST L46-60

Description: Fragment of chariot, representing the horizontal drawbar and shaft, handmade, brownish red painted decoration. Dimensions not available; no illustration published.

Body Attributes: No organic attributes.

Context and Assemblage: Area A, Pit V, L46. Assemblage includes other Mycenaean figurines, a high number of Mycenaean pictorial sherds, a fragment of faience bowl, and ostrich eggshell fragments. Cultic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIA-IIC.

Comments: Likely a fragment from a chariot, but unsure if it was part of the set to which either N58 or L46-59 belonged (Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 208).

Area 22:

HST N6504

Description: Handmade, solid midsection fragment broken at mid-neck and legs with traces of red paint, the patterns of which are now undiscernible. L: 5.5 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, neck.

Context and Assemblage: Area 22, Square I F6513, domestic roofed space. Assemblage includes locally-made Base Ring, White Painted Wheel-Made wares, Mycenaean painted bowls and a stemmed cup, pithoi, copper slag. Domestic context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA:1.

Comments: Area of excavation likely associated with habitation and the frequent copper slag finds also suggest nearby metallurgical activity. However, evidence of earlier pottery that was, until this context was excavated, only found in tomb contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke suggests possible LCIIIA:1 opening/looting of nearby Tomb 20. The presence of Mycenaean painted pottery further suggests that this assemblage, and the figurine torso fragment, may have originally been part of a tomb deposit (Åström 1989: 77).



Figure 4.4: HST N6504, Åström 1989: Fig. 152.

HST N6086

Description: Handmade midsection fragment of quadruped broken at neck. Dark painted bands decoration along the spine, around neck, body, and midsection. L: 4.5, H: 3 cm.

Body Attributes: Neck, torso, hips, legs.

Context and Assemblage: Area 22, Square II, F6550B, domestic roofed space. Similar to Context F6513 in Square I, the assemblage has been interpreted as in part a looted tomb deposit. Possible mixed tomb and domestic context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA:1.

Comments: Fabric and style match that of Mycenaean bull figurines (Åström 1989: 95; 98), suggesting that this figurine was imported from the Aegean.



Figure 4.5: HST N6086, Åström 1989: Fig 176.

HST N6087

Description: Handmade midsection fragment of a quadruped, broken at neck. Painted decoration includes dark bands along spine, around neck, and on the body and midsection. L: 5.3, H: 3.3 cm.

Body Attributes: Neck, torso, legs.

Context and Assemblage: Area 22, Square II, F6550B, domestic roofed space, same context as figurine HST N6086. Like Context F6513 in Square I, the assemblage has been interpreted as in part a looted tomb deposit. Domestic context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA:1.

Comments: Very similar to HST N6086, excavated in the same context. Also matches the style of Mycenaean-produced bull figurines (Åström 1989: 97-98).

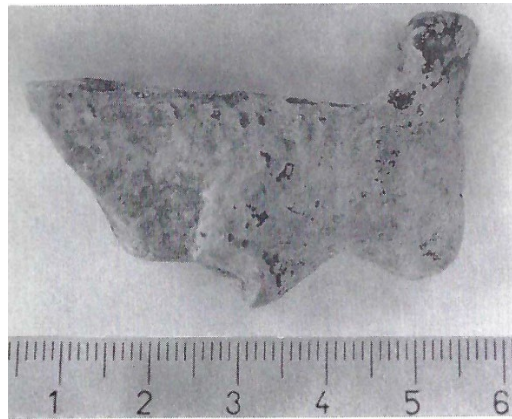


Figure 4.6: HST N6087, Åström 1989: Fig 177.

Area 23:

HST N7009

Description: Head and neck fragment with an elongated face or muzzle, cylindrical neck, and incised facial features. Handmade and solid in construction. Eyes are deeply pierced into clay, mouth is indicated with a shallow horizontal line, and hair on the back or the neck features a set of parallel oblique incised lines. The ears are created through pinched clay, and a single dark brown painted line goes along the mouth and sides of head. L: 7 cm.

Body Attributes: Eye, nose, ear, head, neck, hair.

Context and Assemblage: Area 23, F7000 (surface layer). Outdoor surface near multiple pits and tombs. Outdoor/unknown context, Type 3 assemblage.

Comments: The hair on the back of neck likely represents a mane, while the dark brown painted line around the mouth possibly represents a bridle. Based on the shape of the head, neck, hair details, and painted decoration, this figurine closely resembles a horse, which is an uncommon form within the dataset (Åström 1989: 103).



Figure 4.7: HST N7009; Åström 1989: Figs. 206-207.

City Quarter 1:

HST L264-3

Description: Large leg fragment, fragment is handmade, hollow, and belongs to the Plain White ceramic group. H: 7.5-8.0, W: 2.3, Th: 2.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L264. Outdoor area associated with cooking and production of textiles. Of note in the assemblage is the large number of coarse ware pottery fragments (traditionally associated with cooking practices) and a single lead sling bullet. Domestic context, Type 2 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Based on the fabric and size of this leg fragment, it is likely this leg came from a bull rhyton, which would have been wheel-made and body attributes such as legs would be applied (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 424).

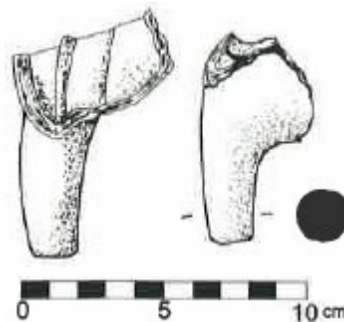


Figure 4.8: HST L264-3; Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:11

HST L673-2

Description: Back half body fragment of a quadruped, handmade with a hollow body and solid legs, belonging to the Base Ring II ceramic group. Legs are conical in shape, ending in points. Tail is applied on the hips and painted dark brown and the figurine is decorated with dark brown painted horizontal lines across the body and legs. H: 8.5, L: 5.0, d. body: 4.5-5.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, hips, leg, tail.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L273 in R76. Outdoor area with hearth, significant evidence for food production. Assemblage includes the standard array of local wares, including White Painted Wheel-Made, Plain White, White Slip, and Coarse wares, and imported Late Helladic IIIA-B ceramics. Found in same context as HST L673-13. Domestic context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Excavators suggest that this body fragment was likely a rhyton based on the fragment's large size and hollow body (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421).



Figure 4.9: HST L673-2; Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:7

HST L673-13

Description: Leg fragment with flat base and broken at upper thigh where it would have connected to a hollow body. Leg is handmade and solid Base-Ring ware. Leg features eight short vertical lines in two uneven columns of four lines each. H: 5.7, W: 2.0, Th: 1.3 cm.

Body Attributes: Leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L273 in R76. Outdoor area with hearth, significant evidence for food production. Found in same context as HST L673-2

(see object description for more). Domestic context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: The flat base/foot of this leg fragment suggest that this figurine may have been free-standing. The short, incised decoration is unusual, but parallels with decorative styles to represent pubic hair. Perhaps, then, here it represents leg hair. The slight inward curve of the leg suggests it was attached to the body in the manner of a quadruped (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 422).



Figure 4.10: HST L673-13; Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:10

HST L586-2

Description: Head fragment, broken at neck and ends of ears. Handmade and solid White Painted ware with an elongated quadrupedal head and dark brown paint used to denote facial features. Eyes are dots on either side of long nose, the end of which is completely painted, line along top of head meeting perpendicularly with a line going across the top of the head and ears. L: 2.3, H: 1.4, W: 2.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Eye, ear, nose, head.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L586 R66. Large courtyard with a number of excavated luxury items, including 2 figurines (L586-2 and L608-1) and parts of a dagger with an ivory handle. Domestic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Elongated head/muzzle suggests equid similarities. Found in same context as another equid-shaped figurine fragment, although production technique and style are completely different (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 422).



Figure 4.11: HST L586-2, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2: 8.

HST L608-1

Description: Head and neck fragment broken at lower neck, ears, end of nose. Handmade, hollow White Painted quadruped with cylindrical neck and elongated head. Ears broken, but likely pinched to the sides. Facial features depicted in red paint. Eyes are circles unpainted in the center, end of nose/muzzle fully painted, cross-hatched pattern along sides and top of neck. Single painted line along sides of face. H: 4.5, L: 3.0, Th: 2.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Eye, ear, nose, head, neck, hair?

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L586 R66. Large courtyard with a number of excavated luxury items, including 2 figurines (L586-2 and L608-1) and parts of a dagger with an ivory handle. Domestic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Similar to equine forms from Mycenaean Greece, the cross-hatch decoration along neck may represent hair of mane and line going horizontally along sides of the face may represent a bridle. Found in same context as another equid-shaped figurine fragment HST L586-2, although production technique and style are completely different (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 244).



Figure 4.12: HST L608-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2: 9.

HST N100

Description: Head, neck, and foreleg quadrupedal figurine fragment. Broken at ears/horns, base of neck, and upper foreleg. Plain Ware, handmade and solid. Head is small and conical, widest at the ears and narrow at the nose and mouth. Neck is thick and features a raised hump on the top. Mouth is incised to be opened, nostrils are indicated with incised dots, and incised dots decorate the top of the head in two rows of four.

Body Attributes: Nose, mouth, ear, head, neck, leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, Trench 3, L249, west of corner of W36 & W37, open courtyard? Fireplace near this findspot, assemblage includes a painted Plain White Wheelmade bowl. Domestic context, Type 1 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Unusual bull figurine with a large crest on its withers; its open mouth and lack of eyes are unique at Hala Sultan Tekke. While it is a unique find, it does bear some resemblance to a number of figurines from Enkomi Area I and a bovine protome from a vessel excavated at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421, 428).



Figure 4.13: HST N100, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2: 6.

HST L7-1

Description: Hind/lower half of body fragment, White Painted ware. Decorated with dark brown painted parallel diagonal lines along body. Handmade and solid. L: 3.0, d. body: 1.5-1.7 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, hips, tail.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 1, L7, R2 next to W1, domestic roofed space with evidence for various household activities including spinning and the storage of liquids. Domestic context, Type 1 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Based on the description and interpretation by the excavators, Room 2 likely represents a domestic production space associated with textile production and storage that saw daily use (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 424).



Figure 4.14: HST L7-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:1

HST N336

Description: Handmade, Base Ring II quadrupedal head fragment with horns, broken at base of neck and a broken hole on back of the neck. Decorations include applied pellet eyes and white painted bands along the neck. H: 6.1, d. neck 2.1 cm.

Body Attributes: Head, neck, eyes, horns.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 3, L637 (floor of R67), roofed production area. Assemblage includes faience bowls, another figurine (L628-3), and an imported Levantine pilgrim flask. Production context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIB-early IIC.

Comments: This context has been interpreted by excavators as a roofed space used for processing and storage related to textile production (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 424). The “luxury” assemblage of faience, figurines, and imported wares suggests an elevated status and wealth access of the people living and working here. The figurine fragment itself is of note for its hole-shaped break that may have originally served at the juncture for a handle and the figurine would have, in fact, been part of a vessel or protome (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421).



Figure 4.15: HST N336, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:1.

HST L628-3

Description: Handmade, hollow White Painted ware quadrupedal lower half/back of midsection fragment, broken at midsection and leg joints/hips. Decorated with red painted lines across body and an applied tail that lies against the back of the hips. L: ca. 2.5 cm.

Body Attributes: Midsection, hips, tail.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 3, L637 (floor of R67), roofed production area. Assemblage includes faience bowls, another figurine (N336), and imported Levantine pilgrim flask. Production context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIB-early IIC.

Comments: See previous comments on assemblage for N336. While hollow, there is no evidence that this hind fragment belonged to a vessel, although that is still a possibility (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421).



Figure 4.16: HST L628-3, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:2.

HST L232-9

Description: Handmade, hollow leg fragment broken at the top of the leg. No decoration, Plain White ware. H: 6.3, W: 2.2, Th: 1.5 cm.

Body Attributes: Leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 1, L232, R19, roofed space, likely production-related. Assemblage includes White Painted and Plain White Wheel-Made wares, a stone bowl, and a turquoise bead. Production context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: The fairly large size of this leg fragment—most likely belonging to a quadruped—points to the possibility of this fragment originally belonging to a rhyton. Evidence suggests Room 19 was a working space for food processing and production of ceramic containers. Also of note is the turquoise bead from this context: this is one of two examples of turquoise found in the same context as a figurine (the other being HST L369-1). There are two main sources of the turquoise found in the eastern Mediterranean: southwestern Sinai, controlled by Egypt, and Central Asia (Moorey 1999: 101). The valuable stone, while small, is yet again evidence for foreign contact and access to imported goods (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 424).

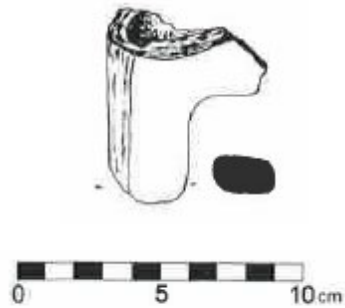


Figure 4.17: HST L232-9, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:2.

HST L680-2

Description: Handmade, solid leg fragment, broken at top of leg. Decoration of red painted horizontal lines. H: 3.5, W: 2.0, Th. 0.8 cm.

Body Attributes: Leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 3, L680 in R69, unknown function/use. Room 69 only partially excavated. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 2, LC IIB-early IIC.

Comments: Fischer and Bürge 2018 suggest this may be a Mycenaean figurine fragment because of the red painted decoration on a pale background, but because of the small fragment size, it is difficult to come to any conclusions. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421).



Figure 4.18: HST L680-2, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:3.

HST N101

Description: Handmade, hollow Red Polished ware anthropomorphic head and neck fragment, broken at neck. Ears jut out from the head with three perforations on each ear, nose indicated with "pinched" triangle, and head relatively flat with "brim" above forehead. H: 4.6, W: 3.0, d. hole: 0.7 cm.

Body Attributes: Neck, head, nose, ears.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 2, L246 of R14, bottom of pit west of W34, uncertain function, possibly domestic. Other finds include Plain White and White Painted Wheel-Made, loom weight of fired clay, and a stone pestle. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 2 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Function of this room unclear as this area was reused and likely the room was cleared of its original contents (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 421). At level of the figurine fragment's nape a hollow break is visible, suggesting the head was part of an anthropomorphic vessel, possibly the neck of a juglet with upper part of head as vessel's spout.



Figure 4.19: HST N101, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:5.

HST L577-3

Description: Handmade, White Painted hollow leg fragment, broken at top of leg, decorated with zig-zag patterns of dark brown paint. H: 7.8, W: 3.6, Th: 3.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Leg.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Stratum 1, L2577, Space S of R59/69/61. Assemblage includes a Plain ware jar and Red-on-Black. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 2 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: The large size and hollow nature of the leg fragment suggest this may have originally been part of a rhyton (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426).

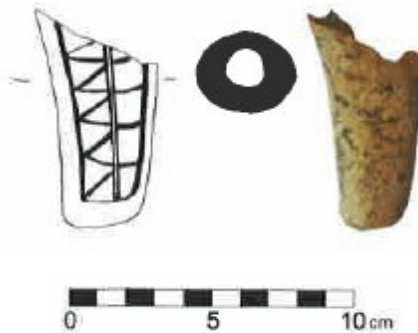


Figure 4.20: HST L577-3, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:3.

HST N207

Description: Handmade, hollow Base-ring ware head fragment, broken at top of neck, right ear, and edge of left ear. Eyes are applied pellets with incised "pupils", nose begins at the top of the flattened head and projects out in a rounded triangle – the nose takes up the majority of face – left ear that is preserved includes two large holes. L: 3, W: 3.4 cm

Body Attributes: Head, eyes, nose, ears, piercings, neck.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I, uncertain function. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage (disturbed). ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: This head and neck fragment bears close visual resemblance to the most discussed Late Cypriot figurines, sometimes referred to as "bird-faced." While I am not placing this, or any figurines into stylistic categories, the bird descriptor is important to consider, as the very term suggests that the distinction between what is human and what is animal can be vague and blurred. The nose takes up much of the face and is the most prominent attribute whether being viewed from the front or side. The second most prominent feature are the ears, which jut out from the sides of the face and are as large as

the face itself. The ear that is preserved also has two “piercings,” making it one of two in the data set to have ear piercings for jewelry. This figurine and the two that follow it are all from the same Trench 14B Stratum I context. This stratum is located below topsoil and should be considered disturbed (Fischer and Bürge 2014: 93).

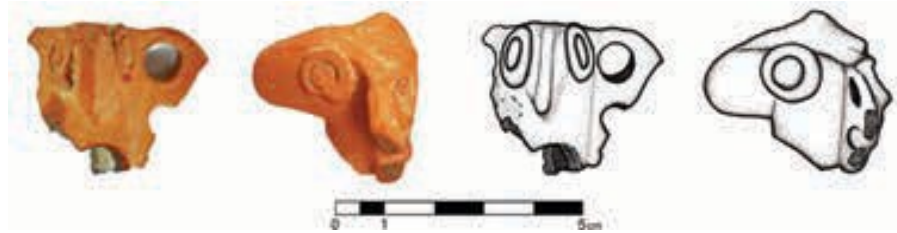


Figure 4.21: HST N207, Fischer and Bürge 2014: Fig. 22, p. 78.

HST N215

Description: Handmade, solid? Head and neck fragment, broken at base of neck. Head is flat at the top and painted in a dark brown color. Eyes are applied pellets with incised circles in the middle, nose is triangular, and starts at the forehead. Eyebrows depicted with a singular curved brown painted line, mouth represented through small, incised line, neck is decorated by two painted bands—one in reddish brown and the other in dark brown—that end part way on the back of neck. Back of skull is incurved and has two "pinched" out areas - ears? L: 3.3, W: 2.7, neck diam: 1.2 cm.

Body Attributes: Head, neck, eyes, mouth, nose, eyebrows, hair.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I, uncertain function. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage (disturbed). ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: This figurine fragment is notable for its use of paint to denote various body features. The upper head area seems to be the focus, with a painted, flattened top of the head, prominent curved eyebrows, nose, and large pellet eyes. Also of note are the unusual “pinches” of clay at the base of the skull. They are not visible from the front, only from the side and back, and are slightly curved down in a horseshoe shape. The excavator has interpreted these as ears, not entirely convincingly. See above comments on HST N207 for discussion of context (Fischer and Bürge 2014: 93).



Figure 4.22: HST N215, Fischer and Bürge 2014: Fig. 23, p. 78.

HST N214

Description: Handmade partial head and neck fragment, broken on muzzle/nose, and at base of the neck. Ears depicted through raised, pinched triangles, painted decoration in dark reddish brown in curved lines along one side of the neck, 2 lines down the top of neck, and ears, line down the muzzle between eyes, circles around eye area, and dots to represent eyes. L: 3.8, H: 2.2, thick: 1.4 cm.

Body Attributes: Head, neck, ears, eyes.

Context and Assemblage: CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I, uncertain function. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage (disturbed). ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: This quadrupedal fragment, interpreted by the excavators as a horse, is likely Mycenaean and part of a chariot group because the fragment is only painted on one side, suggesting that the painted side would be visible while the inside would be obscured by another horse. See above comments for HST N207 for discussion of context (Fischer and Bürge 2014: 94).



Figure 4.23: HST N214, Fischer and Bürge 2014: Fig. 24, p. 78.

City Quarter 2:

HST N239

Description: Body fragment broken at neck, arms, and waist. White Painted, *psi*-type shape with an inverse triangle shape, widest at shoulders and curving to a thin area at the broken waist. Two breasts depicted with small, applied circles high on the torso, just below the neck. Deep red painted decorative lines, horizontal line on the neck and waist, and curved vertical and oblique lines on the chest and around arms. Horizontal line on the back connects the vertical lines around arms. H: 4.5, W: 3.6 cm.

Body Attributes: Neck, arm, torso, breast.

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 1, L412 outdoor area northeast of structure R22. Domestic context, Type 2 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: *Psi*-type of local production, has thicker lines and less detailed painted decoration than the standard Aegean type (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426).



Figure 4.24: HST N239, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3: 7.

HST L297-1

Description: Two horn fragments, broken at the base of the horns. The rest of the figurine missing. White Painted, handmade, and solid horns with 3 reddish brown painted circles around horns. L: 2.8, W: 1.1, Th: 0.8 cm.

Body Attributes: Horn

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 1, L297, R28. Open or partly roofed domestic courtyard, found in same context as Plain White Wheelmade wares and a loom weight. Domestic context, Type 1 assemblage.

Comments: Horns are very similar, but differ slightly in decoration (one with four painted lines, the other with three). Likely belong to a quadrupedal figurine (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426).



Figure 4.25: HST L297-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3: 8.

HST L332-1

Description: Upper head fragment of a quadruped, broken along middle of head and below ear. Eye is applied pellet and ear indicated with depression for inner ear. L: 6.0, H: 2.0 cm.

Body Attributes: Eye, nose, ear, head.

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 2, L332, R 31. Domestic room, hearth, fireplace, and oven suggest cooking function for Room 31. Notable nearby storage pit of raw materials for copper ore refinement. Domestic context, Type 2 assemblage (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426). ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

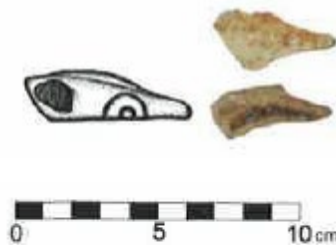


Figure 4.26: HST L332-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3: 6.

HST L-347-1

Description: Partial Base Ring II quadruped head fragment, handmade and solid. Horn is tall and head a sharp triangle, applied pellet eye with light incised circle is partially preserved. L: 4.1, d: 1.3 cm.

Body Attributes: Head, horn, ear, eye.

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 2, L347 R37, domestic roofed space. Assemblage of Room 37 includes a finely decorated White Painted Wheel-Made bowl and a bronze object. Domestic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: The lack of utilitarian wares and presence of bronze suggests that the activities in this room were centered around an elite audience. However, the presumably bovine (due to the horn) head fragment is undecorated, which is uncommon for bull figurines in LBA Cyprus, particularly at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426-427).



Figure 4.27: HST L-347-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:4

HST L369-1

Description: Handmade, solid fragment of a horn with reddish brown painted vertical lines on the horn. White Painted ware. L: 3.0, d: 1.2 cm.

Body Attributes: Horn

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 1, L369 R23/23', roofed production space. Assemblage includes a Plain White Wheelmade jug, two (likely imported) pilgrim flasks, a turquoise bead, and spindle whorls made of stone and glass. Production context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Room 23/23' together with Room 22 make up the inside of an isolated structure that most likely represents a workshop, mainly spinning and preparation of food with some evidence for the processing of murex/production of purple dye (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426). This small horn fragment likely comes from a quadrupedal figurine.



Figure 4.28: HST L369-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:9.

HST L305-1

Description: Handmade, solid horn fragment broken at base of horn. Base Ring II ware with white painted lines on horn on dark brown slip. L: 2.8, d: 1.2 cm.

Body Attributes: Horn

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 2, L305 R35, possibly cultic. Most prominent object in assemblage is the “Horned God Krater” (Object HST N121, see Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 2.99). Cultic context, Type 4 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: Excavators argue Room 35 may have had a sacral function based on the large, elaborately painted “Horned God Krater.” The fact that this horn fragment was found in a space centered on imagery of a Horned God suggests that the motif of the horn important within this context. As a single horn fragment, this object may have been just as important as it was prior to breakage (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426).



Figure 4.29: HST L305-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:5.

HST L302-1

Description: Handmade, solid shoulder and arm fragment, broken at base of neck and chest. White Painted ware-type with dark brown painted curved lines. The shoulder and arm are not differentiated, and the shape of the upper-torso silhouette is curved, and Fischer and Bürge suggest that it is a similar fashion to the standard Aegean *psi*-type figurines (2018: 426). L: 3.2, W: 2.7, Th: 0.6 cm.

Body Attributes: Torso, Shoulder, Arm

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Stratum 1, L302 R24, function of Room 24 unclear. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 3 assemblage. ProBA 3, LC IIIA.

Comments: White Painted wares are some of the most emblematic Late Cypriot ceramics – they are distinctive in decoration, color, and production (they are all handmade). If this small fragment is interpreted as being bipedal (based on the arrangement of the arm and shoulder in line with the torso), it is of note for two reasons. First, the color and decoration style follow typical White Painted traditions, something often seen in quadrupedal figurines, but uncommon for bipedal. Second, the curved upper

torso closely resembles the characteristic Mycenaean *psi*-type form, with arms sweeping up away from the body. HST L302-1 was undeniably produced and used in Cyprus, yet its form and iconography clearly drew from established Aegean artistic traditions (Fischer and Bürge 2018: 426).

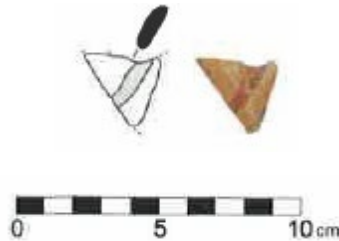


Figure 4.30: HST L302-1, Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:10.

HST L475-3

Description: Bichrome painted Base-ring human figure neck fragment with hints of painted bands decorating the neck. Dimensions not available.

Body Attributes: Neck

Context and Assemblage: CQ2, Area 6W, T22C/D, R54, partially enclosed space of unknown function. Assemblage Includes WPWM bowl, WPGS bowl, carinated White Painted bowl that imitates Base Ring, and a White-shaved juglet. Room and deposit covered by ash layer. Unknown/uncertain context, Type 2 assemblage (Fischer and Bürge 2016: 45).

British Museum Tomb:

HST 98 12-1 218

Description: Fully preserved handmade and solid bipedal figurine. Nose is pinched thin and protruding from face, applied pellet eyes on either side of nose, ears are half-circles as big as head with 2 large circular perforations each, with 2 hoop earrings preserved on the right; neck is circular, with a set of 3 parallel incised lines; torso is small and the rounded breasts cover the whole of it; arms curve inward with long-fingered hands resting at stomach/just above pubis. Hips exaggerated and wide with vertical lines to indicate pubic hair and 3 parallel diagonal lines on each upper thigh to indicate pubic triangle; legs are differentiated on both sides of the figurine and taper down, with small feet protruding at the end; little to no decoration on the back. H: 16.2 cm.

Body Attributes: Head, eyes, nose, ears, neck, shoulders, arms, hands, fingers, torso, breasts, hips, pubic triangle, legs, feet.

Context and Assemblage: British Museum Tomb VII. Assemblage includes gold spirals, ring, diadem, green glass bead, carnelian bead, engraved silver ring, alabaster pot and disc, jug with murex shells?, bronze fragments, 2 decorated White Painted vessels (see Åström *et al.* 1976: 4-5, Pls. XIV-XVI). Tomb context, Type 4 assemblage.

Comments: From the British Museum excavations in 1898 under Walters; also found in Tomb VII was one other clay figurine described in the same fashion, which supposedly went to Nicosia but is now lost (Åström *et al.* 1976: 15). The excavation information is sparse, and the tomb location is poorly recorded (see Åström *et al.* 1976: Pl. I a-c for sketch of 1898 excavation areas), but the information that was recorded about the assemblage and tomb architecture as well as the preservation quality of the figurine make Tomb VII worth including.



Figure 4.31: HST 98 12-1 218, Åström *et al.* 1976 Pl. XV a,b.; Karageorghis 1991: Pl. VI.1.

Patterns in Attributes

Now that each of the 33 figurine fragments have been described in detail, the analysis can move forward to examine trends and patterns in bodily attributes, contexts, and assemblages. The parts of the body that are most often preserved, where these

fragments are found, and what other material culture they are deposited with, can lead to innovative interpretive frameworks for considering use and meaning of clay figurines, as well as larger conceptions of the human body, in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Within the figurine assemblage of Hala Sultan Tekke, there are two main patterns in attribute frequency: a focus on head and facial features as well as torsos and legs.

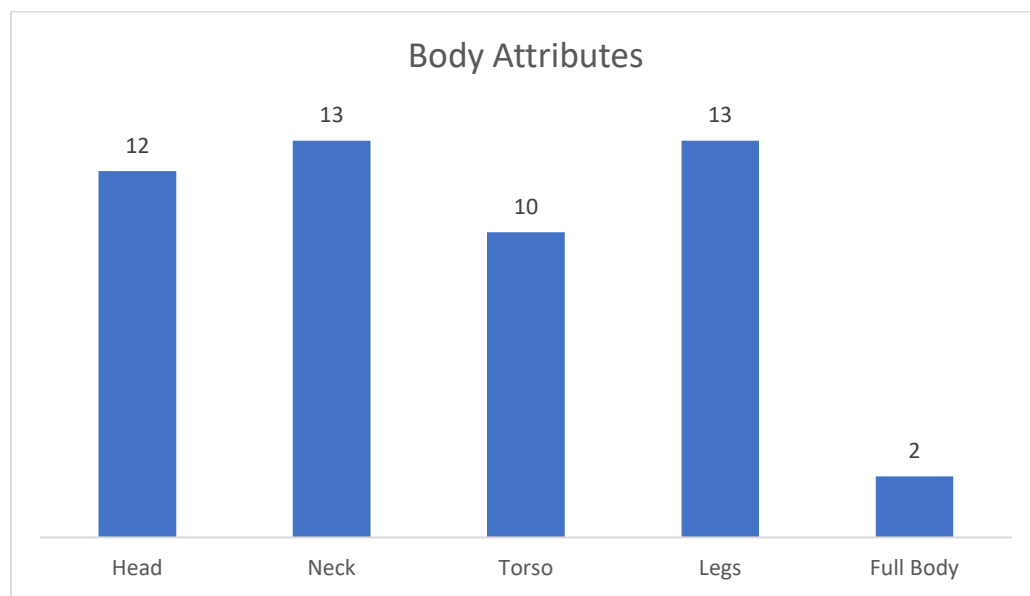


Table 4.1: Number of attestations of basic body attributes within 33 figurines from Hala Sultan Tekke. Multiple attributes can be found on a single figurine.

Of the 33 figurine fragments (both bipedal and quadrupedal) at Hala Sultan Tekke, there are 13 with necks (39.3%) and 12 with heads (36.3%). Within the 12 head fragments, all but one includes eyes (91.6%). Eyes are depicted in several ways, including painted dots, applied pellets, and incised circles. A combination of decorative techniques, applied pellets with incised circles representing the pupils and giving the eyes more depth, is the most frequent method to depict eyes. Ears are the second most common facial attribute (75% of head fragments), followed closely by noses (66.6%). Ears are either pinched or applied and come in two main shapes: small triangles (on the

top or back of head) and large semicircles (on the sides of the head). Noses range in style and detail, with pinched triangular noses, large, curved beak-like applied noses, and elongated quadruped muzzles. Some also include two small, incised dots to indicate nostrils.

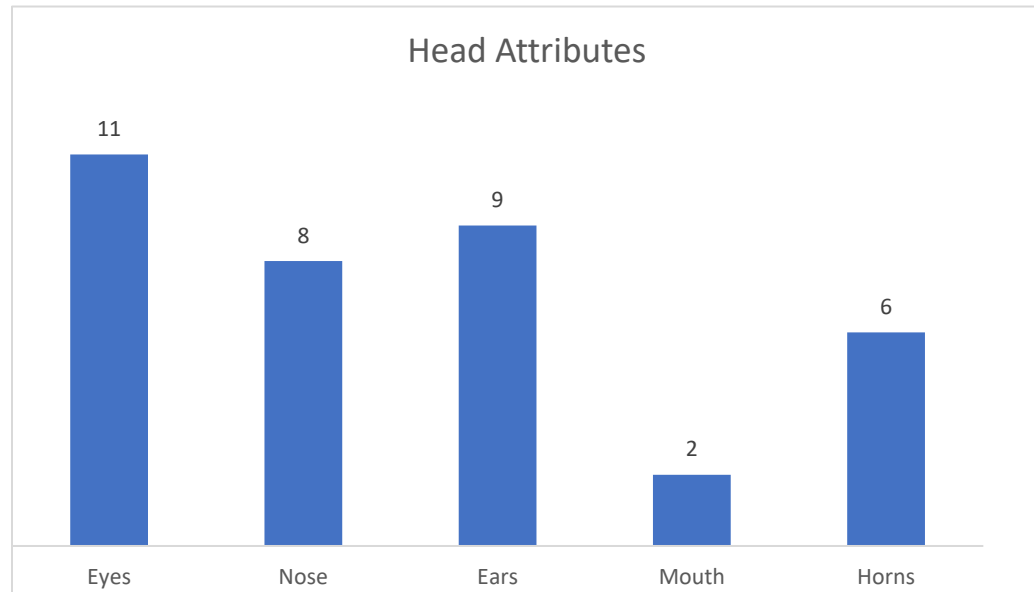


Table 4.2: Frequency of head attributes within 12 head fragments from Hala Sultan Tekke.

Six head fragments also include horns, consisting of slightly curved cones. Half of the horned head fragments have both horns preserved, while the other half have only one, with a clear break where its match would have been. There are two examples of horns with decoration, both consisting of painted lines – one with vertical lines and the other with concentric. These six heads, along with the heads that contain elongated muzzles and bovine-looking facial features, belonged to quadrupedal bodies. While there is a hypothetical possibility of a bovine head belonging to a bipedal body instead of a quadruped, there are no known examples of this in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1991, 1993).

What is less certain is the shape, decoration, or use of the body—many of these heads, particularly the large ones of Base Ring Ware, could have been part of rhyta, or pouring vessels. But since their bodies have not survived, their utilitarian function is difficult to assess.

Moving down the body, 10 figurine fragments include torso or midsection attributes (30.3%). Most torsos are cylindrical, with breaks indicating the location of quadrupedal legs. While most discussions on Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines focus on sex organs, breasts are only present on two fragments, three have exaggerated hips, only one figurine depicts a pubic triangle, and there are no phalluses represented in the clay figurine corpus at the site. Instead, geometric painted lines down the body is the more common decoration. Of the 10 midsection fragments, 8 include painted decoration. This majority suggests that the torso was ideal for decorative elements in contrasting colors. Sexual attributes were less of a priority for depiction in clay as reflected in the low occurrence in figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke.

Thirteen figurine fragments contain leg attributes. As with midsections, most leg fragments belong to a quadruped alignment of the body and often feature geometric painted designs. Only one fragment (HST 98 12-1 218) depicts feet. Eleven leg fragments are conical, with the legs tapering down at the end, while one (HST N57) is a cylinder that is fluted out at the bottom.

Finally, there is only one examples of full bodies, which I define as containing the main attributes of head, torso, and legs HST 98 12-1 218 has some breakages, but contain the head, neck, midsection, and legs. The paucity of full-bodied figurines is likely explained through unintentional breakage, with some examples of possible intentional

fragmentation, to be discussed at length later in this chapter. These more intact examples help to reconstruct what other figurine fragments may have looked like before breakage.

One of the questions this dissertation examines is how the body is presented in clay and what this in turn means about conceptions of the body in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Excluding the fragment that does not contain organic attributes,² 24 of the 32 (75%) figurine fragments in organic forms can be interpreted as physically resembling quadrupeds or bovines. These figurines are all visually defined by elongated muzzles, eyes on the side of the head (monocular vision), horns, cylindrical midsections, four legs placed in pairs at the either end of the midsection, and tails. Two figurine fragments, both legs, are too fragmentary to know with any certainty if they belonged to a two-legged or four-legged body. Eight figurines (25%) are bipedal or contain specifically human-looking attributes. These attributes include frontal eyes, large ears protruding from the sides of the head, breasts, bent arms/limbs, fingers, pubic triangles, two legs placed directly below the hips, and feet. However, there is also some ambiguity between these divisions, as some bipedal figurines include monocular vision type eye placement. While much scholarship has focused on human figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, they make up only a small percentage of actual figurines from the Late Cypriot Hala Sultan Tekke corpus and, as will be further discussed in Chapter 5, this dissertation's dataset more broadly.

When treated as different categories, there are some clear differences in body attributes between quadrupedal and bipedal fragments. Table 4.3 presents the frequency

² HST L46-60 is not included as it does not contain any bodily attributes and is instead a fragment of a chariot/wagon. This is the only non-organic representation within the Hala Sultan Tekke corpus, but there are other examples of non-organic figurines and chariot parts from other sites within this study including MAA 691 (boat fragment) and KIT 5380 (wheel fragment).

of body attributes in these categories. Because of the difference in numbers of quadrupedal to bipedal figurines at the site, percentages, versus numbers, help to give a comparative look at the dataset. Legs are more frequent body attributes for quadrupeds, being found in 42% of fragments. This, by definition, is because quadrupeds have double the number of legs of bipedal figurines, so it is more likely for quadrupedal legs to have been preserved. Half of these fragments include torso attributes, while the other half are individual leg fragments. Bipedal legs, on the other hand, are found in 25% of fragments. In contrast to legs, half of bipedal figurines include heads, while 33% of quadrupedal fragments include head attributes. All four bipedal head fragments include eyes, noses, and ears, while seven of the eight quadrupedal head fragments include eyes, four noses, and five ears. As will be discussed in the “Interpreting Figurines” section of this chapter, these contrasts in the types of attributes present on bipedal and quadrupedal; figurine fragments may point to specific differentiated uses of clay bipedal and quadrupedal bodies.

A cursory glance at the dataset would suggest that it is made up of a variety of figurine fragments that have little in common. However, by breaking down each fragment into its essential parts, or attributes, patterns in the frequency of eyes-to-heads, correlation between midsections and painted decoration, and the popularity of quadrupedal forms become clear.

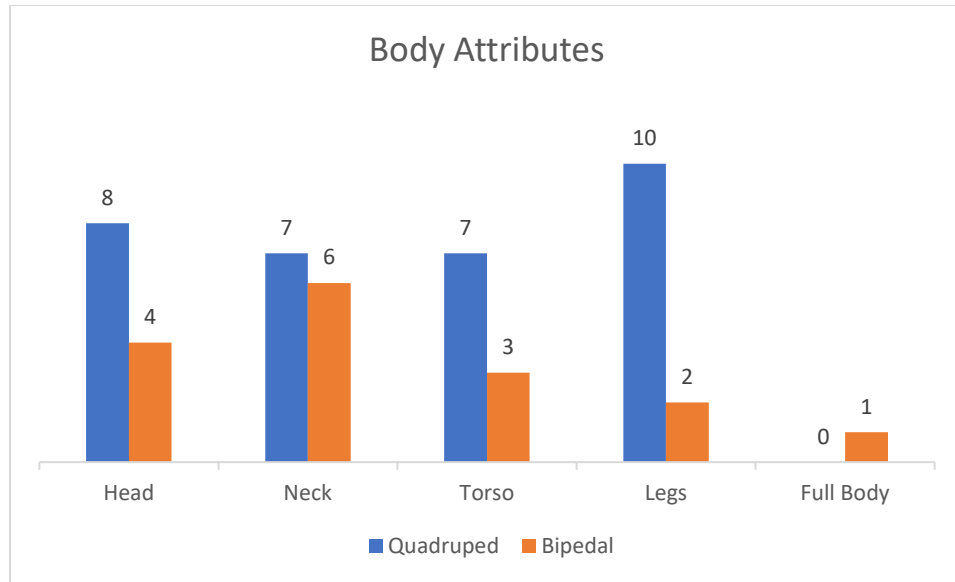


Table 4.3: Frequency of body attributes in 24 quadrupedal and 8 bipedal figurines fragments from Hala Sultan Tekke.

Patterns in Context

The figurine fragments were introduced above based on context, in which four main context-types were defined: domestic, production, cultic, and mortuary. Fourteen figurines are found in domestic contexts, four in production, five in cultic, one in a tomb context, and nine are from contexts of unknown function. These unknown contexts include those that have been disturbed or those that do not include enough data to determine function. Excluding the nine uncertain contexts, 24 figurine fragments come from known contexts (see Table 4.4).

Context	Bipedal	Quad	Head	Eyes	Nose	Mouth	Hair	Ears	Horns	Mid-Section	Breasts	Pubic Triangle	Total Figurines
Domestic	1	13	5	4	3	1	0	3	3	5	1	0	14
Production	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	4
Cultic	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	5
Mortuary	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
TOTAL:	3	21	7	6	4	1	1	4	6	10	2	1	24

Table 4.4: Attribute patterns in known contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke.

Of the 24 figurines from solid contexts, over half (58.3%) come from domestic contexts. Within domestic contexts, figurines are found evenly within both outdoor and roofed spaces, meaning they were found in different types of areas within domestic spaces. The attributes of the 14 fragments from domestic contexts roughly reflect the overall attribute patterns at the site, with fragments consisting of five head, five torso, and five leg elements. Eyes are present on all but one head fragment, while noses and ears are both found in three examples. Eleven of the 14 domestic context figurines physically resemble bovines, equids, and perhaps other quadrupeds, two legs are too fragmentary to interpret, and only one bipedal fragment is preserved (HST N239). While there is in general a larger proportion of animal figurines to bipedal figurines found at Hala Sultan Tekke (68.9%), domestic contexts see a predominance of them (78.6%).

Four figurines were excavated from production-related contexts. All four fragments resemble quadrupedal or bovine forms. Two figurines, HST N336 and L628-3, come from the same context. These two figurine fragments, while similar in the overall quadruped/bovine physical form, are very different in execution. HST N336 is made of Base Ring II ware, meaning that its color is a deep reddish-brown color with contrasting white painted decoration, and is thin-walled. Its break at the top of the neck

may suggest a handle. Based on the fabric, hollowness, and comparanda, this head fragment likely originally belonged to a rhyton, serving as the spout of the vessel.³ HST L628-3, on the other hand, is a White Painted fragment with a light, buff-colored fabric with red painted decoration, and smaller in size. This fragment is more likely to have been a free-standing, independent object. While they are similar in both context and overall body form, their production method and decoration point to two types of figural objects with distinct functions that would have required differing methods of interaction. A rhyton, for example, would have contained liquids, been held by a handle, and tipped to pour out its contents. A free-standing figurine, on the other hand, could have been carried around, picked up by its body, and placed in an area for display. This interplay between vessel and figurine will be explored further in the “Interpreting Figurines” section later in this chapter.

Five figurine fragments come from cultic contexts; however, four (HST N57, N58, L46-59, and L46-60) come from a single pit context, Pit V in Area A. Whereas figurines in domestic and production contexts come from multiple areas of excavation at Hala Sultan Tekke, those from cultic contexts seem to be more concentrated and likely much more intentional. The deposit of multiple figurines in one context is seen at other sites, most notably Enkomi, where hoards of figurines were found in the Ashlar Building and Sanctuary of the Horned God. While Enkomi is a unique case, it does suggest that there may be some importance to the act of depositing multiple figurines within cultic contexts. Large ritual deposits of figurines are common throughout the eastern

³ Comparanda include fully preserved and fragmented examples from other sites, most prominently four examples excavated in tomb contexts at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, KAD 81, 88, 738, and 743, included in this study.

Mediterranean, and the specific practice of depositing anthropomorphic clay figurines becomes extremely prevalent in Early Iron Age Cyprus at cultic centers such as Ayia Irini (Karageorghis 1993; Knapp 2011b). Of the figurines found in cultic contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke, one is bipedal, three are quadrupeds, and one non-organic (chariot fragment). The bipedal fragment most likely belongs to the Mycenaean *psi* style in its overall form and painted decoration, and was, along with the other three figurines found in the same context, imported from the Aegean.

Pit V at Hala Sultan Tekke and its figurine hoard is worth discussing further. The pit blurs the distinction between cultic and mortuary contexts. It is a rock-cut chamber tomb form common in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and is located near Tomb X, which shares a similar chambered form (Figure 4.32). The architectural form and location of the pit would suggest that Pit V served as a tomb. However, the contents of the pit, including lack of non-clay objects and no evidence of skeletal remains, point to it not being used as a tomb for human remains (Fischer and Bürge 2017b: 195). Yet its association with burials and death are integral to the activities and artifacts present within Pit V; any ritual activities at Pit V would have been within view of multigenerational Tomb X and its similar tomb-like shape is no coincidence. The fragmentary nature of the figurines and ceramics deposited in Pit V also suggest that, while Pit V did not serve as a tomb for human remains, it may have served that purpose for clay objects. Broken objects could be ritually interred and considered “dead”.⁴

⁴ See Grinsell 1961 for examples of ethnographic and archaeological examples of the ritual “killing” of objects.

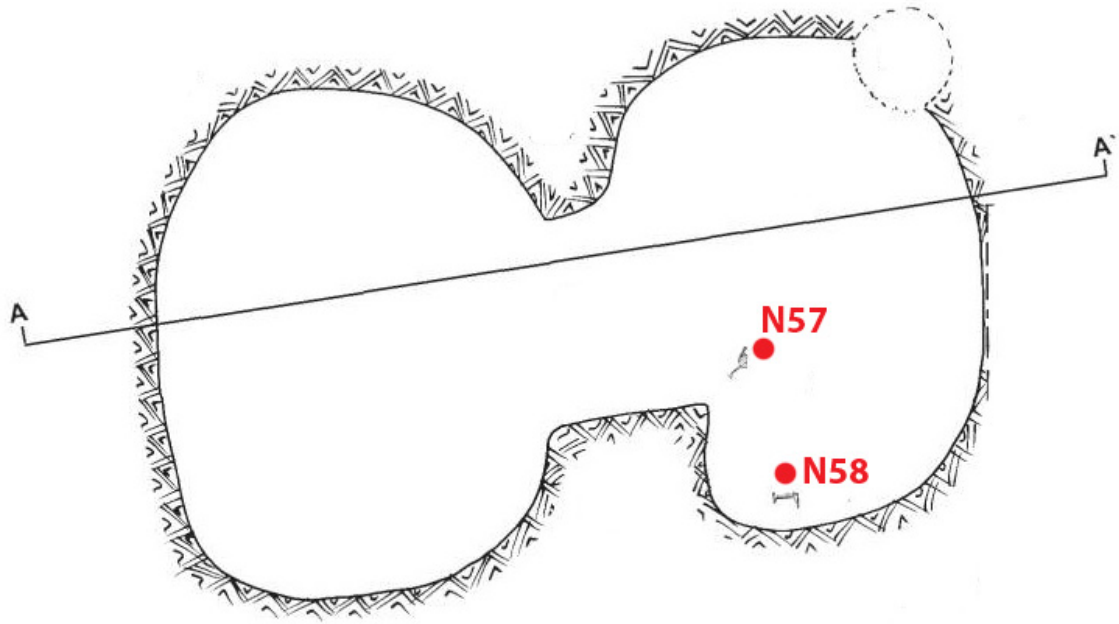


Figure 4.32: Plan of Pit V, Area A, Hala Sultan Tekke with the two known find-spots of figurines. Adapted from Fischer and Bürge 2017b: Fig. 30.

All four figurine fragments found in Pit V are made with Mycenaean fabrics and forms. They, along with a number of Mycenaean sherds, suggest that imported Aegean goods were ideal for ritual deposit in Pit V. The focus on imported ceramic goods is paralleled in grave good assemblages at Hala Sultan Tekke and more widely at coastal Cypriot sites, often being a signifier of one's elite status and access to foreign materials (see discussion of tomb practices in Chapter 3). The cultic practices at Pit V are tied to Tomb X and those interred within. Just as with funerary activities, these events were intended for the living, and Pit V's association with an elaborate chamber tomb likely aided in constructing and solidifying elite kin groups. This context and figurine fragment hoard will be discussed further below (see pp. 203-204).

Also worth noting is that the four figurine fragments from Pit V date to ProBA 2 (LC IIA-IIC); only three other figurines date to this period (L628-3, L-680-2, and N336),

and the remaining 23 well-dated fragments date to ProBA 3 (LC IIIA, see Table 1.3, p. 20). This brings up questions of use and communal knowledge of the activities happening at Pit V, as it seems to be temporally separate from the rest of the evidence for figurine use at the site. The earlier use of Pit V and the foreign-focused nature of the assemblage may suggest uses for figurines here that were significantly different in the later ProBA 3. Although the sample size is limited, especially when considered within a temporal framework, this quick discussion demonstrates that there may be some evidence for changing figurine use over time at a given site.

Only one figurine (HST 98 12-1 218) is found in a tomb context, with three additional fragments (HST N6504, N6086, and N6087) possibly belonging to another tomb context that was looted in antiquity. At least 80 tombs have been excavated thus far at Hala Sultan Tekke.⁵ Even if the three figurine fragments mentioned are interpreted as originally being deposited in a tomb, only two recorded tomb contexts have produced figurines. Because of the poor excavation and recording practices by Crowfoot, it is impossible to know how many tombs originally contained figurines. Of the tombs that have excavation records, clay figurines appear rarely, suggesting that figurines were not typically considered to be suitable grave good assemblages in Late Bronze Age Hala Sultan Tekke. As will be explored in Chapter 5, this can be said for all sites in this study, and, more broadly, can be extrapolated to argue that figurines are atypical for grave goods in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.⁶ Beyond this, the three fragments excavated together

⁵ Based on Fischer and Bürge's summary of excavations from the late 19th century to 2016. The large majority were excavated in the 1890's but poorly recorded, with Crowfoot excavating a minimum 50 tombs in one short season. 20th-century Cypriot and Swedish projects excavated (and partially published) at least 30 more tombs (see Fischer 2019; Fischer and Bürge 2017).

⁶ This is based on *recorded* tomb excavations. Many unprovenanced figurines (particularly bipedal ones) have claimed tomb contexts.

all belong to a common Mycenaean quadrupedal type and were likely imported. Because of a lack of evidence for figurines in tomb contexts at the site, it is plausible that these objects were chosen as part of a grave goods assemblage more for their foreignness than their figural form. Just as Mycenaean painted kraters and Levantine cylinder seals were given new functions in Cyprus, imported figurines could have also seen a shift in their use and meaning in the Aegean to one associated with foreignness, social status and group identity formation in Cyprus.

While attribute patterns are useful for interpretive frameworks, they cannot be discussed alone. The contextualization of figurines and figurine fragments is essential in understanding figurine use. When figurines are examined through patterns in archaeological context, figurine trends observed for the entire site become nuanced and context-specific. Figurine fragments in domestic contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke, for example, make up the majority of figurines from the site, and the general patterns in attributes at the whole site can be linked to the popularity of figurine use in domestic spaces. Figurines in cultic and tomb contexts display different trends, with an emphasis on imported figurines in cultic contexts and a general lack of figurines in mortuary contexts. Whereas figurines seem to be common in domestic contexts, they are not part of the regular grave good assemblage at Hala Sultan Tekke. These patterns in context point to specific spatial uses of figurines that would otherwise be missed in an examination of figurine attributes.

Patterns in Assemblages

Figurine assemblages were already touched upon in the previous section, but this section is dedicated to exploring questions of the types of objects with which figurines are found and how this can aid in reconstructing figurine use. For clarity, assemblages have been divided into four “types” (see Table 4.5). These categories are, like the contextual categories discussed previously, subjective and determinations have been made on my best judgement.

Assemblage	Characteristics
Type 1	Cypriot-made utilitarian material
Type 2	Cypriot-made utilitarian and fine-ware material
Type 3	Cypriot-made utilitarian and fine-ware, imported mass-produced material
Type 4	Cypriot and imported prestige goods

Table 4.5: Summary of assemblage type classifications.

Three figurine fragments occur with utilitarian Type 1 assemblages. All three fragments are quadrupeds, and the assemblages come from domestic contexts. Activities in these domestic spaces include cooking, liquid storage, and textile production. Two of the three fragments are White Painted, and the third is Plain Ware, which mirrors the ceramic assemblages with which these figurines are found. Because of the small number, it is difficult to elaborate on figurines in Type 1 assemblages beyond stating that figurines do not appear in utilitarian assemblages frequently and are instead associated with a larger number of fine ceramics and objects.

Assemblages categorized as Type 2 are characterized as containing only locally-made Cypriot goods. Six figurine fragments come from Type 2 assemblages at Hala Sultan Tekke. Two of these figurines are from contexts that are unknown in function, and the remaining four come from domestic contexts. The assemblages are made up of a

combination of Plain, White Slip, and White Painted Wheel-Made wares, along with some stone vessels, loom weights, and metal slag. The figurines are diverse in ware type—Plain, White Painted, Bichrome Base Ring, Red Polished, and Base Ring II. Three of the six figurine fragments belong to typically bipedal forms. While the sample size is extremely small, half of the figurines are more similar to the human form than that of a quadruped. This is not the case in any of the other assemblage types and may point to a specific domestic figurine use that can be identified by its assemblage. At Hala Sultan Tekke there is evidence (albeit limited) for a connection between assemblages containing only locally-made Cypriot goods and bipedal figurines.

Eight figurine fragments come from Type 3 assemblages, which contain a mixture of Cypriot and imported goods, mostly ceramics, but do not include luxury materials or prestige goods. An additional three figurines come from a disturbed context that features a Type 3 assemblage and I do not include them here, as their context and assemblage likely is a result of disturbance rather than use or intentional deposit. Of the contexts with known functions, all are domestic. As with Type 2 assemblages, there is a variety of ceramic wares present, but the figurines themselves are far less diverse in material: three are Base Ring II, three are Mycenaean, and two are White Painted. Unlike Type 1 and 2 assemblages, Type 3 assemblages can include multiple figurines, with two examples of Type 3 assemblages preserving multiple figurine fragments at Hala Sultan Tekke. Seven of the eight fragments are bovine, three of which are Mycenaean in origin, and there is one locally made *psi*-type bipedal figurine fragment. Six fragments contain leg and torso attributes, and seven feature painted decoration. Again, this is a small sample size, but the patterns that emerge in Type 3 assemblages show a more standard form of figurine

than those in Type 1 and 2 assemblages. Figurines in Type 3 assemblages at Hala Sultan Tekke can be defined as made of fine local or Mycenaean wares, decorated with painted geometric patterns, and usually in the form of a quadruped.

By far the most prevalent assemblage type is Type 4, defined by the inclusion of prestige and luxury goods. Thirteen figurine fragments come from Type 4 assemblages, and, unlike the other three assemblage types, they come from all four contexts presented in this chapter: domestic, production, cultic, and tomb. Head, midsection, and leg attributes are found in equal numbers, with five attestations each. Of particular interest is that all five head fragments also contain eyes. Hands, a rare attribute at Hala Sultan Tekke, are present in two fragments, from a tomb and cultic context respectively, and they represent the only such examples in the whole site corpus. The assemblages themselves are varied in contents but can all be characterized by a predominance of Aegean ceramics, particularly pictorial pottery (see Figure 4.33 for example), and luxury materials from the Levant and Egypt, such as faience, glass, gold, ivory, and turquoise. Only four of the 13 figurines are imports, and all four occur in the same assemblage and context. Twelve fragments feature decoration, with ten including painted decoration, four with applied decoration, and two with incised. Only one fragment, HST L232-9, has no decoration and is of Plain Ware fabric, meaning that this figurine is far simpler in material and production than any other in a Type 4 assemblage. The other fragments are an even mixture of Base Ring II (5), White Painted (4), and Mycenaean wares (4). Based on these patterns, general statements can begin to be made for figurines in luxury assemblages at Hala Sultan Tekke. Figurines belonging to Type 4 assemblages are relatively standardized in ware-types, similar to those in Type 3 assemblages, but are

more elaborate in both the objects with which they are found and the decoration of the figurines themselves. They are found in a variety of contexts, and most notably all figurines found in production, tomb, and cultic contexts are defined as having this elite Type 4 assemblage.



Figure 4.33: Selection of ceramic finds from Area A, Pit V, including a painted Mycenaean krater (No. 4, previously discussed in Chapter 3), figurine HST N57 (No. 7), and Mycenaean beaked jug (No. 8). Type 4 assemblage. Fischer and Bürge 2017a: 66.

Consideration of assemblages helps to nuance contextual discussions of figurine use and meaning. While some figurines are found in the same context-types, their assemblages can be very different, and likely point to figurines meeting different needs in

specific spaces. A figurine in a domestic cooking context with a utilitarian assemblage, for example, was likely intended for a different audience than a figurine in a large domestic courtyard with a luxury assemblage. The use and meaning of these figurines would have been context- and assemblage-specific, and, as emphasized above, a consideration of context and assemblage is essential to using patterns in figurine attributes as an interpretive framework.

Interpreting Figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke

What do all these patterns in attributes, context, and assemblage tell us about figurine practices at Late Bronze Age Hala Sultan Tekke? The general trends discussed above, when contextualized within this project's theoretical framework, provide several observations about figurine use at the site: evidence for the intentional deposition and possible intentional fragmentation of figurines in cultic practices, a preoccupation with bovine iconography, a close association between figurines and vessels, an emphasis on visually-focused interactions with figurines, and a connection between figurines and elite paraphernalia and assemblages. While these site-wide patterns reveal a number of functional aspects, an attribute and comparative analysis can also be used on a single figurine. To demonstrate this, this section will conclude with a discussion of the well-preserved bipedal figurine HST 98 12-1 218 (pp. 183-184, above), exploring how the clay, and by extension the human, body is represented and contextually used at Hala Sultan Tekke.

Intentional Fragmentation and Disposal

As alluded to in the discussion of patterns in attributes, the large majority (32 of 33) of figural objects at Hala Sultan Tekke are fragments; they are not complete or intact figurines. The prominence of fragmentation in the dataset begs the question: what does this fragmentation mean? Theoretical concepts surrounding fragmentation were introduced in Chapter 2 and, generally, fragmentation is understood to have contextually-specific meanings: fragmented “body parts can stand metonymically for whole bodies, can function as objects of exchange, symbols of fertility, as well as proofs of ancestry and inheritance” (Rebay-Salisbury *et al.* 2010: 2). What is unclear, however, is the intentionality behind either the fragmentation or the deposition of fragments. This section focuses on examples with more clearly defined, purposeful deposition and extrapolates on fragmentation within the figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke more broadly.

Generally, there is a focus on domestic contexts and Type 3 and 4 assemblages within the figurine corpus at Hala Sultan Tekke. These patterns have been used to interpret the dataset as a whole, but the fact that almost all figurines at the site are fragmented means that these are patterns for figurine fragments rather than intact figurines. All 24 quadrupedal figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke, for example, are fragments—there are clear breaks visible demonstrating that these objects were created and originally looked different than what is preserved in the archaeological record. These quadrupedal fragments come from a variety of context types; 13 from domestic contexts, four from production, and four from cultic. Assemblages are also varied, with quadrupedal fragments found at all assemblage types: three from Type 1, three from Type 2, eight from Type 3, and 10 from Type 4. All these fragments are elements of larger

figurines whose remaining parts have either not been recovered by excavation or have not survived archaeologically. It seems almost impossible that all 32 figurine fragments at Hala Sultan Tekke were broken by accident or are simple debris with the rest of the figurine mysteriously missing. Instead, there are at least some instances suggesting that purposeful fragmentation may have occurred at Hala Sultan Tekke.

There are six figurines that have clear, intentional deposition, five of which are fragments. HST N57, N58, L46-59, and L46-60 are four figurine fragments found in the same context, Pit V in Area A, previously discussed above (pp. 192-194). Three of these four fragments are torso and leg fragments, while the final one, HST L46-60, is a chariot fragment. These fragments are found along with other fragmented or broken prestige goods in what I argue could be considered a tomb for objects due to the proximity to human burials, the tomb-like architecture of the pit itself, and the fragmented nature of the objects deposited.

The figurine fragments in Pit V were not simply disposed of after breakage. Instead, the act of fragmentation—whether intentional or otherwise—produced an object that needed to be ritually interred. The fragments, all of which are Aegean imports, held significance as both whole-body and fragmentary figurines. It could be hypothesized that, after a figurine's use was considered done, the object was purposefully broken, or “killed”, and then laid to rest in a tomb of other ritually killed prestige goods. The proximity of an elite multigenerational tomb suggests that Pit V and its contents are associated with this kin group and their funerary practices. The four figurine fragments in Pit V could be interpreted as simply reflecting the importance of imported Mycenaean wares and figurines in elite practices at Hala Sultan Tekke, but an examination that

includes fragmentation creates a more nuanced understanding of the use-lives of figurines at the site, including the ritual breaking and depositing of fragments.



Figure 4.34: “Horned God Krater,” HST N121, Room 35, Stratum 2, Area 6W. Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer and Bürge 2014: 81.

The final intentionally-deposited fragment, HST L305-1, is a quadrupedal horn fragment found in Room 35 (Area 6W, City Quarter 2; Figure 4.35), a cultic context in the middle of a copper production area at Hala Sultan Tekke, with evidence of copper slag and tuyères in the surrounding rooms (Fischer and Bürge 2014: 72-73). Also found in this room is the “Horned God Krater” (Figure 4.34). The “Horned God Krater” is of local production and design and the animal iconography and geometric patterns are typical of this type of White Painted Wheel-Made ware. The frontal horned human figure with tasseled body covering is more unusual. The conical headdress with horns resembles those depicted on the Horned God and Ingot God bronze statues, and the connection between the bipedal figure and bovines is made obvious in the large bull depicted in the next panel. The bull, led by a small bipedal figure, includes long horns,

detailed limb articulation, and phallus. The physical dominance of horns on the intact painted krater suggests that a deposit of a singular horn fragment in the same context could be meaningful and intentional.

Beyond this, there is a tie between clay bovine iconography and copper production within Area 6W at Hala Sultan Tekke more broadly. This is best evidenced by the horn fragment and krater in cultic Room 35, as well as additional bovine figurine fragments found in Room 31 (HST L332-1) and Room 37 (HST L347-1). The additional two bovine fragments are head fragments, both of which preserve eyes, and, importantly, HST L347-1 includes a horn as well. Their connection within the production space to the ritually-deposited HST L305-1 suggests that these too may have been intentionally broken or deposited. While limited in nature, there is some evidence to suggest purposeful deposition of body fragments in the copper production area within Area 6W and a ritual importance behind the breaking and deposition of such bovine bodies. What these fragmented bodies mean is still open to interpretation—fragments of bodies can be used as a representation of the whole or become an entirely new symbolic object—but the fact that these figurine fragments are more than just archaeological detritus is significant in and of itself.

This section demonstrates the need to consider the purpose, meaning, and use of fragmented figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Fragmentation will be brought up again in Chapter 5, but even within this site-based analysis at Hala Sultan Tekke, it is clear that figurine breakage needs to be included within a contextual analysis of figurine use and meaning.

Importance of Bovine Iconography at Hala Sultan Tekke:

The majority of figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke are quadrupeds and many include horns, suggesting they are bovine. Bovines, particularly bulls, are a popular motif in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and are an important symbol in the eastern Mediterranean more broadly. As discussed in Chapter 3, horns can be used to signify divinity in the Late Bronze Age and there is significant evidence for the cultic importance of bovines as seen in the ritual deposit of cow skulls excavated in the unit of Rooms 9, 10, 13, and 45, typically referred to as the Sanctuary of the Horned God, at Enkomi (Papasavvas 2014: 251), among other cultic contexts, including Room 35 in Area 6W at Hala Sultan Tekke just discussed above. However, cows go beyond divine iconography. After a hiatus of 4,000 years, cattle were reintroduced to Cyprus during the Prehistoric Bronze Age and were vital in the rapid development of an agro-pastoral economy and the beginnings of social stratification (Keswani 1996; Swiny 2008a: 43; Knapp 2013: 304). Figurines of cows begin to appear in large numbers during the Prehistoric Bronze Age and are even included in elaborate group scenes like the Bellapais *Vounous* model (Steel 2013b: 53-54; Figure 4.36). Their social importance in Cyprus during the Bronze Age is unquestionable, so it should be no surprise to see them occurring so frequently in clay at the end of the second millennium BCE. Ties between increasing social complexity and domestic cattle in the Prehistoric Bronze Age makes images of bovines ideal to continue symbolically to establish and reinforce social ties and hierarchy in the Late Bronze Age.



Figure 4.36: The Bellapais *Vounous* model. Early-Middle Cypriot. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Sneddon 2019: 2.

Although anthropomorphic figurines tend to be the focus of Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurine scholarship, they are in the minority at Hala Sultan Tekke. Instead, zoomorphs—bovines in particular—are the most common figural forms. The popularity of animal figurines suggests that animal bodies were deemed more important to depict in clay. This can be contrasted with contemporary figurine practices in Mycenae, where bipedal figurines are more than twice as common as quadrupeds (Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 268). As will be shown in Chapter 5, Hala Sultan Tekke’s focus on bovine figurines is paralleled at all sites in this study, and points to a clear importance of these animals in clay.

Of course, figurines do not exist by themselves. They are created by and for humans. As was emphasized in Chapter 3, animals are not simple beasts of burden or subsistence, but instead are tied closely with the embodied experience of daily life, community, and identity. In the Bellapais *Vounous* model, for example, the relationship

between human and animal is deep and complex: to represent an image of prehistoric Bronze Age life, whether mundane or ceremonial, it was also necessary to depict the animals that were part of it (Steel 2013b: 67-68). This concept may be related to the popularity of bovine figurines in the Late Bronze Age, particularly within the realm of ritual practices and contexts. The broken bovine horns and heads in Area 6W at Hala Sultan Tekke point to a cultic importance of bull imagery within a space dedicated to the most important export in Cyprus at the time: copper. The activities of fragmenting, holding, or depositing bovine figurines are performed in spaces central to the control of resources and power at the site.

Based on the popularity of bovine figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke, there is a clear importance both within and outside of cultic practices placed on cows. While these quadrupeds could be viewed as mundane, they can relate to much larger issues that shape the human experience including social relations and identity formation. Bovine bodies were central to local negotiations of social, economic, and religious power and the quadrupedal figurine fragments that remain in the archaeological record at Hala Sultan Tekke reflect this.

Connections between Figurines and Vessels

Six figurine fragments at Hala Sultan Tekke, HST L673-2, L232-9, L577-3, L263-4, N336, and N101, provide evidence that they were part of a hollow vessel and would have served the practical function of storing and pouring liquids.⁷ These objects,

⁷ These include circular breaks on the top of the neck where handles would have been placed, large hollow midsections for liquid storage, and perforated mouths that could serve as spouts.

all rhyta save HST N101, would have been used at the same events as other vessels, with activities including the mixing, pouring, and drinking of liquids. Rhyta are typically in the shape of animals and all five rhyton fragments at Hala Sultan Tekke can be identified as bovine. HST N101, a hollow biped head with headdress that likely served as the spout to a juglet, is unusual in its form. What is clear is, as with the blurred symbolic division between human and animal, there is also a blurring between what constitutes a figurine and what constitutes a vessel. This line of inquiry will be further explored in Chapter 5 (see pp. 261-263).

The contexts and assemblages of these figural vessel fragments are varied. Two fragments come from domestic contexts, two from production, and two are unknown. Three fragments come from Type 2 assemblages, one from Type 3, and two from Type 4. The two Type 4, or prestige goods, assemblages, are from production contexts. Because of the small sample size, there is little to say about rhyta other than that they are found in spaces associated with daily life—although they are often considered part of elite feasting sets, they are also visible and used within domestic and production contexts. Just as in the Bellapais *Vounous* model, which is physically bowl-shaped, some Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines have a connection to vessels and, due to this, may be used in practices surrounding the pouring and consumption of liquids.

Elite Consumption and Figurines

Generally, figurines tend to be found in contexts and assemblages associated with elite activities. Twenty-one of 33 figurines (64%) at Hala Sultan Tekke are found in assemblages with at least some imported wares, and within this 13 (62% of imported

ware assemblages and 39% of the entire corpus) are found in rich assemblages with prestige goods. These assemblages are found in all context categories, and aid in determining the elite social standing of the individuals using and living in these spaces. Figurines belonging to non-luxury or non-elite assemblages (i.e., Type 1 and Type 2) are only found in domestic contexts, and I argue that this points to a distinctly different use of figurines within domestic spaces. Figurines and the other objects with which they are found in domestic contexts fit different needs that are not necessary in production, cultic, or tomb contexts.

There are nine figurine fragments that I interpret as being from non-elite spaces. Of these, three are bipedal or human-looking, meaning that there is a higher proportion of bipedal figurines in these assemblages (33%) than what is observed more broadly at the site (24%), or within any other assemblage type.⁸ While most figurines in domestic contexts are quadrupeds, the slightly higher number of preserved bipedal fragments suggests a desire to use and display human-looking figurines within the non-elite domestic sphere.

The patterns in assemblage discussed above (pp. 186-190) point to different figurine uses within elite and non-elite spheres. The majority of figurines are from foreign goods and elite-focused assemblages. Because of the higher frequency of elite assemblages, it can be argued that figurines were important within the elite sphere at Hala Sultan Tekke, and that there are context-specific elite interactions with and consumption of figurines at the site.

⁸ Three more anthropomorphic fragments are found in Type 3 assemblages, and two more in Type 4. If these combined are considered the elite assemblages, then 24% of figurines represented are bipedal.

Expanding on the discussions above, this section examines the high number of head fragments and attributes originally discussed under the “Patterns in Attributes” section. Almost all head fragments depict eyes and there is a clear desire to depict eyes when the head is present. Eyes, as applied to humans, are typically associated with sight and the ability to see, although they can also be connected to liquids through the production of tears, as López-Bertran has argued in her study of Punic figural vessels in the western Mediterranean (López-Bertran 2016).⁹

While the vessel-shaped figurines discussed above could provide evidence for the association between eyes, figurines, and liquids, previous scholarship on Late Bronze Age Cypriot drinking and feasting events has persuasively argued there for a link between the multi-sensory nature of these events and the visual display of community identity, power, and control (see Chapter 3; Fisher 2014; 2023; Steel 2004b).¹⁰ Not only is access to these spaces controlled, but access to the feasting assemblage used during these activities—including rhyta, clay figurines, and Mycenaean kraters—can be limited. Who and what can be seen within this context are all symbolic of the social negotiations of power at the site (see Fisher 2023: 278). The ability to control one’s vision through limiting access is a powerful tool to establish social, economic, and political dominance.

A connection between eye attributes and the concept of seeing is strengthened by the decorative aspects of the figurine corpus at Hala Sultan Tekke. Thirty of the 33

⁹ López-Bertran’s argument revolves around the predominance of eye attributes associated with closed vessel forms, arguing for a close link between eyes and liquids, as opposed to eyes and visual aspects of seeing. See methodology section in Chapter 1 (pp. 27-29) for full overview.

¹⁰ As Fisher 2023 has convincingly argued, some feasting events were more focused on communal identity that reached beyond social hierarchy, while other were more focused on the reinforcement of elite groups.

figurine fragments have preserved decoration that is either incised, applied, or painted. There are 25 attestations of painted decoration, making it by far the most popular decorative technique at the site, representing 85% of all decoration and present on 76% of the entire corpus. While incised and applied decoration have a haptic element—you can physically feel these decorative techniques—painted decoration is flat and two-dimensional. Superficial painting can only be appreciated through sight, perhaps suggesting that eye attributes emphasize the importance of visual interactions between people and figurines.

When considered within the frameworks of miniaturization and materiality, eyes take on far more meaning than just visually-oriented senses. Eyes can become more abstracted and symbolically-laden, and human interactions require an acknowledgement of these miniature body parts. Interactions with miniaturizations can go beyond a person simply interacting with a clay body. Instead, they take on complicated, context-specific meanings that can be part of community negotiations of identity, including group affiliation, beliefs, and daily practice.¹¹

If fragmentation theory is applied in addition to miniaturization, then a small head and eye fragment can take on even more meaning, as even a single body part can be used to symbolize the whole. The frequency of eyes, on a literal level, suggests that they were seen as important to depict on figurines. While the visual interaction with figurines is central within the context of Late Bronze Age Hala Sultan Tekke, eyes could also be chosen to be depicted because they are essential for representing a living being in clay.

¹¹ Williams (2011), for example, has argued that the proliferation of representations of eyes, what he refers to as “ocular art,” in Sutton Hoo’s Mound I burial, emphasizes the importance not only of seeing during mortuary rituals, but also animacy and interaction of the dead with the living.

The popularity of finely crafted prestige goods, such as jewelry and feasting paraphernalia, within elite spaces demonstrates the importance of display in the establishment of social identity and hierarchy. I argue that, within the elite sphere, figurines gain significance through their display and use. A predominance of eye attributes may reflect the focus of presentation in these contexts and, by extension, the importance of audience and display in the embodied experience of people at Hala Sultan Tekke. Eyes and the associated sensory experience of seeing were an essential element of the creation and reification of the social body that is reflected in clay.

The Clay Anthropomorphic Body at Hala Sultan Tekke

Thus far the discussion has centered on overall patterns at Hala Sultan Tekke, but a context and attribute-focused methodology can also be used to interpret a single figurine. A close examination of attributes across a site as well as on an object-by-object basis are productive ways to examine figurine use and meaning, and through a detailed analysis of HST 98 12-1 218 (Figure 4.31), issues surrounding the clay body can be further explored.

This analysis first begins by introducing the key trends in bipedal and human-looking figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke. The discussion then turns to HST 98 12-1 218, as it is the most intact figurine from Hala Sultan Tekke and is the only one found in a tomb context. Its uniqueness, in both preservation and context, makes it an unusual example within the corpus and provides an opportunity to use an attribute-focused methodology to interpret the use and meaning of a single object.

HST 98 12-1 218 is one of eight bipedal or human-looking figurines at Hala

Sultan Tekke, and the group features attribute and decorative patterns unique from the rest of the site's corpus, as previously discussed in "Patterns in Attributes" (pp. 188-190). There is variation in figurine fabrics, with examples in White Painted, Red Polished, Base Ring II, Bichrome, and Mycenaean wares. Human-looking figurines occur in Type 2, 3, and 4 assemblages, but unfortunately five fragments come from undetermined contexts, making it difficult to discuss the contextual use of bipedal figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke with any real substance.

What can be explored, however, are the trends in attributes and decorative techniques and how these differ from non-bipedal fragments. Every human-looking head fragment¹², for example, includes a nose, while noses only appear on half of animal head fragments. The noses within the anthropomorphic group range in shape and size but can be described as large triangles that are pinched out from the face and are the main focal point of the face in three of the four head fragments. The two examples of preserved ears are similar in shape—large semicircles jutting out from the sides of the face—and include at least two large circular perforations, presumably to represent piercings as evidenced in the preserved earrings on HST 98 12-1 218. More generally, bipedal figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke tend to have more uncommon attributes, such as eyebrows, breasts, hips, arms, and fingers. It is far more common for bipedal figurines to include multiple decorative techniques, with applied and incised decoration frequently featured together and found on four of the eight bipedal fragments. Incised decoration is found on 50% of

¹² Human-looking does not necessarily mean bipedal, as human-like heads could potentially be attached quadrupedal bodies.

decorated bipedal and 9% of decorated quadrupedal fragments, while applied decoration is found on 50% of decorated bipedal and 18% of decorated quadrupedal fragments.

There are two main forms of bipedal figurines. First, there are three that are either imported or imitating Mycenaean *psi*-style figurines. These figurines are smaller and more abstracted than the other five bipedal fragments. All three examples feature painted geometric patterns in deep red to reddish brown, and arms and legs are not individually articulated. The second form is the larger, more detail-oriented locally made bipedal figurine. This category, to which HST 98 12-1 218 belongs, is defined by multiple decorative techniques, especially incisions, detailed facial features, and articulated (or at least outlined) limbs.

While similar in that they are anthropomorphic, the two forms served distinctive purposes at Hala Sultan Tekke through their contrast in size, maneuverability, elaboration, and abstractness. As discussed in Chapter 2, scale, size, and material affordances have a deep impact on figurine-human interactions. The *psi*-type figurines, for example, could easily be held and transported, and were free-standing thanks to their fluted bases. The larger ones, while still hand-held in size, would be much more cumbersome to hold, and required additional support to stand. The decorative styles also encourage different methods of viewing and moving the figurines, with the smaller *psi*-type focused on abstracted and geometric painted designs while the larger figurines emphasize detailed incised and applied attributes. These contrasting general forms promote diverse types of human interactions and actions, with the smaller encouraging being held and put down, and possibly being carried when travelling. The larger

figurines, on the other hand, visually promote a close observation and being moved in the hand from side to side to take in all the intricate detail.

Although the dataset of bipedal figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke is small, the forms and attributes clearly signal them as not only different from their quadrupedal counterparts, but also from one another. Bipedal figurine fragments occur in a mixture of non-utilitarian assemblages and feature a wide range of body attributes and decorative techniques. These trends in attributes can be used to interpret bipedal use more generally, but the patterns also clearly point to two main forms of bipedal figurines—small abstracted and painted, and larger intricately incised forms. The physical aspects of bipedal figurines encourage different types of human interactions, and the practical use of these objects would vary dependent on how they could be carried and manipulated.

HST 98 12-1 218 can be described as a standard Late Cypriot bipedal female figurine. The figurine features a head predominantly taken up by a large nose, applied eyes with incised pupils, and large protruding ears with two piercings each. Below the head is a curved, violin-shaped body with a smaller breast area, defined waist, and wide hips with an incised pubic triangle, and two legs tapering down to small, pointed feet. The breasts are individually articulated, and the arms curve in to rest just below the breasts. The pubic region is incised in a triangle shape and the pubic hair denoted in small diagonal incised lines.

Compared to the attributes most common on figurine fragments from Hala Sultan Tekke, this figurine contains a large number of rare bodily attributes, including ears, breasts, hands, pubic triangle, and feet. It is also the only figurine found in a secure tomb context (see Table 4.4, p. 191) and belongs to the most elaborate and richest assemblage

of the corpus. Its uniqueness points to a special meaning and function of this figurine, and its form, style, and bodily attributes can be used to examine those elements of the human body that not only were considered important to portray in clay within this tomb context, but that were key to establishing and reinforcing elite identities at Hala Sultan Tekke.

A visual analysis of HST 98 12-1 218 begins with the head and its attributes. Its large eyes emphasize sight and parallel the eye attribute focus of the larger figurine corpus at the site. The various incised decorations and the inclusion of earrings further support visuals and seeing, as they encourage the viewer to absorb and appreciate all the detail. The large ears with multiple piercings and earrings are particularly interesting. Were the ears portrayed so large to emphasize the ears themselves and their role within the human body (i.e., hearing), or were they so large as to physically support what is on them, the earrings? While there are only two examples of this type of ear at Hala Sultan Tekke, they both include piercings. In addition to earrings, HST 98 12-1 218 also features incised lines around the neck, likely representing necklaces. This display of jewelry echoes the grave good assemblage of the tomb context, which includes gold and silver rings, a gold diadem, and glass and carnelian beads (Åström *et al.* 1976: 4-5). Based on the amount of bodily decoration present on the figurine and in the assemblage, it is plausible that the intention of these ears was not to emphasize the ears themselves, but instead to display the piercings and earrings. The emphasis here is on jewelry and display, again strengthening the importance of display and visual signifiers, and the rich tomb assemblage suggests an elite audience. As discussed in Chapter 3, elite bodily decoration and presentation centered on visual displays of power and wealth. I would

argue that HST 98 12-1 218 reflected this sentiment and represented a specific elite identity at Hala Sultan Tekke.

As much scholarship on Cypriot figurines focuses on issues of gender and sexuality (see, for example, Bolger and Serwint 2002 edited volume; Bolger 2003; Budin 2011; Ribeiro 2002), it would be remiss to ignore the sexual attributes present on HST 98 12-1 218, which I argue serve a practical purpose in the formation of group identity at Hala Sultan Tekke. There is no denying that the breasts, hips, and pubic triangle are the focus of the figurine's body—little else on the midsection or legs is decorated and the attention to bodily curvature and size make them stand out. Breasts, while small, are visually emphasized by the arms, which literally curve inward to guide the viewer's eye to the breasts and torso. The pubic triangle takes up the hip area, the widest part of the figurine's body, and the amount of incised decoration make it stand out from the rest of the body. This focus on female sex organs point to an emphasis on the sexual and reproductive power of the body. This powerful, sexual body is also decorated with jewelry and found in a context and assemblage that are clearly elite in nature. Noted in Chapter 3, female elite burials increase in elaboration during the Late Bronze Age, suggesting that women held important roles in the establishment and maintenance of elite social groups. A representation of an elite female body may be a symbol of elite kin groups created through women or familial ties. The fact that HST 98 12-1 218 was found in a multigenerational chamber tomb context supports this hypothesis, and this figurine can be linked symbolically and physically to the reinforcing of elite status through ancestral ties.

Like other types of bodies present in the archaeological record in the Cypriot Late

Bronze Age, clay bodies and their meanings can change based on the needs and desires of their users. This can best be reconstructed through an analysis based on patterns in attributes, contexts, and assemblages, as has been done here. Hala Sultan Tekke sees a focus on specifically elite bodies, both in clay and in the flesh. Sight, visual display, and the control of access are key to elite identity and community at the site, and this is echoed in the elite assemblages and figurines used at Hala Sultan Tekke. On both a corpus-wide and an individual figurine analysis, it becomes clear that the clay body could be an important tool in the creation and enforcement of social and kin groups. The question of whether this was done on a purely symbolic visual level is still open to debate and will be further explored as the dataset expands beyond Hala Sultan Tekke in Chapter 5.

“Bird-Faced” Figurines and the Human-Animal Divide

This artistic style of HST 98 12-1 218 and HST N207 (Figures 4.31 and 4.21, respectively) is typically described as “bird-faced” for the large, protruding beak-like nose, with examples of similar figurines from other sites in this study including Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Nos. 524 and 561 (Karageorghis 1993; Knapp 2013: 390-391). The stylistic name itself is worth noting as it again demonstrates a trend in human-animal hybrids within bodily representations, previously introduced in Chapter 3. Even in the most recognizably anthropomorphic figural style during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age, animal body attributes are present.

While bird-like figurine bodies are not attested in the archaeological record for Late Bronze Age Cyprus, they do appear painted on ceramics, and the choice to depict

the human face with strong avian similarities is likely not a coincidence. Not all heads on bipedal figurines are bird-faced. Of the four “anthropomorphic” heads preserved from Hala Sultan Tekke, two are bird-faced, and two are not (HST N101 and HST N215). There is a conscious choice to create some bipedal figurines with specific, bird-like characteristics. In her examination of bird-faced anthropomorphic Punic figurines, López-Bertan suggests that the avian heads may represent masks worn by humans in certain ritual activities (2012: 97-98). The use of animal heads as masks is attested to in Archaic Cyprus and possibly also Late Bronze Age Cyprus (see discussion of figurine wearing bucranium, Chapter 3 pp. 115-116, Averett 2015; 2020), and there are four fragments of clay masks included in this study: ENK 2875/4, ENK 761/A, KIT 553, and KIT 507.¹³ ENK 761/A and KIT 553 are both fragments of “grotesque” masks, which, while similar to Humbaba masks in Mesopotamia and the Levant,¹⁴ likely represent a local adaptation of a demon figure (Figure 4.37, Averett 2015: 10).



Figure 4.37: KIT 553 (reconstructed). Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX.

¹³ KIT 507 is less certain, as the excavators suggest it could either be a mask or a protome (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 70), but because it shares similar shape (a face mask) to the others, I have included it. These masks, including KIT 553 (Fig. 4.35), mainly come from LCIII contexts (Karageorghis 2011: 21).

¹⁴ Humbaba masks are a common mask-type throughout the Levant meant to represent the apotropaic, intestine-faced monster from the Epic of Gilgamesh (Graff 2012: 139).

The act of wearing an animal (real or mythological) mask may not just be for visual transformation—the wearer’s sense of self, or personhood, can be altered to become a hybrid human-animal being (López-Bertan 2012: 98). If the suggestion that “bird-faced” figurines are wearing masks is accepted, it completely shifts the narrative surrounding these anthropomorphic figurines from representations of the female body to a consideration of ritual practices involving the wearing of animal parts and their representation in clay.

If bird-faced figurines are not wearing masks, then the faces themselves have transformed into something more-than-human. Newman and Rossi, for example, have argued that the boundaries between human and non-human (and between different types of non-humans) are purposefully blurred in Mayan art and writing—humans can “become” different animals by shifting their appearance by taking on characteristic attributes of animals; a human can become a deer by moving like one or wearing a costume in the likeness of one. Additionally, other animals can “become” other animals, as monkeys can become deer-like or human-like through the appropriation of visual characteristics in art (Newman and Rossi 2022: 372-373).

There are, of course, other human-animal hybrids known in the eastern Mediterranean. The sphinx is a popular motif in the Late Bronze Age, found in contexts throughout Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean (for example, Figure 4.38).¹⁵ In the Aegean, the Protogeometric Lefkandi centaur is the best-known example of a clay human-animal hybrid figurine, but there is also evidence for quadrupeds with

¹⁵ See Nys 2018 for a detailed catalog of depictions of sphinxes during the second millennium BCE eastern Mediterranean and Feldman (2006: 59) for discussion of the importance of the motif within the Late Bronze Age International Style *koiné*.

human heads during the Late Bronze Age in Crete and mainland Greece, as well as two examples of possible Mycenaean-made centaur figurines at Ugarit (Desborough et al. 1970: 28; Nys 2018: 238-239; Shear 2002: 147-148).



Figure 4.38: Gold foil with sphinxes, Enkomi. Musée du Louvre AM 2164.

Within these examples of hybrid beings, the divide between what is human and what is animal is purposefully blurred in artistic representations. The lack of distinction as shown in the “bird-faced” bipedal figurines likely reflects concepts of the body that may differ from the human-animal binary commonplace in the 21st century.

Conclusion

The figurine corpus at Hala Sultan Tekke is diverse, but the patterns discussed in this chapter show that even a small sample-size case-study has great interpretive potential on both a broader site-wide and object level. Patterns in attributes show a focus on eyes on head fragments and a predominance of quadrupedal forms. These trends are further complicated by context; most of the attribute trends observed reflect figurines used in domestic contexts, while those in production, cultic, and mortuary contexts are more

varied in attribute patterns. Finally, analysis of assemblages points to a connection between figurines and imported goods.

The figurines differ in production technique and style, context, and assemblage, but through an examination of attribute patterns, two main interpretations can be made. First, bovines make up the majority of the figurine dataset, and point to a symbolic importance of cow and bull iconography within elite spheres at the site. Bovines are an essential part of the embodied experience of people at Hala Sultan Tekke, and their representation in clay reflects the literal and symbolic importance of bulls and cows within Late Bronze Age Cypriot society. Second, most figurines at Hala Sultan Tekke are part of elite practices centered on social display. This concept of display is likely tied to elite use and consumption, emphasized by the high number of elite and prestige goods assemblages as well as a focus on decorative techniques.

The following chapter builds on the Hala Sultan Tekke case study, providing an overview of the patterns in attributes, contexts, and assemblages for all sites in this study, including Hala Sultan Tekke. These patterns and trends can then be compared to those which were thoroughly discussed above, examining the efficacy of an attribute-focused analysis at a site and object level, as well as considering the degree of local variation in figurine production, use, and meaning.

CHAPTER 5: PATTERNS ACROSS CASE-STUDY SITES

Introduction

Hala Sultan Tekke does not exemplify all the sites in this study, nor are the patterns in attributes, context, and assemblage the same across all case study sites. This chapter discusses the overall trends within the dataset and will focus on the case studies that demonstrate the value of this dissertation's methodology. There are a few key patterns visible within the dataset as a whole, but there are also site-specific trends, which I refer to as "counterpatterns." These counterpatterns demonstrate that Late Bronze Age Cyprus was not culturally monolithic, but instead was a setting where communities were diverse in their production, use, and consumption of clay figurines. While there are clear trends in figurine use and meaning at all six sites, there is still room for local interpretation. Local expressions of broader trends reflect the socio-political organization of the island at the time and add nuance to figurine analysis. The counterpatterns should not be viewed as in opposition to the main patterns, but instead variants of figurine production and use that reflect local adaptation or innovation.

First, attribute patterns will be introduced. Within attributes, head fragments and facial attributes are the primary focus. Alassa serves as a counterpattern example for attributes, as it is the only site within this study that has not produced bipedal figurine fragments.

The predominance of domestic contexts is the focus within context patterns, with the cultic contexts at Kition and the administrative city-center contexts at Kalavassos

Ayios Dhimitrios serving as counterpatterns. While there is some blurring between the categories used to define each context, the evidence presented in this section will argue that figurine use and meaning is context-specific, and the same figurine can have variable functions within different context-types.

The patterns in assemblages throughout the data will then be discussed. Of particular importance are assemblages that include imported materials and products, such as Mycenaean ceramics or Levantine cylinder seals, as these assemblages signify knowledge of and access to foreign goods and ideas. These Type 3 and Type 4 assemblages can be found in a variety of contexts, but their focus on imported and decorated materials points to elite consumption of the assemblages. Alassa again serves as a counterpattern, as it provides the most evidence for non-elite figurine use, with many of the figurines coming from Type 2 (i.e., Cypriot-only material) assemblages.

Finally, patterns in fragmentation will be introduced. Over 80% of the dataset is fragmented, which begs the question: why? The discussion will focus on possible evidence for intentional fragmentation and deposition of figurine fragments, arguing that although there is no clear evidence of intentional fragmentation at all sites, there is still enough evidence to point to the practice of depositing broken figurines as part of ritual activities at some sites during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age.

These distinctive patterns in attributes, context, assemblage, and fragmentation indicate specific meanings and uses for figurines that might otherwise be glossed over when looking at the “big picture” patterns.

Patterns in Attributes

This dissertation is in part intended to be a case study in the applicability of an attribute-focused analysis of figurines. There is a total of 241 figurine fragments within the corpus (see Table 5.10 at the end of this chapter, Appendix I for full catalog). The tension between what is human and what is animal as represented in clay figurines was discussed at some length in Chapter 4, but is it worth revisiting the topic and considering how the dataset as a whole impacts those initial interpretations. Of the 241 fragments in this dissertation's dataset, 144 (60%) are quadrupeds. In contrast, there are 68 (28%) bipedal or human-looking head fragments in the corpus.¹ One of the most surprising takeaways from the data is the strong focus on animal bodies—as will be discussed in Chapter 6, this stands in clear contrast with the emphasis on human figurines within scholarship on Late Cypriot figurines.

Only 42 (17.3%) figurines have the full body preserved. At first glance this may seem to suggest that individual body parts, versus the body as a whole, were prioritized in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, but an analysis of the patterns in fragmentation, discussed below (pp. 276-280), suggests that fragmented bodies had multiple meanings, all dependent on context and assemblage. Regardless of the fragmented nature of the bodies in this dataset, attributes can still prove useful in interpreting figurine use and meaning in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Because there are equal numbers of heads and torsos preserved (109 each), the patterns in face and torso-specific attributes can be discussed with confidence.

¹ The remaining 29 fragments are either too fragmentary or are not figurines of lifeforms (such as chariot wheels).

This discussion begins at the literal “top” of the body, the head, before moving down the torso, examining the patterns in attributes and decorative techniques to interpret figurine use and meaning in the Late Bronze Age. Additionally, there is one aspect of general forms that can be examined with more substance—bipedal versus quadrupedal shapes. It is here that a counterpattern will be introduced in the form of Alassa’s quadruped-only corpus. The site’s focus on bovine iconography in figurines is unique within this dissertation’s set of case studies, and the site serves as an excellent example of local, independent variation that may in part reflect social, economic, and political organization in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Heads are often the focal point for figurines. They typically include multiple facial features, such as eyes, noses, ears, and even horns, all of which can employ multiple decorative techniques. Of the 109 head fragments in this study, eyes are the most frequent, being present on 74 (67.9%) head fragments, with noses being a close second (present on 70, or 64.2%). Mouths and ears, on the other hand, appear much less frequently, with mouths, ears, and horns being found on 23 (21.1%), 48 (44%), and 44 (40.4%) head fragments, respectively.

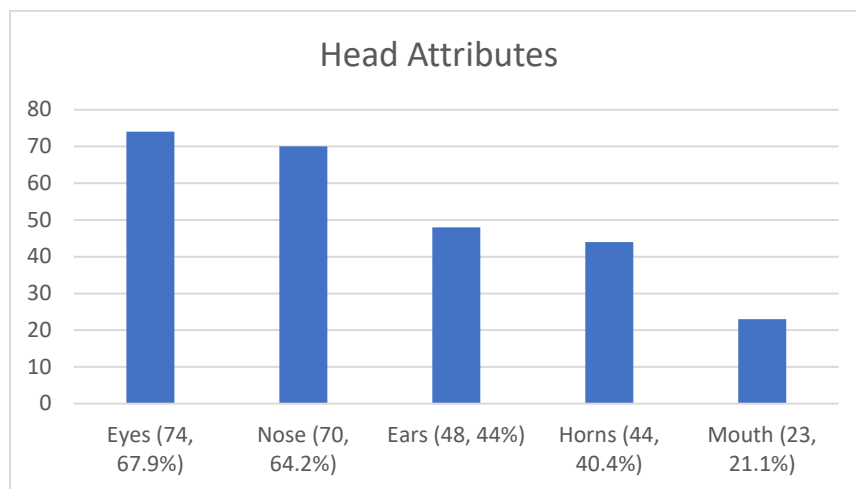


Table 5.1: Frequency of major head attributes attested.

The presence of eye and nose features on the majority of figurines suggests that these two attributes were the most essential to depict within the head area. While they can be found separately, noses and eyes are found together in 52 head fragments, meaning that 70.3% of eyes appear concurrently with noses, and 74.3% of noses appear alongside eyes. These trends in facial attributes align with patterns discussed in the Hala Sultan Tekke case study, particularly when addressing eyes. The production techniques used for both facial attributes make them stand out visually as well as physically. Eyes are most commonly incised, often with attention paid to depicting the pupil, although eyes can also be painted. Noses get less decorative treatment but are far more physically prominent. Quadrupeds feature elongated muzzles with noses indicated by small incised nostrils, while bipedal figurines feature three-dimensional noses that jut out from the face and create striking profiles. Eyes and noses are essential elements of head fragments, and because of their frequency in the corpus, it can be argued that eye and nose attributes are more generally important bodily features for figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Site	Head	Eyes	Nose	Mouth	Hair	Ears	Horns
Hala Sultan Tekke (HST)	12	11	8	2	2	9	6
Enkomi (ENK)	44	23	27	8	4	17	8
Kition (KIT)	26	17	15	3	2	9	9
Alassa (ALA)	11	11	11	7	2	3	11
Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i> (KAD)	15	12	9	3	1	10	10
Maa-Palaeokastro (MAA)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	109	74	70	23	11	48	44

Table 5.2: Head attributes

Sensual experience and human-figurine interaction as alluded to in facial attributes was touched upon in the Hala Sultan Tekke case study and now is explored

further for the entire dataset. If we assume the attributes on figurines reflect or relate to the experience of the individuals encountering them, the infrequent occurrence of ears and mouths suggests that sensual experiences relating to hearing and taste were not the focus on human-figurine interactions. Eyes and noses, on the other hand, do appear frequently, and concepts and practices surrounding sight and smell should be considered. Sight is perhaps the easiest to connect to within a framework of materiality and object-human relations. The association between eyes and sight is clear and the attention to decoration—the raised pellet eyes with incised pupils—reinforce the theme of vision in both bipedal and quadrupedal forms. The nose is also very visually striking with its three-dimensional form and is often the most physically dominant face attribute on bipedal figurines. Noses are, of course, more frequently associated with the sense of smell. A scent-focused interaction is much more difficult to reconstruct than that of sight, but consideration of contextual use of figurines helps to nuance interpretations. Consider, for example, drinking and feasting events in elite domestic courtyards that have been discussed earlier in the dissertation. Not only are these events visually engaging, but they are also noisy and aromatic (e.g., Fappas 2008; Fox 2008; Fisher 2023: 107-108, 290-291). Any interactions with figurines in these spaces would happen with these external sensorial activities.

Interestingly, the heads that do not include eye and nose features are frequently very small. The small hoard of Mycenaean psi-type bipedal figurines from Temenos A at Kition, for example, includes four head fragments, two of which have no distinguishing facial features (KIT 3222 and KIT 3233). KIT 3222 is a head fragment measuring 3.2 cm high, which is about average for a head fragment of this type within the dataset, while

KIT 3219 includes the full body and measures 10.8 cm in height, and torso and lower body fragment KIT 3233 measures only 4.9 cm (see Figure 5.1; Karageorghis 1985: 98). Compare this to locally-made Cypriot bipedal figurines such as ENK 1286, a head and upper torso fragment measuring 10.2 cm (this does not include legs), or the previously discussed HST 98 12-1 218, which measures 16.2 cm high. Another example is the hoard of seven small bovine figurines, all around 3.5 cm long, found near the Megaron Building at Enkomi (collectively referred to as ENK 4012 in excavation reports). All figurines in the hoard are well-preserved and have muzzles, but all lack eyes. Again, these can be compared to other, much larger common forms of bovine figurines, like those of Base Ring II Ware, including KAD 81 (19.0 cm long), KAD 300 (14.0 cm long), and ALA 104 (17.0 cm long), which include applied pellet eyes with incised pupils (South *et al.* 1989: 10, 46, 100; Hadjisavvas 2017: 27). While eyes and noses are indeed important to depict, the elaboration and decoration of facial features is also dependent on scale. Smaller figurines do not provide as much “canvas” for detailed work and lack many facial features. These smaller figurine fragments share the same bipedal and quadrupedal forms as their larger counterparts, yet the difference in attribute elaboration *and* size point to different types of interactions on visual and physical levels. The lack of smaller features suggests that importance is placed on the overall form of these figurines, versus the sum of their parts.

Yet these are not simply representations of animals. As discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 48-51), miniaturization, particularly when forms become abstracted, can alter a given figurine from its object of reference into something new and extraordinary. The choice to produce figurines in different sizes, styles, and ceramic fabrics suggests that these

figurines had meanings that were intentionally different. We cannot group together all anthropomorphic or animal figurines into one interpretive framework, as this ignores the importance placed on the agentic act of miniaturization. Instead, examinations of attributes, such as this, help to parse out minutiae that point towards specific types of interactions with figurines.



Figure 5.1: Left: KIT 3219, Psi-type figurine. Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX; Right: ENK 29, “Bird-faced” figurine. Dikaïos 1969c: Pl. 217/13.

Ears are less common than eyes and noses, appearing on 48 of 109 head fragments. There are two main ear shapes that correspond to the two general figurine forms. Quadrupedal head fragments feature small triangular ears on either side of the upper head/skull, while bipedal fragments have larger semi-circular ears sticking out from the sides of the head in line with the eyes (similar to human facial anatomy). While they are rare, perforated ears on bipedal forms are distinct in their shape and decoration. Large circular perforations are found on four figurine fragments: KIT 553, ENK 4004,

HST 98 12-1 218, and HST N101. These perforations were intended for circular earrings, like the one preserved on HST 98 12-1 218 (see previous discussion in Chapter 4). The inclusion of jewelry on a figurine is not unusual—there are many examples of incised or painted lines around the neck and chest, indicating jewelry, while there are examples of painted geometric patterns that likely represent textiles on psi-type figurines. What makes earrings stand out is the physicality of the shape. Also made of clay, they would move and scrape against the figurine's ear as it is moved, creating noise and visual movement that would heighten the sensoriality of human-figurine interactions.

Head fragments are particularly useful for materiality- and sensoriality-focused analyses. On average, heads feature the most attention to decoration and have high percentages of decorative techniques such as incision and application. This visual focus is paralleled in the frequency of eyes. The shape and style of noses also emphasizes visual interaction, encouraging the holder to move and manipulate the figurine in order to see the full three-dimensionality of the object. While the focus on eyes and noses could be interpreted as a result of preservation, the difference in frequency between these facial features and those of mouths, ears, eyebrows, or hair suggests that figurine makers and users in Late Bronze Age Cyprus desired faces with eyes and noses, with other features being less important. Thus, I argue that the most essential facial attributes, as reflected in clay figurines, are eyes and noses. These attributes and their associated bodily uses (sight and smell) clearly held some importance, and it is likely that their popularity in clay reflects some aspects of Cypriot corporeality and understandings of the body.

Torsos or midsections are as frequent in the dataset as heads but feature very different attributes. Among the quadrupeds, midsections are cylindrical, typically painted

with geometric designs, and rarely have any applied or incised decorations or attributes. Bipedal figurines, on the other hand, are more curved in form and include applied and incised elements. Most scholarship on Late Bronze Age figurines in the eastern Mediterranean, including in Cyprus, focuses on human female sexual attributes (e.g., Mina *et al.* 2016, Knox 2012, Budin 2011, Bolger 2003). However, of the 109 mid-section fragments in this study, only 22 include breasts and 11 include pubic triangles. Even rarer are male sexual attributes, appearing in only 7 quadrupedal mid-section fragments, with no examples of human male sexual attributes present (Table 5.3).

Site	Mid-Section	Breast	Pubic Triangle	Phallus
HST	10	2	1	0
ENK	44	11	7	1
KIT	24	5	1	1
ALA	15	0	0	5
KAD	9	3	1	0
MAA	7	1	1	0
TOTAL:	109	22	11	7

Table 5.3: Mid-section sexual attributes

While sexual attributes are uncommon in the dataset, they are featured prominently in scholarship. This discussion focuses on female sexual attributes on bipedal figurines, as female sexual attributes are never found on quadrupedal examples, and the presence of male sexual attributes—all on quadrupeds—is an alternate counterpattern that will be explored later. Breasts and pubic triangles are uncommon attributes and relatively uniform in construction and decoration. Breasts, twice as frequent as pubic triangles, are constructed through two separate pinched or applied mounds on the upper torso. While not on all examples, it is common for the arms to

curve around and rest just below the breasts (as shown in ENK 1746 in Figure 5.2, left side). The position of the arms guides the viewer's gaze to the breasts, making them a focal point of the torso. Pubic triangles appear on exaggerated, wide hips, and are denoted through incised decoration. The incised decoration is comprised of lines demarking the triangular area itself and diagonal lines to indicate pubic hair. Some examples also include a small vertical incision alluding to the labia majora (see, for example, ENK 1853, Figure 5.2, right side). The amount of incised detail at the largest part of the body, the hips, make pubic regions stand out from the rest of the torso—they are different in shape, size, and decoration. The detailed decoration allows pubic triangles to be easily legible as nude female sexual attributes. This can be contrasted with breasts that, while clearly alluding to the female breasts, are not as clearly nude—there are no indications of areolas or nipples on Late Bronze Age Cypriot clay figurines.



Figure 5.2: Left: ENK 1764, torso and head fragment with applied breasts; Right: ENK 1853, hip fragment with incised pubic triangle and labia majora (as indicated by vertical incision). Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/35, 36.

All sites that produced bipedal figurines have at least one attestation of breasts and pubic triangles. While the attributes themselves are uncommon, the majority of bipedal torso fragments include female sexual attributes. For example, there are 18

bipedal mid-section fragments from Enkomi, with just 2 containing no sexual attributes. Of the other 16 fragments, four include both breasts and pubic triangles, seven contain only breasts, and one only a pubic triangle (see Table 5.4). At Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, all four bipedal torso fragments have sexual attributes, but interestingly, there are no examples of breasts and pubic triangles together. Even Maa-*Palaeokastro*, with only one bipedal figurine in its corpus, includes a bipedal torso fragment with breasts and a pubic triangle.

Site	Bipedal Mid-Sections	No Sex Attributes	Breasts Only	Pubic Triangle Only	Breasts and Pubic Triangle
HST	3	1	1	0	1
ENK	18	2	7	1	4
KIT	9	4	4	0	1
ALA	0	0	0	0	0
KAD	4	0	3	1	0
MAA	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL:	34	7	15	2	7

Table 5.4: Female sexual attributes on bipedal torso fragments.

Also of note is that all figurines with pubic triangles are locally made. Breasts are found on both local and imported Mycenaean figurines. Cypriot-produced and -used bipedal figurines have a visual and graphic focus on the hips and pubic area that Aegean counterparts lack, clearly demonstrating a local desire and need for figurines with pubic triangles.

Of course, the data are limited—it is difficult to make in-depth interpretations for site-based datasets that only contain four bipedal mid-section fragments. What can be argued, however, is that while bipeds are not the most common figurine type nor are sexual attributes the most common, the bipedal form, when present, has a clear

connection to female sexual attributes, which is what conventional scholarship on Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines focuses on.

Female sexual attributes serve as an excellent example of how principal attribute numbers and patterns can be misleading. It is the overlapping patterns in attributes, preservation, and form that point to more nuanced understandings of figurine production and use in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Torso fragments clearly link standing, bipedal figurines with female sex organs, and reflect a need to visualize a specifically human female, versus male, body in clay.

Place of manufacture and how scholars have made these determinations is worth mentioning briefly. The majority of figurines in the corpus can be interpreted as locally produced based on their fabric. These fabrics are the same as well-studied ceramic vessel types, with the majority being Base Ring and White Painted. There are also some clear examples of Mycenaean imports. Again, the imports can be interpreted through fabric analysis, as Mycenaean figurines have distinctive fabrics and forms that have been studied since the mid-twentieth century (e.g., Furumark 1941; French 1971).² Examples of imported Mycenaean figurines include the hoard of six *psi* figurines from Kition (KIT 3219-3233) and a quadruped from Hala Sultan Tekke (HST N58, Fig. 4.3, p. 163). What makes these categorizations trickier, however, is the additional group of locally-made, but Mycenaean-inspired figurines. These are far rarer, and determination relies on published fabric information. Examples of these include biped HST N239 (Figure 4.24, p. 179) and quadruped HST L608-1 (Figure 4.12, p. 171). The Cypriot-made

² Mycenaean fabrics are generally defined by their fine-grained fabric composition and pale-buff color, with reddish-brown fine painted line decoration.

Mycenaean-style figurines are characterized by local fabric types, mainly White Painted ware, as this was not only one of the most popular ceramic types in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, but the light color is similar to the Mycenaean ones they copy. Additionally, locally-made “imitations” tend to have less detailed and thicker painted line decoration.

Attribute Counterpattern: Quadrupeds at Alassa

The attribute trends discussed thus far are general patterns that help to define and interpret the figurines in this study. However, these are not solid “rules.” Figurine fragments that do not align with the presented patterns could be considered as outliers, but the term outlier assumes uniqueness for each example and a standardized form and practice for all other figurines. Instead, figurines that do not conform to the overarching trends belong to counterpatterns—other trends in figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages that do not necessarily fit within the larger trends.

Alassa Pano Mantilaris’s (see Figure 5.3 for plan) figurine corpus serves as a counterpattern to the mix of forms and attributes found at the other five sites in this study and is unique and worth further discussion in four ways.³ First, all figurine fragments found at the site belong to quadrupedal forms. Second, the majority of figurines are intact, whole bodies. Third, male sexual attributes appear more frequently. And finally, the majority of figurines come from Type 2 assemblages, meaning that they are found alongside other Cypriot-made material culture — this particular counterpattern at Alassa will be further discussed in the “Patterns in Assemblage” section.

³ There are no figurine fragments found at Alassa *Paliotaverna*, so when I refer to Alassa, I specifically am referring to *Pano Mantilaris*.



Figure 5.3: Plan of Alassa *Pano Mantilaris* excavations with findspots of figurines.
Adapted from Mountjoy 2018: Fig. 382.

Throughout the six sites in this study, there are a total of 68 bipedal and 144 quadrupedal fragments. All sites except Alassa have produced both types of bodies, although there is always a higher concentration of quadrupedal figurines. Alassa provides a counterpattern, with its site figurine corpus comprised only of quadruped fragments. A cursory examination may suggest that the lack of bipedal fragments at Alassa is a result of excavation limitations or site size. However, Alassa's well-documented, decades-long excavations have been thorough and even Maa *Palaeokastro*, which is a significantly smaller site and has only produced ten figurine fragments total, has one bipedal fragment. Beyond a focus on quadrupeds, the figural corpus at Alassa includes 11 full-bodied figurines, making intact figurines the majority of the 18 figurines found at the site (61.1%). As previously discussed, only a small percentage of figurine fragments in this study preserve the whole body (42 of 241, or 17.4%). Do these counterpatterns represent an anomaly of archaeological preservation or an alternate use and deposit of figurines at Alassa? I argue that Alassa's lack of bipedal figurines is not a result of preservation, but instead the product of a site-specific preference for quadrupedal figurines. Based on published assemblage and contextual information, figurine use at Alassa is more narrowly defined than at other sites, with a clear focus on male, bovine iconography within domestic cult practices.

Within the entire corpus of this dissertation, there are seven examples of phalluses. All examples belong to quadrupeds and visually resemble the male sex organs of bovines, with three clearly depicting bulls with horns (such as ALA 65, Figure 5.4). Of the seven phalluses, five come from Alassa. These five examples come from a range

of contexts and assemblage types. While they vary in where they are used and what material culture they are used alongside, the focus on bull sexual organs is undeniable.



Figure 5.4: Bovine figurine with phallus in relief, ALA 65. Alassa *Pano Mantarialis*. Hadjisavvas 2017: 26.

As discussed before in Chapters 3 and 4, bovines and bovine iconography are prominent in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Bovine and female bipedal figurines have often been tied together, with some scholars suggesting a rise of Hathor cults in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age (see Peltenburg 2007; Knox 2016). This interpretation is not unfounded, as Hathor is often associated with mining and copper, and major sites such as Alassa and Kition provide evidence for the increased importance on copper and mining industries. However, the predominance of male bovine forms instead of female throughout the island does not align with the female cow focus of the Hathor cult. Alassa's lack of both bipedal forms *and* female sexual attributes, as well as the lack of

female sexual attributes in bovine figurines throughout the entire corpus, strongly suggests that this hypothesis is incorrect. The Horned God and Ingot God, previously discussed in Chapter 3, both include bull horns and are associated with male bodies (based on the lack of distinguishing female attributes and visual similarities with Levantine comparanda). The focus on male genitalia within the bovine figurines at Alassa points to figurine practices centered on virile bull bodies. Importance is placed both on quadrupedal forms and male sexuality at Alassa, contrasting the patterns in female sexual attributes discussed above.

While this section is focused on attribute patterns, all the trends in attributes, context, and assemblage are intertwined and should be discussed in tandem. The attribute patterns at Alassa, which already represent a counterpattern for use and meaning of figurines, are further complicated by alternative patterns in assemblage types. The general contextual and assemblage trends will be discussed further later in this chapter, but within an analysis of attribute meanings at Alassa, context and assemblage patterns need to be briefly addressed. Of the 18 figurines found at Alassa, 17 come from well-identified contexts. Nine come from domestic contexts, four from production areas, and another four from cultic contexts. As half of the figurines are from solid domestic contexts, this points to domestic-focused uses for figurines at the site. This will be discussed further within the *Patterns in Assemblage* counterpattern.

Patterns in Attributes: Summary

Alassa serves as the best counterpattern example because it deviates from overall patterns in both attributes and assemblage. However, the figurine fragments themselves

still squarely belong to the Cypriot Late Bronze Age figurine traditions—they are made of similar fabrics, in similar artistic forms, and decorated in similar ways to quadrupeds at all the other sites in this study. What separates them, and shows the efficacy of this methodology, is a nuanced, combined examination of figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages.

An examination of attributes on head and mid-section fragments allows for a subtle examination of specific body parts. The importance of frontal facial attributes, in particular eyes, is emphasized through patterns in decorative techniques and their visual, three-dimensionality. Mid-section fragments provide an opportunity to challenge assumptions based on overall numbers within the dataset. While they are rare within the entire corpus, female sexual attributes in fact appear frequently on bipedal torso fragments. The clear connection between female sexual attributes and the bipedal form can be contrasted with the counterpattern example presented from Alassa. There, figurine practices center on male sexual attributes and bovine forms, suggesting domestic cult use of locally-focused bull iconography. Alassa shows local adaptability and alternatives to Late Bronze Age figurine use.

Patterns in Context

An analysis of figurine attributes would be incomplete without considering the context in which the fragments were used and deposited. This section explores the overall patterns of the dataset in context (Table 5.5). As discussed in the Hala Sultan Tekke case study in Chapter 4, there is overlap between the categories of domestic,

production, cultic, and tomb contexts, and these categorizations do not represent completely separate meanings and uses of figurines (see Chapter 1, pp. 30-32, for overview of context categories). Instead, the categories should be considered as part of a spectrum that, based on excavated materials, lean more in one categorical direction. For example, the specific contextual use of a given figurine in a domestic context may be one of domestic production, such as courtyard textile production, or domestic cult, with evidence for ritual activities within the domestic sphere. What is important is that these practices and activities are occurring in domestic spaces, which are physically distinct from specifically cultic, production, or tomb spaces.

Two counterpatterns will also be discussed and aid in examining non-domestic contexts. First, the temple precinct at Kition will be introduced. Kition has a clearly distinct temple precinct, and, although cultic contexts are not necessarily common within the dataset, they make up the majority of contexts at Kition. This temple space represents a unique context type, and the patterns in figurine attributes present within it point to elite and temple-specific needs for figurines.

The second counterpattern within the discussion of patterns in context is that of Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. The site provides a rare opportunity to explore figurine use and meaning within a context outside of the four defined categories. Building X, located in the northeast of the site, is a complex building with evidence for large-scale production, storage, elite activities, and record-keeping. I define Building X as “administrative,” meaning the focus of these spaces was on the control and maintenance of production, trade, and community activities. Kalavassos’ administrative center at Building X serves as a clear example of elite use and consumption of figurines within a

sphere of centralized power, with figurines being found in storage, courtyard, and tomb contexts all associated with the creation and reinforcement of elite economic and political control at the site.

Site	Domestic Context	Production Context	Cultic Context	Mortuary Context	Miscellaneous Context	Unknown Context
HST	14 [42%]	4 [12%]	5 [15%]	1 [3%]	0 [0%]	9 [27%]
ENK	39 [47%]	12 [14%]	12 [14%]	1 [1%]	2 [2%]	17 [20%]
KIT	33 [52%]	6 [10%]	20 [32%]	2 [3%]	2 [3%]	0 [0%]
ALA	9 [50%]	4 [22%]	4 [22%]	0 [0%]	1 [6%]	0 [0%]
KAD	7 [21%]	0 [0%]	1 [3%]	5 [15%]	13 (11 Admin) [38%]	8 [24%]
MAA	2 [20%]	0 [0%]	1 [10%]	0 [0%]	1 [10%]	6 [60%]
TOTAL:	103	25	43	9	19	40

Table 5.5: Context find-spots of figurines at all sites, with percentage of context types per site in brackets.

Figurine fragments are found in multiple contexts at all sites in this study, but by far the majority come from domestic contexts. In fact, domestic contexts are the most frequent find-spots for figurines at all sites except Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, which will be explored as a counterpattern later. 103 fragments were excavated in domestic contexts, meaning that their deposition is associated with domestic activities and spaces (Table 5.5). The second most common context is cultic, but the majority of these examples come from either Enkomi or Kition. Kition is striking because of the large proportion of figurines found in temple precincts—that is, established, organized cult areas at the site. These temple contexts and the contextual patterns in figurine attributes at Kition will be explored further as a counterpattern below. The third most common are “Unknown Contexts.” These contexts are those where there is not enough evidence to categorize them definitively (e.g., rooms with evidence of disturbance). Miscellaneous

contexts, by comparison, are contexts that do not fit within the presented categories (e.g., street drains).

Over half of all figurines from known contexts come from domestic contexts (103 of 199 fragments, or 52%). As Table 5.6 shows, the overall attribute trends for figurine fragments in domestic contexts resembles the attribute trends site-wide discussed in the previous section with some slight variations. Patterns in decorative techniques in domestic contexts mirror the overall trends, with a clear preference for painted decoration and nearly equal numbers of incised and applied decoration.⁴ Eyes are present on 76.7% and noses on 65.1% of head fragments within domestic contexts, while they are present on 67.9% and 64.2% of heads throughout the dataset, respectively.

Site	Biped	Quadruped	Head	Eyes	Nose	Breasts	Pubis	Incised	Applied	Painted	TOTAL
HST	1	13	5	5	4	1	0	0	3	9	14
ENK	11	23	15	7	7	5	5	11	7	17	39
KIT	8	13	13	11	9	2	1	11	12	18	32
ALA	0	9	6	6	6	0	3 (phalli)	6	7	4	9
KAD	2	5	4	4	2	0	1	4	3	2	5
MAA	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2
TOTAL:	23	64	43	33	28	9	11	33	32	51	103

Table 5.6: Attribute patterns in domestic contexts.⁵

Throughout the corpus there are 144 quadrupedal and 68 bipedal figurines, meaning the ratio of quadrupedal to bipedal throughout all sites in this dissertation is 2.12

⁴ For the entire corpus, 60 fragments preserve incised, 62 applied, and 119 painted decorations.

⁵ The total number of figurine fragments found in domestic contexts is 103, but only 87 of them are quadrupedal or bipedal shapes, so there is discrepancy between total bipedal and quadrupedal fragments and the total fragments in domestic contexts at each site.

to 1. Within domestic contexts specifically, this ratio is slightly increased to 2.78 to 1, showing that quadrupeds are even more common than bipedal figurines within domestic contexts. There are a total of 15 bipedal torso fragments, 11 of which have female sexual attributes. Again, this mirrors the overall patterns in attributes and indicates that, at least within domestic contexts, there is a clear tie between bipedalism and the female sexed body.

Cultic contexts are the second most common, with 43 examples, 20 of which come from Kition, and will be discussed as a counterpattern. Of the remaining 23 figurine fragments in cultic contexts, 12 come from Enkomi. The other four sites in this study have only a handful of fragments preserved in cultic contexts. While the actual number of figurines in cultic contexts is relatively high compared to that of production or mortuary contexts, these contexts are very concentrated. The five figurine fragments in cultic contexts from Hala Sultan Tekke, previously discussed in Chapter 4, for example, all come from the same ritual deposit. As will be explored in the counterpattern at Kition, temple areas such as the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi are concentrated spaces for figurines (for example, eight bull figurines are found in a well deposit within in Room 5 of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God). Because of the nature of these cultic contexts, the numbers are perhaps deceptive. However, if instead of counting every fragment as an individual attestation of a cultic context, and we consider groups deposited within the same space as a single context, the number of cultic contexts goes from 42 down to 21. Cultic contexts, along with production and mortuary contexts, while present in the corpus, make up a very small percentage of figurine findspots.

Because of the frequency of domestic contexts and the close parallels to attribute

patterns throughout the corpus, domestic contexts are central to the trends and interpretations discussed in the previous section. Quadrupeds, eyes, and painted decoration are the most popular elements, and there is a clear desire for figurines within domestic spaces. The use and meaning of figurines in these spaces should be considered distinctive to those in other contexts, as figurines in domestic contexts involved interactions with a specific group of people—likely familial groups—on a regular basis as people moved about and interacted with figurines as well as other people in their living quarters.

Domestic spaces are central in the establishment of community identities; activities done in these contexts shape the ways in which communities define themselves and the others around them. The size, maneuverability, and decoration of a figurine impact the way in which people can interact with that object. Said another way, figurines afford specific types of activities while disallowing others (see Chapter 2, pp. 42-45, for discussion of material affordance). Domestic practices involving figurines, both directly and indirectly, can help create and reinforce community identities. The focus on domestic spheres can be contrasted in the following two counterpattern case studies, the temple contexts at Kition and the administrative contexts at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, both of which can be described as elite, controlled spaces. Within these contexts, figurines are reflective of different types of communities: communities of ritual and communities of practice.

Context Counterpattern: Kition Temple Precinct

Kition has the second most preserved figurine fragments in this study (Enkomi

being the first) and serves as the first contextual counterpattern. Overall, the site-wide patterns in context fit within the general trends—domestic contexts are by far the most common, making up 32 of the 62 fragment find-spots. What is noticeably different, however, is the relatively high number of fragments coming from cultic contexts (20 of 62, or 32%). At all other sites in this study, figurines are infrequently found in cultic contexts.⁶ Not only do the cultic contexts at Kition stand out for the sheer number of figurine fragments present, but they are also unique because they are from established temple precincts. Unlike domestic or mortuary-related cultic practices, temples represent cultic practices within established buildings that had restricted access and specific ritual functions.

The temple precinct at Kition is located in Kition *Kathari*, Area II of the excavations, near the city walls at the northeastern gate (Figure 5.5). The precinct is comprised of a complex of rooms and courtyards that have been interpreted by excavators as a set of temples (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 240). Smith, on the other hand, argues that this area as an industry-focused center of local power (Smith 2002; 2009). Temple 4, she argues, was a workshop for reusable raw materials, while Temple 2 served as an area for metal repair, preparation of plant materials, and a meeting space, and there is significant evidence for textile production, including loom weights and murex shells throughout the area (Smith 2002: 302; 2009: 246). There is still a strong cultic aspect to these areas, and Smith suggests that the activities in Area II were “sacred industries” (Smith 2002: 299-301).

⁶ Ten figurines from Enkomi are also found in temple contexts, but these represent a much smaller percentage (10 of 83, or 12%) than that of Kition. Interestingly, numbers for production and cultic contexts are almost equal at all sites *except* Kition.

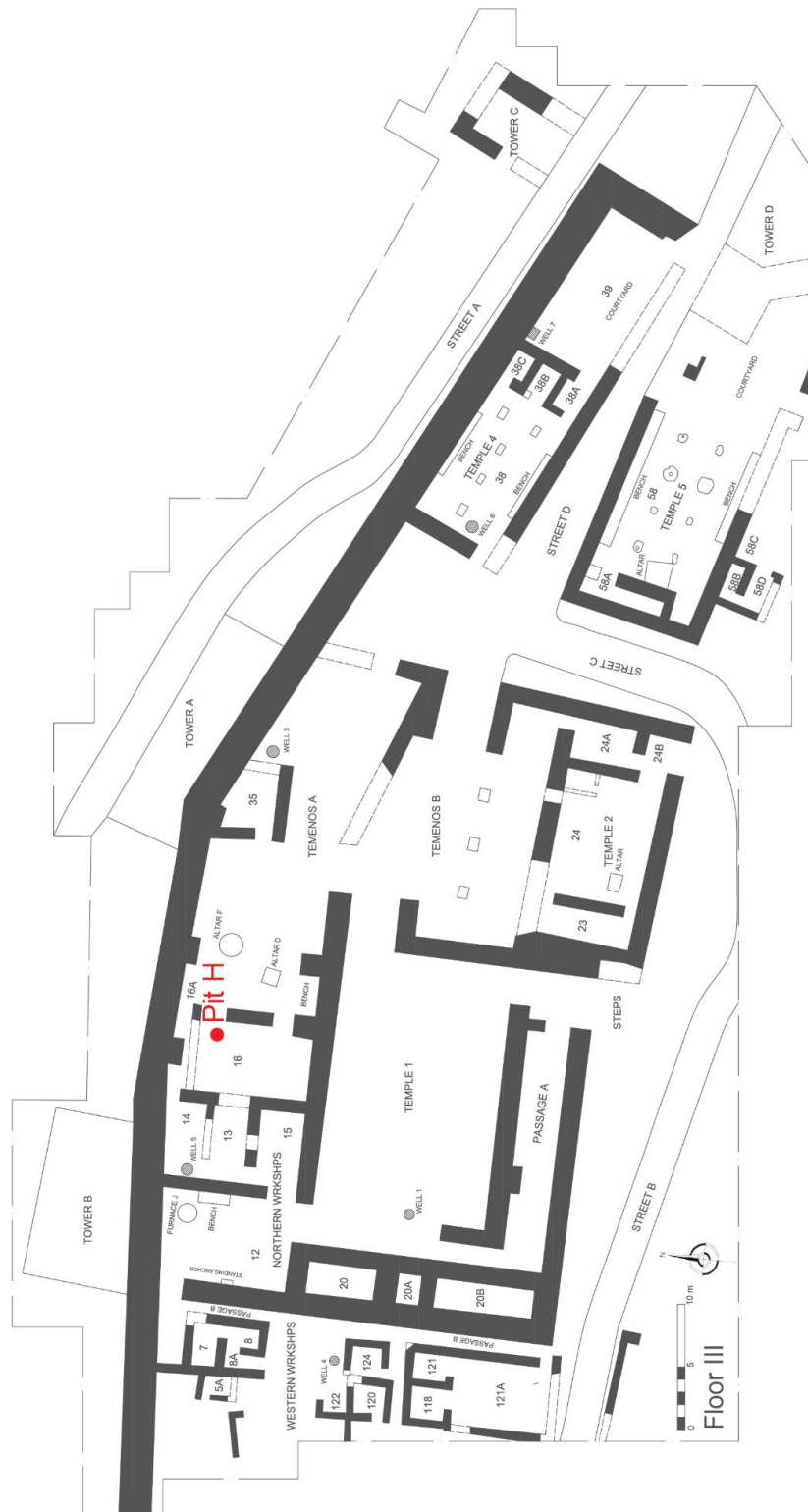


Figure 5.5: Plan of temple precinct, Floor III, Area II, Kition. Figurines were also recovered from Floors II and IIIA. Adapted from Barnes 2022: Figure 4.

There are five defined “temple” spaces used at various points during the Late Bronze Age. Temples 2 and 3 were actively used during the Late Cypriot II period, and Temples 1, 2, 4, and 5 were used during the Late Cypriot III period, and Temple 2 is the only cultic space with evidence for continued use during the Late Bronze Age occupation of the site (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 252-253). In addition to the temple spaces, there are two large courtyards, Temenos A and Temenos B, which likely served the entire precinct.

The concentration of temples into a singular area at Kition is unique for Late Bronze Age Cyprus—Enkomi, for example, has multiple temples throughout the site—but it is not uncommon within the larger context of the eastern Mediterranean, with parallels in the Aegean and the Levant including Tiryns, Lachish, and Hazor (Negbi 1988: 340-341; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 252). Evidence for cultic practices at Kition includes altars, horns of consecration, wells for ritual deposits, and remains of burned offerings, most prominently goat and bovine bones, located in both enclosed temple and open courtyard areas.

There is a total of 21 figurine fragments found in and around the temple precinct at Kition. Fragments are found in temples and courtyards throughout the precinct, but the majority are located in the northernmost area of the precinct, concentrating in Courtyard C (located just south of Temple 1) and Temenos A. Three figurines are found in Courtyard C and 11 in Temenos A, while the rest of figurines are found in Temples 4 and 5. The concentration of 16 of 21 figurines in the northern area points to very specific contextual uses of figurines within the temple precinct. Beyond this, there is a concentration of figurines in Temenos A, with 11 fragments in total excavated from the

courtyard, 6 of which were deposited together in a pit (Pit H, see Figure 5.5). This northern area can be considered more important for the use and deposit of figurines than the rest of the precinct based purely on numbers, with Temenos A being the focus of figurine use within the temple area.⁷

In order to investigate figurine use and meaning within these cultic contexts at Kition, I turn once more to the patterns in bodily attributes that stand out in three main ways. Contrasting with trends discussed thus far, there are more bipedal figurines than there are quadrupeds. In total, there are 10 bipedal and 6 quadrupedal fragments, the remaining 5 examples being indeterminate or non-organic models such as chariot wheels. Nine head fragments are preserved, 6 of them with clear similarities to the human form. Interestingly, all 4 bipedal torso fragments include arms, bodily attributes that are uncommon within the dataset as a whole.⁸ In addition to arms, bipedal torsos all include breasts, but there are no examples of pubic triangles. There is, however, one example of a bull phallus (KIT 3177).

All fragments but two feature painted decoration, and they are all associated with Type 4, or “exotica”, assemblages. The predominance of painted decoration and Type 4 assemblages fits within the general trends of the corpus, but the focus on bipedal forms with arms is a clear counterpattern. At Kition, the emphasis on the bipedal form is further complicated by the use of painted decoration, as most bipedal figurines in Late

⁷ It must be acknowledged, however, that the numbers are still small. More than anything, this attests to the limited number of figurines with secure archaeological context in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In turn, however, it means that trends within contexts such as Kition’s temple precinct are not as significant as would be desired.

⁸ Articulated arms are rare not because there are many examples of bipedal figurines specifically made without arms, but because of preservation as well as the low number of bipedal torso fragments more generally.

Bronze Age Cyprus feature either incised or applied decoration, using painted decoration only sparingly. Based on the production techniques, decorative style, and overall forms, all 10 bipedal figurines within the temple precinct at Kition are interpreted as Mycenaean by the excavators (see Karageorghis 1985: 98). As discussed in Chapter 4, Hala Sultan Tekke also has a concentration of painted Mycenaean figurines in ritual deposits, and again the question arises: what aspects of these imported figurines were considered “important” in cultic contexts—their figural forms, their association with foreign connections, or a combination of both?

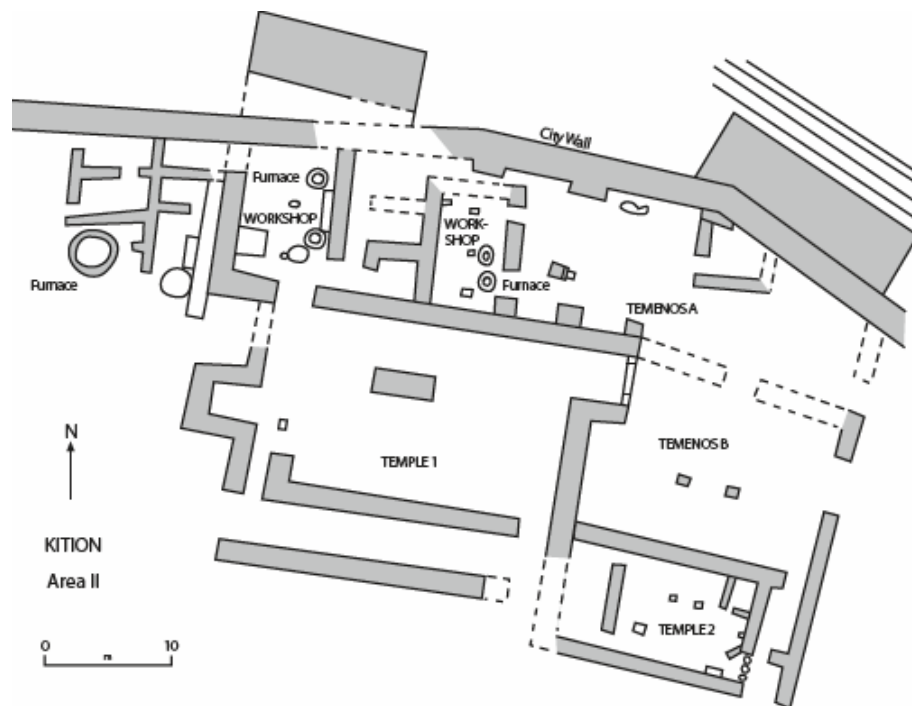


Figure 5.6: Plan of Temples 1 and 2, Temene A and B, and metallurgical workshops, Area II, Kition. Knapp 2009b: 51, fig. 3.

While this discussion could move to analyzing the context of each figurine fragment from Kition’s temple precinct, it will instead focus on the epicenter of figurine deposition: Temenos A. As shown in Figure 5.6, Temenos A directly abuts both the city

walls and a workshop area. The workshops include evidence for metallurgical work, most likely copper smelting, with multiple furnaces and slag in well deposits (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 254). Like Enkomi's Ingot God sanctuary, there is a link between (established) cultic practices and metallurgy. However, unlike Enkomi, Kition shows direct spatial and architectural ties to the production practices involved, illustrating the association between the ritual activities occurring in Temenos A and Temple 1 and the site's copper workshops.

Considering the link between metalworking and the north temple precinct, the trends in attributes and forms introduced above can begin to be interpreted. The preponderance of imported Mycenaean figurines at first seems odd – it does not fit within the general trends of Cypriot-made, bipedal forms with incised and applied breasts and pubic triangles. However, this counterpattern likely explains their importance. Their difference from Cypriot bipedal forms visually marks them as “other” and connects them to the narrative of trade and international ties that became so central to Cypriot economic centers. Their physical proximity to copper workshops echoes the importance placed on international trade and Cyprus' position within these Mediterranean-wide networks.⁹ The temple space features monumental architecture such as ashlar masonry and colonnaded halls, and adheres to city street-planning, indicating that this space was not only associated with cultic practices, but also the establishment of site-wide control and power. The tie between the temple precinct and metallurgical activities further emphasizes the importance of copper both economically and socially at Kition.

Karageorghis and Demas argue that, while the temple spaces were highly controlled and

⁹ Supporting this argument is the inclusion of numerous stone anchors built into the architecture of the complex (see Barnes 2022: Fig. 15 for plan of complex with locations of anchors highlighted).

accessible by few, the temene functioned as communal ritual spaces (1985: 253). This would suggest that the imported figurines in Temenos A were not only part of cultic practices tied to city-center power, but they were also used in the communal establishment and reinforcement of these identities. The temple precinct and its established cultic space is a clear context in which communities of ritual can be recognized by scholars. Through its physical connection to metallurgy, however, the precinct also becomes intertwined within communities of practice: individuals joined together through learned activities—such as copper working—that are outside of the domestic and cultic realms. Doonan *et al.*'s (2012) analysis of evidence for metallurgy activities at Maroni *Vournes* indicate that production efficiency and the actual copper products were not central to these activities, and instead that “the *practice or the performance* of smelting at Maroni was somehow more important” (Doonan et al. 2012: 55, original emphasis). If the metallurgical activities at Kition were similar to those at Maroni *Vournes*, then it is likely that the figurines within the temple spaces were used and deposited in heavily symbolic and ritual spaces that were key parts of community formation at Kition. This is especially true for elite identity at the site through the conspicuous consumption and use of objects, including figurines, within an established cult area associated with the control of cultic activities, economic resources, and metalworking practices and knowledge.

Kition's paradox of aligning with and bending patterns observed for the entire figurine dataset is an excellent example of how counterpatterning is a useful framework to examine figurine use and meaning, as it allows both for the inclusion of a given case study into the overarching trends and for local variation. Similar to Alassa's focus on

quadrupedal forms, Kition's temple precinct shows local innovation and malleability within figurine use. The cultic uses of figurines at Kition are focused on imported bodies in ritual spaces and the link between the temples and metallurgical activities at the site is quite literal. The practices occurring within these cultic contexts served to reinforce local identities and, within these identities, exemplify the power and control of elite groups at the site. The figurines present within these spaces were part of symbolic activities, even if only passively—at the very least they were visible in spaces associated with the city-sponsored religious activities and copper production.

Context Counterpattern: Building X at Kalavassos

As shown in Table 5.5, “miscellaneous” contexts are those which do not fit within the defined categories of domestic, production, cultic, or mortuary contexts. While uncommon, they can provide a different perspective on figurine use, deposition, and meaning. The best example of this, and one that serves as a second counterpattern for context, are the 19 figurine fragments found within and around Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Figure 5.6). These figurines come from a range of contexts that have some links to domestic and production-related activities, but based on archaeological evidence at Building X, all these contexts are tied to a very specific realm of activity—that is, administration.

As many scholars have argued, Building X is best understood as the administrative center of Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Fisher *et al.* 2019: 480; Knapp 2008: 148-149). Building X consists of a complex of rooms, courtyards, and corridors, with significant amounts of large pithos sherds and evidence for olive oil storage on a

massive scale.¹⁰ Room 152, for example, contained 53 pithoi, which would have held a volume of as much as 33,500 liters of liquid (Fisher et al. 2019: 479; Keswani 1992).

While this alone suggests that Building X was a production and storage center, the presence of Cypro-Minoan tablets and stamp seals, as well as evidence for elite communal activities, point to a far more complicated, multi-purpose complex.

The courtyard, shown in Figure 5.7 and known in excavation reports as Room 157, includes elements of monumental building, most notably ashlar masonry and columns (Fisher 2023). Surrounding the courtyard are the many storage rooms, which vary in scale from the monumental Room 152 to the small Rooms 156 and 171. Cypro-Minoan tablets are also found in Building X; such tablets are relatively rare finds in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and their presence clearly reflects the important role of Building X at the site (Smith 2002b: 21; South 1997).

Uncoincidentally, there are several tombs located around the periphery of Building X (to the south and west of the building, see Figure 5.7 where they are indicated by “T”). These tombs have been touched upon already in Chapter 3, as they provide well-documented evidence for elite mortuary practices in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, including elaborate grave good assemblages (see pp. 99-100). There was a spatial connection between the tombs—and thus those interred—and the individuals working and living in Building X. This proximity to elite-status burials possibly served to legitimize family status and hierarchy through the physical presence and communal memory of past power and ancestors, whether through true or “fictive” kinship (South

¹⁰ Gas chromatography analysis indicates olive oil residue on 15 of 19 pithoi in just the small storage Room 152 (Keswani 1992: 141-144).

1997: 171; South 2000; Fisher 2019; 2023). The built environment around Building X closely ties local elites using Building X not only to regional economic production and storage, but also to a history of past rulers.

All of this evidence brings us back to the topic of figurines. Ten figurines are found within Building X and another nine are found in its immediate vicinity, and as such they do not fit within the general context categories used in this analysis, instead belonging to a unique administrative context. Because of the well-recorded context, the figurines of Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* serve as a useful contextual counterpattern.

Nine of the 10 figurine fragments in Building X are associated with quadrupedal bodies. The single bipedal find is a very small fragment of the top of the head, but nonetheless does provide evidence that bipedal figurines were used and deposited around Kalavassos' central administrative building. There is only limited information available for figurines within Building X, as many are extremely fragmented.

What is more interesting, however, is the connection between Building X, the surrounding built environment, and figurines. While only 10 figurines are found in Building X contexts that can be specifically tied to administrative functions, another 9 figurines are found in various contexts surrounding Building X, including tomb and cultic contexts (see Figure 5.7). Out of the total 35 figurine fragments excavated at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, 19 were found in the area immediately surrounding Building X, meaning that 54% of the site's figural corpus is found in this area. As previously discussed, Building X's social and political roles are visible in its monumental

architecture, massive storage, and evidence of record-keeping. The figurines used and deposited around this area are linked to Building X and its inhabitants.



Figure 5.7: Building X and surrounding area at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, figurines marked in red. Plan courtesy of Alison South, with additions by the author.

For example, a group of five figurine fragments is found in the street to the west of Building X, Area 183. KAD 738 and KAD 743 are found in Tomb 11 located under the street, while KAD 1464, KAD 1465, and KAD 2093 are found on the street near Tomb 11 and the Area 175 entrance to Building X. While all five can be associated with Tomb 11 and the individuals or family interred within, that is only one part of the larger picture. The location of Tomb 11, as well as multiple other tombs, near Building X suggests the connection between tying past elite tombs to the groups in control of the administrative activities at the site. The figurines found in Tomb 11, two quadrupeds, are part of luxury grave-good assemblages that link the individuals buried with social practices that likely took place in Building X. The figurines in tomb contexts near Building X, while mortuary in their final depositional function, likely had earlier lives as objects similar to the figurines excavated within Building X. This is paralleled in the use-life of feasting sets deposited in tombs such as Tomb 11—while the final purpose of these objects was for mortuary uses, they were also used by the living before deposition (see Chapter 3, pp. 111-113). The remaining three fragments found near Tomb 11 on the street are likely cultic offerings for the tomb. However, Tomb 11 was constructed and used during an earlier phase of the site, before the monumental ashlar Building X as it is represented in Figure 5.7 stood, and originally aligned with an earlier building alignment (Fisher 2023: 203-204). The fact that multiple figurines are found on the street near Tomb 11 likely attests to the importance of elite remembrance, linking figurines and the practices here to the creation community through connections to the past, whether real or imagined. The proximity to Building X reinforces this, as not only is this area visible from the street, but it is also visible from the western entrance to the main administrative

complex.

As for the figurines found inside the administrative complex itself, there is one clear trend. While the figurine corpus in the immediate area around Building X is varied in form and attributes—the patterns reflect those observed in the overall corpus—those found in specifically administrative contexts within Building X deviate from the norm. Although there is one example of a bipedal head fragment, the overwhelming majority of figurine fragments are quadrupeds. Moreover, all figurine fragments are of Base Ring ware and, except for one, are hollow, such as the two examples in Figure 5.8 (both of which are to scale). Based on the hollow form, handles (or attachments), and perforated holes at the end of the muzzle, most quadrupedal fragments in Building X can be interpreted as rhyton fragments. Rhyta are a common elite vessel in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.



Figure 5.8: Base Ring rhyta KAD 88 (top) and KAD 81 (bottom). Tomb 1, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimirtrios*. South et al. 1989: Pl. XXII.

Although the Base Ring rhyta in Cyprus are local, they stem from Aegean forms (Koehl 2006). They are found in a variety of contexts, but are most often associated with either elite grave paraphernalia or ritual libation activities (Koehl 2006: 349). In both cases, there is an emphasis on feasting and drinking. While rhyta are technically vessels intended to hold and pour liquids, they are also figurines: three-dimensional, ceramic artistic representations of a given shape or form. They challenge traditional categorizations as they blur the line between more abstract uses and meanings of figurines and the more utilitarian functions of vessels. Their concentrated presence in Building X demonstrates the sensorial, performative significance of the space through the display of and interaction with elaborately decorated wares associated with ritual feasting and drinking, including large numbers of locally-made Base Ring bowls and painted kraters (see Steel 2004b). Yet their form and fabric match non-vessel figurines such as ALA 104 shown in Figure 5.9, which is, like its rhyta counterparts, a hollow Base Ring bull, suggesting that, although bovine rhyta in and around Building X are focused around specific communal feasting practices, they still physically resemble their figurine counterparts that do not—and cannot—serve as vessels.

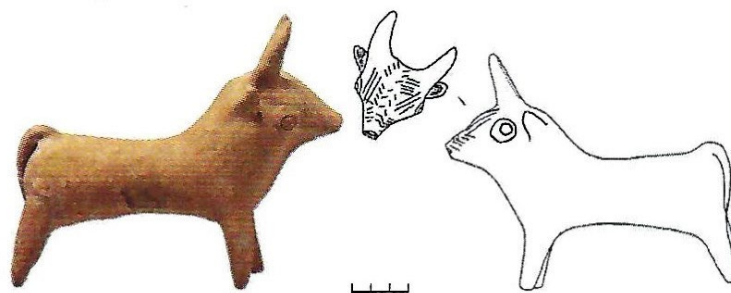


Figure 5.9: Base Ring bovine figurine ALA 104. Alassa *Pano Mantilaris*. Hadjisavvas 2017: 27.

There is a conscious choice to make and use bull rhyta, versus other forms of rhyta, within Building X. The standardized form of bovine figurines at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*—Base Ring bull rhyta—can be read as a specific type of stereotyped image (see discussion of stereotyping, Chapter 2, pp. 50-51), transforming the object of reference, bulls, into something that is beyond the ordinary. These rhyta were used during elite social and ritual practices, physically manipulated to pour liquids. These intimate, haptic encounters likely had complex symbolic meaning beyond just “cows are important to our local economy.” Instead, and as will be argued in Chapter 6, these miniaturized and stereotyped bovine forms likely reflect the importance of bulls within local religious beliefs and practices.

All the figurines in the immediate area of Building X are tied to an elite sphere of use and control. The desire to legitimate elite groups and city-wide control is evident through the physical proximity between older elite burials and Building X, as well as the massive storage, organization, and production capabilities at the city center. The concentration of figurines around tombs demonstrates the need and desire to interact with and remember kin group burials, reflecting a deliberate attempt to preserve the memory of and create/reinforce kinship ties to previous generations to legitimize control,¹¹ as well as the clear association between the tombs and the production, storage, and control practiced nearby (Fisher 2023: 205). The ritual activities of which the figurines in and around Building X are a part are varied—there is clear evidence for different mortuary,

¹¹ There may not necessarily be a genetic tie between the living interacting with and the interred people in the tombs, especially considering that they date to an earlier phase, but through performative activities these imagined connections can become real.

cultic, and feasting activities—but they are all connected through a symbolic program, predominantly focused on bovine iconography, intended to establish and reinforce elite identity, including the connection to ancestors, whether real or imagined, control of resources, high levels of administrative organization, and performative feasts. Fisher (2023: 214-215) has argued that the central court in Building X, as well as Building XII (which is mostly unexcavated), may have been used more larger social activities that a larger cross-section of the Kalavassos community could participate in, meaning that it was not *only* the ruling elites participating in feasting practices within these monumental spaces.

Patterns in Context: Summary

As the general trends and two counterpatterns have shown, there is significant variation in the contexts of many figurines that have the same attributes, form, and fabrics. Function and meaning are context- and, as the next section will show, assemblage-specific. While the majority of figurines in this study are from domestic contexts and focused on domestic rituals and activities, counterpattern contexts such as the temple precinct at Kition and the administrative Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* show that figurines can be part of powerful symbolic displays of control by local elites. In both counterpatterns presented, there is an emphasis on the ties between production, ritual, elite identity, and community formation. At Kition, the ritual and production connection is most prevalent, with physical ties in the architecture of the precinct. At Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, on the other hand, the tie between elite identity and production is most obvious. However, the ritual aspects associated with elite tomb

offerings and feasting and drinking practices make this three-way elite-ritual-production link clear.

Patterns in Assemblages

Although context is essential in interpreting figurine use and meaning independently, the contextual information requires an analysis of assemblage as well. Production contexts, for example, are generally defined by evidence for production activities, including metal slag and weaving equipment. However, there is a significant difference between an industrial production area and a domestic production courtyard. The people using these spaces and the activities in which they participated would have been very different, and this is best evidenced through assemblages if only because they guide our understanding of the contexts to begin with. This section examines the patterns in assemblages, examining the types of figurines and attributes common in Type 1, 2, 3, and 4 assemblages. There is a clear connection between figurines and imported assemblage types, and overall these trends point to the elite use and consumption of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Alassa will once again be discussed as a counterpattern, as it is the only site that has a large percentage of figurines belonging to non-imported assemblages. Alassa's insular-focused figurine use demonstrates not only the need to consider counterpatterns as part and parcel of overall patterns, but also the local variability and adaptation that is a key characteristic of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (see discussion of diversity in urban planning in Iacovou 2007; Fisher 2014: 197).

Type 1 assemblages are defined by utilitarian goods, meaning objects that are practical and undecorated, such as cooking vessels and plain ware ceramics. As shown in

Table 5.7, 10 figurine fragments come from Type 1 assemblages, making these assemblages the least common for figurines by a significant amount. Out of the 239 figurines with defined assemblage types, Type 1 assemblages only account for 4.2% of the fragments. These assemblages mainly come from domestic contexts, with two exceptions from Enkomi, which belong to production contexts. Five fragments are quadrupedal, and one is bipedal (ENK 1164, from a production context). Because these fragments make up such a small percentage, it is difficult to examine patterns more fully, but overall the trends in attributes in Type 1 assemblages reflect that of the overall dataset, with a focus on quadrupedal forms and painted decoration (present on four of the 10 fragments).

Site	Assemblage Type 1 (Utilitarian)	Assemblage Type 2 (Cyriot-only)	Assemblage Type 3 (Non-elite & imported)	Assemblage Type 4 (Prestige goods)	TOTAL
HST	3	6	11	13	33
ENK	6	21	16	40	83
KIT	1	3	16	41	61
ALA	0	10	3	5	18
KAD	0	5	14	14	33
MAA	0	2	7	1	10
TOTAL:	10	47	67	114	283

Table 5.7: Assemblage types at case study sites.

There are four times as many Type 2 assemblages as there are Type 1. In contrast to Type 1, Type 2 assemblages are characterized by a mix of artifacts, including fine and highly decorated goods, all of which were produced in Cyprus. 47 figurine fragments come from Type 2 assemblages, and Type 2 is the most common assemblage type at Alassa. There is twice the amount of quadrupedal as bipedal figurines within these local-focused assemblages, with 14 bipedal and 28 quadrupedal fragments preserved. Head

patterns mirror those previously discussed in the “Patterns in Attributes” section: 20 head fragments, 17 of which include eyes and 15 of which include noses. Midsections are slightly different. As previously discussed, while female sexual attributes are rare, they are relatively common for bipedal torso fragments. There are eight bipedal midsection fragments, five of which contain breasts, and there is one example of a pubic region (MAA 19). There are, however, four instances of phalluses on quadrupeds, all of which come from Alassa. Not all Type 2 assemblages come from known contexts, but those that do are mainly from domestic contexts; there are no examples of Cypriot-only assemblages from cultic or tomb contexts.

As far as figurines are concerned, Types 1 and 2 assemblages are significant because they do not contain any imported material. These are Cypriot and locally-focused assemblages and the objects included represent access to and use of insular economies. While they are in the minority of assemblage types, these assemblages demonstrate the variability of figurine use in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. These locally-made assemblages were likely accessible for a larger group of people than those belonging to import-focused assemblages. Figurines in a Type 2 or a Type 4 domestic context may look identical in production technique, form, and style, yet their uses are context *and* assemblage specific. A Base-Ring quadruped in a utilitarian courtyard likely had a very different function and meaning than one in a courtyard associated with elite feasting practices. This demonstrates the necessity of examining patterns in assemblage in conjunction with context and the figurine forms themselves.

Whereas Types 1 and 2 assemblages are defined by a focus on Cypriot material, both Types 3 and 4 are defined by foreign material. However, there is still a significant

difference between Type 3 and Type 4 assemblages. Type 3 assemblages include all the local materials that characterize those of Type 2 with the addition of mass-produced imported goods, such as pilgrim flasks, Mycenaean wares, and “Canaanite” wares. Type 4 assemblages, on the other hand, feature prestige goods produced in both Cyprus and abroad. Prestige goods include luxury objects discussed in Chapter 3, such as semi-precious stone jewelry, foreign and locally-made cylinder seals, pictorial Mycenaean wares, and bronze objects.

Type 3 assemblages are the second-most common type and outnumber all Type 1 and 2 assemblages combined. 67 figurine fragments come from Type 3 assemblages, and the trends in attributes mirror the overall trends discussed previously. First, there is a larger number of quadrupeds to bipeds (43 to 19, respectively), although there is a higher percentage of bipedal fragments in Type 3 assemblages than in any other assemblage type. Other trends include a focus on eyes and noses within head fragments, and a predominance of painted decoration. There is generally more decoration on fragments from Type 3 assemblages compared to those from Types 1 and 2, with incised, applied, or painted decoration found on 52 of 67 fragments. The majority of Type 3 assemblages are tied to domestic contexts, but there is also one instance of a cultic context, which is a type of context not encountered within the Cypriot-focused Type 1 and 2 assemblages. Overall, Type 3 assemblage figurines can be described as more elaborately decorated than their Type 1 and 2 counterparts, with a slight increase in the frequency of bipedal forms. Beyond this, however, Type 3 assemblages have similar figurine patterns present.

By far the most frequent assemblage type for figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is Type 4. One hundred and fourteen figurine fragments come from Type 4

assemblages, meaning that almost half of all figurines come from these elite-focused assemblages. This pattern itself is significant, as there is a clear link between imported, luxury goods and figurine use. Even though the majority of figurines within the dataset were produced in Cyprus, they are most regularly found in assemblages focused on foreign materials and objects, suggesting that figurines are more valuable or special than other ceramic goods produced locally.

There are 67 quadrupedal and 32 bipedal figurine fragments in Type 4 assemblages. This almost exactly reflects the ratio of quadrupedal to bipedal forms observed throughout the dataset (as discussed in the Patterns in Attributes section above). Within Type 4 assemblages, equal numbers of head and midsection fragments are found (56 examples each). Eyes and noses are again the most common head attributes, but there is a striking rise in the frequency of ears and horns within Type 4 assemblages as well. While ears have thus far primarily been discussed within the context of bipedal figurines, 18 of the 21 ear attributes within Type 4 assemblage belong to quadrupedal heads. The increase in animal ears, along with the popularity of horns (22 extant examples), demonstrates an increased elaboration of the quadrupedal form and a fixation on the head within luxury assemblages.

Decorative techniques are found on 70 of the 113 figurines. While painted, applied, and incised decoration is found on over 60% of figurine fragments in Type 4 assemblages, surface decoration is less common than in Type 3 assemblages, where it is found in over 70% of fragments (see Table 5.8 for breakdown of decorative techniques in assemblage types). While this could easily be a result of differential sample sizes, it may also suggest an increased focus on the three-dimensional form within Type 4

assemblages, with more attention paid to body attributes than demonstrated in any other assemblage type.

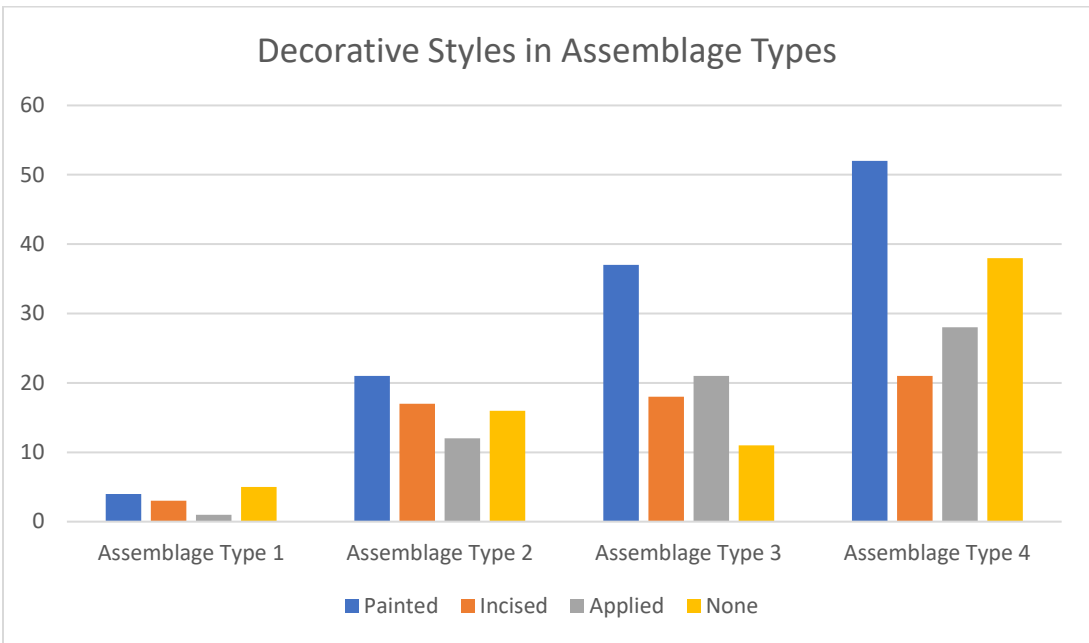


Table 5.8: Frequency of decorative styles in the 4 assemblage types. Multiple decorative styles can be found on one fragment.

Type 4 assemblages are found in all context categories. As with all other assemblage types, domestic contexts are the most common, accounting for 43 of the 114 figurine fragments from Type 4 assemblages. However, cultic contexts are almost as common, with 41 examples. This is a significant departure in assemblage trends discussed thus far and suggests a connection between Type 4 assemblages and cultic contexts. As visible through figurine data at the six case-study sites, cultic contexts tend to have more prestige, luxury goods. Not only are the figurine fragments in these contexts associated with ritual activities, they are also associated with elite assemblages and, by extension, elite groups using these objects and spaces. This has already been discussed at some length in the Kition counterpattern case study (discussed in the

“Patterns in Context” section above), where figurines were used within highly controlled communal spaces that were tied to city organization, production, and ritual practices. It is probable that access to elite cultic assemblages was limited. Figurines within these assemblages had a specific meaning that was tied both to the individuals present and those who were not permitted to participate; the exclusivity is a vital element to human-figurine interactions in the temple precinct at Kition.

There are clear trends in assemblage types for figurine fragments in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The large majority of figurines are found in assemblages with foreign materials—there is less emphasis on Cypriot-made goods and more on access to foreign trade networks and goods. With an increased focus on imported goods comes increased figurine elaboration; Type 3 assemblage fragments have the highest percentage of surface decoration, while Type 4 assemblage fragments see increased attention to small three-dimensional attributes such as horns and ears. However, just as in the previous sections, these trends are observable patterns, not the rule, and assemblage counterpatterns can help elucidate the meaning of variation in figurine assemblage types.

Counterpattern: Type 2 Assemblages at Alassa

Alassa was already discussed at some length as a counterpattern within patterns in attributes, examining the focus on quadrupedal bodies at the site. Just as patterns in attributes are tied to patterns in context and assemblage, so too are counterpatterns. At Alassa, the predominance of bovines coincides with an outlier in assemblage types. The majority of figurine fragments at the site come from Type 2 assemblages (see Table 5.9), meaning that—contrary to the observable patterns at the rest of the sites in this study—

figurines at Alassa are associated with locally-produced assemblages. However, the amount of figurine fragments from the Alassa excavations leaves something to be desired. As with other areas of this analysis, the focus on secure archaeological contexts means that the number of objects in the corpus is limited. What makes the Alassa assemblage patterns worth noting even with a small dataset of 18 fragments is that Type 2 assemblages double that of Type 4 at Alassa.¹²

	Type 1 Assemblage	Type 2 Assemblage	Type 3 Assemblage	Type 4 Assemblage	TOTAL:
Domestic Context	0	9	0	0	9
Production Context	0	1	2	1	4
Cultic Context	0	0	0	4	4
Mortuary Context	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Context	0	0	1	0	1
Unknown Context	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	0	10	3	5	18

Table 5.9: Patterns in context and assemblages at Alassa.

The Type 2 assemblage domestic contexts at Alassa are worth further consideration. All nine of the figurines from domestic contexts also belong to Type 2 assemblages. Within the domestic contexts, six figurines have been identified as coming from a domestic cultic space, Square 9A, Room Φ (see Figure 5.3, a plan of Alassa *Pano Mantilaris*, indicating a concentration of figurines in the northeast corner of the excavations). All six figurines come from approximately the same depth.¹³ Not only does this space represent a Cypriot-focused, domestic assemblage, but it also provides

¹² Again, it should be emphasized that figurines were *only* found at Alassa *Pano Mantilaris*; no figurine fragments were recovered from the elite, administrative *Paliotaverna* area.

¹³ ALA PM 137 comes from 0.10 m lower than the other five, which are all found at the same depth.

strong evidence that these bull figurines were part of domestic cult practices at Alassa. Their close proximity to one another suggests that importance was placed on depositing multiple figurines in the same space for specific domestic ritual practices.

Because Alassa's figurine corpus has already been described in detail, this counterpattern case-study focuses on the importance of counterpatterns in interpreting figurine use and meaning. An analysis of figurine patterns in Late Bronze Age Cyprus also requires an analysis of counterpatterns, as it not only avoids over-simplification, but also reflects the socio-political organization of the island, with individual city-centers controlling local production and trade.¹⁴

Considering the counterpatterns in attributes and assemblage at Alassa, two questions arise: does Alassa represent a completely different type of figurine production and usage and, in turn, should a site that differs in multiple ways like Alassa be included as one of the sites to interpret figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus? While there are clear differences in attributes and assemblages at the site, I argue that Alassa, like all counterpattern examples, paradoxically fits within figurine trends while simultaneously rejecting them.

The figurines at Alassa are similar to quadrupeds used at other sites in both fabric and style. Additionally, Alassa still fits within the patterns in context, with domestic contexts making up the majority of findspots at the site and the majority of Type 4 assemblages associated with cultic contexts. Finally, the figurines at Alassa serve as the best example of local variation or counterpatterning in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The

¹⁴ See "Historical Background" section in Chapter 1 for overview of the socio-political organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

site-to-site variation as demonstrated by these counterpatterns is not only present in Cyprus, but a characteristic of the island during the Late Bronze Age. These local variations are most visible in the counterpatterns presented for attribute, context, and assemblage, but they can also be seen at each individual site.

No two sites are identical in plan, architecture, figurine production, or figurine use. While these may seem like reasons to reject patterns for interpreting Late Cypriot figurines, they instead demonstrate that patterns in figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages—or any overarching patterns—should be considered as general guidelines and less as rules. Early art historical and archaeological analysis and categorizations created strict principles, something that is not only inaccurate, but also unhelpful within interpretive frameworks. The variability demonstrates the need for contextual analysis: unprovenanced materials cannot, with confidence, be assigned to a site, type of use, or meaning. A Base-Ring quadruped, for example, likely had a very different use in a domestic versus cultic context, which is further complicated by local variations at sites such as Alassa.

A final question remains: what does this mean for interpreting figurines at Alassa? All of the counterpatterns at Alassa—the focus on quadrupeds, specifically bulls, and Cypriot-focused assemblages—merge to produce an image of distinct figurine practices at the site. The focus of these figurines was not on foreignness or access to trade as has been demonstrated at Kition, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and Hala Sultan Tekke, but instead on local economies and production. Additionally, the quadruped-only corpus suggests there was no need or desire for bipedal, female forms at the site. Based on the domestic-focused contexts, popularity of male quadruped genitalia, and the

predominance of bull forms, I argue that male sexed, bovine clay bodies at Alassa were used as part of domestic cult practices that focused on localness. The figurine practices evident at Alassa are distinct from general patterns of use and meaning found at other sites, suggesting that the community at Alassa living in the domestic *Pano Mantilaris* area had a need to reinforce locally-focused identities, at the expense of imported goods or practices.

Patterns in Assemblages: Summary

Patterns in assemblages demonstrate the necessity to problematize and elaborate on patterns in context. Contextual analyses must also include a consideration of assemblage. In Late Bronze Age Cyprus, there is a very visible pattern of figurines being used alongside imported goods. While most clay figurines in Cyprus are made locally, their use alongside foreign and luxury goods suggests figurines held at least some symbolic importance on the island that was tied to both elite status and foreign trade. In the case of Alassa, the Type 2, locally-focused assemblages of male bovine figurine fragments demonstrate the site's individuality and the alternative use of figurines to better fit local needs. The community at Alassa, unlike at other sites in this study, deemphasized foreign exchange, instead opting to focus on symbolism associated with local, Cypriot life. Alassa is a clear counterpattern, but it nonetheless demonstrates the utility of examining patterns in assemblage as well as attributes and context.

Patterns in Fragmentation

As introduced at the beginning of this chapter (p. 227), there are only a few intact examples of clay figurines at the sites examined in this dissertation. Instead, the majority of the corpus (82.6%) is fragmented. Drawing on the theoretical framework concerning fragmentation laid out in Chapter 2 (pp. 51-54), there are three main possibilities to explain the large amount of fragmentation in the dataset. First, while the fragmentation could be a result of *in situ* breakage, this idea is challenged by the fact that very few fragments within a given context originally belonged to the same body. Second, fragmentation may have occurred accidentally during a figurine's use-life, and the fragments preserved in the archaeological record are refuse. However, many fragmented figurines are found in closed cultic or mortuary contexts, which suggests that this is, at the very least, not always the case. Third, fragmentation could be an intentional act, performed as part of ritual, communal, or economic practices. This final option is the most difficult to analyze, but key to understanding the importance placed on clay bodies and body parts during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age.

Because there are many, variable explanations for fragmentation, the primary question that needs to be investigated is: what is the evidence for intentional breakage and deposition of figurine fragments at the sites in this study? As explained in the Hala Sultan Tekke case study (Chapter 4, pp. 202-206), patterns in body part attributes, contexts, and site-to-site analysis can help to examine this question. *Maa-Paleaokastro*, for example, has no surviving full-body figurines. At first glance, this may suggest that fragmentation was prominent and possibly important at the site. However, there are only 10 fragments recovered, and the majority are from uncertain contexts. The small sample

size and lack of contextual information makes intentional fragmentation seem dubious. Instead, it is more likely that the figurine fragments at Maa-*Paleaokastro* were broken unintentionally either in antiquity or *in situ*.

Perhaps the best possible evidence of fragmentation as part of a conscious act comes from Kition's Temenos A in Area II's temple precinct. This temple precinct was discussed in the "Patterns in Context" section above (pp. 248-256), which focused on the symbolic meaning behind the concentration of foreign-looking figurines in a city-run cultic context. These figurines also offer the opportunity to examine fragmentation. As previously mentioned, there are 11 figurines that are found in Temenos A alone. Of these, six are from the same context, Pit H—likely representing a ritual deposit.¹⁵ These six fragments are all human-looking head fragments, which already suggests that there is an importance placed depositing figurine head fragments. This deposit could be the result of intentional acts of breakage or the careful curation of heads that had been unintentionally broken. The implication of the intentional collection of fragmented body parts gets strengthened, but also complicated, by the fact that outside of the pit, but still within Temenos A, four bipedal torsos were found.¹⁶ All 10 bipedal fragments are in the same fabric and style: Mycenaean-made *psi* figurines (Karageorghis 1985: 98; Figure 5.10).

Pit H, where the head fragments were recovered, is located on the threshold between Temenos A and Room 16, which Smith argues housed the "holy of holies," potentially housing the deity worshipped in the temple (Smith 2009: 62). The spatial

¹⁵ Smith (2009: 62-63) suggests that the figurines in Pit H were part of a foundation deposit.

¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that they do not all date to the same stratigraphic level; one is on Floor IIIA (ProBA 3), another on Floor III (ProBA 3), and two are on Floor II (Protogeometric).

connection between the group of fragmented bodies and Room 16 suggests that, at the very least, this deposit was intentional.



Figure 5.10: Psi-type Cypriot figurine fragments from Temenos A, Area II, Kition. Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX.

Although none of the surviving bipedal fragments in Temenos A can be joined (and thus interpreted as originally belonging to the same body), the fact that there are concentrations of heads and torsos in specific areas within the courtyard is striking. While this is only a small sample, there is still enough to suggest that part of the practices here involved the ritual placement of fragmented body parts in specific areas. However, if these figurines were part of ritual acts of fragmentation, it would be expected to find at least some joins between fragments from separate areas in the temenos. That fact that there are no clear joins may instead suggest that fragmentation was *not* an important part of ritual activities within the temenos. There is an importance placed on bipedal, female bodies within the space, as all torso fragments contain breast attributes and, more generally, psi-type figurines are typically depicted with female attributes (breasts, skirts, long hair). Within the context of Temenos A at Kition, fragmentation helps to interpret the complicated use-lives of figurines, with clear indications that at least some fragments, whether they are the result of intentional fragmentation or not, were intended for ritual

deposition. This may seem slightly underwhelming, as it does not, in fact, provide evidence for ritual fragmentation. However, it does show that fragmented bodies participated in ritual activities and that figurines had complicated use-lives that include fragmentation.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, but still within a cultic setting, the deposit of seven intact bull figurines at Enkomi (collectively referred to as Object No. 4012) demonstrates that there are clear cases where fragmentation is intentionally avoided. The deposit, in a well within the Ashlar Building at Enkomi (Room 5, Area I), is located near the ritual contexts of Courtyard 45 and Rooms 9 and 10, traditionally referred to as the Sanctuary of the Horned God, and points to the importance of bovine bodies in multiple forms and media within this space. What is most striking is that the Sanctuary of the Horned God is characterized by large deposits of bucrania; a deposit of fragmented bovine figurine heads would not be out of place within this context. However, the opposite is true. Within this context, the importance is placed on the entire figurine body, and suggests a desire to deposit intact, whole bodies as part of a ritual act in Area I at Enkomi.

The bull figurines are all in buff ware and are fairly plain, with no incised or painted decoration. The lack of fine details is in part due to their size, as they are all about 3.5 cm long. However, some figurines, such as ENK 1165, which is 4.5 cm long, do include painted and incised decoration, showing that small size is not the only factor in decoration (or lack thereof). The focus on the overall form of the figurines, versus specific attributes, points to a symbolic importance of the *entire* animal within the ritual deposit at Enkomi. Where bucrania can physically represent the ritual slaughter of a cow,

perhaps these clay cattle were deposited to reflect or represent the ritual sacrifice of a large number of cattle, physically representing whole cow bodies that were used in cultic practices at the Sanctuary of the Horned God.

Fragmentation is, like all the other categories analyzed above, variable. It differs from site to site, and there are no clear or over-arching patterns to suggest island-wide traditions of figurine fragmentation. That is not to say, however, that there is no intentional fragmentation happening in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Instead, evidence at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke suggests that the fragmenting and depositing of said fragments could be part of ritual—and likely elite, based on context and assemblage—practices. Moreover, both deposits at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke have a focus on imported goods and imagery, including in the fragmented figurines. While this observation could be coincidence, it may also be that foreign or foreign-looking figurines had specified ritual uses centered on fragmentation. Based on the case studies discussed, fragmentation can be, much like the other categories discussed in this chapter, site-specific and reflects local community practices that may not necessarily be pan-Cypriot activities.

Conclusion

Where Chapter 4 served as an individual case study, this chapter was used to examine overarching trends within the figural corpus of this dissertation. The patterns in body attributes, archaeological context, and assemblage type can each be analyzed individually with significant findings. This methodology is even more productive when

all three categories are combined, as it is only with an analysis of context and assemblage that patterns in attributes can have any substantive evidence for figurine use and meaning. Counterpatterns were also introduced to explore some of the unusual examples in the corpus and demonstrate the necessity to consider local variation and adaptability.

Patterns in figurine attributes, for example, clearly demonstrate a focus on eyes and noses on head fragments, while mid-section bipedal fragments give solid evidence that human-looking figurines are most often associated with female sexuality. These attributes, especially those of bipedal figurines, establish elements of the body that were deemed most important to depict in clay. Additionally, the focus on body parts associated with the senses of sight and smell offer opportunities to consider the sensorial, corporeal interactions between humans and figurines.

Patterns in context reveal that most figurines in this study are from domestic contexts. The overarching patterns observed in figurine attributes are dependent on these domestic contexts, and the trends of face and midsection attributes discussed can be interpreted as specifically domestic. The fact that so many figurines are found in domestic contexts points to an intimate, familial use of most figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Within domestic contexts, quadrupeds, eyes, and painted decoration are popular, and these elements were desired to be depicted in these spaces for a particular reason. Cultic contexts were also discussed, with attention paid to the phenomenon of deposits of multiple figurines. The ritual deposition of figurines has been practiced in Cyprus since at least the Chalcolithic period, with evidence from multiple sites including *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* and *Kalavasos-Ayious* (Goring 1991; Bolger 1992). What is clear regardless of context is that figurines are part of negotiations of community identities and

relations, whether that is through kin-group activities in the home, commemorating the dead, shared ritual practices, or elaborate elite feasts in grand courtyards.

In the penultimate section of this chapter, patterns in assemblage were introduced. By far the most common assemblages are Types 3 and 4, which are both characterized by the presence of foreign materials and goods. While patterns in context revealed the majority of figurines to be from domestic contexts, that observation by itself is only part of the story. An analysis of assemblage aids to nuance this, and it becomes clear that figurines are most often found in *elite* domestic contexts. What is most striking, however, is that most of the figurine fragments in this study are made locally. This may seem paradoxical to assemblage emphases on imported prestige goods, but likely is a reflection of the complicated social structures on the island that are, on one side, focused on access to foreign trade and, on the other, control of local economies and resources such as copper, as well as their associated work forces.

Finally, fragmentation was discussed. There are no clear site-wide patterns of fragmentation visible in the dataset, but there are specific contexts where evidence for fragmentation is strong. Cultic contexts at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke demonstrate that the ritual breaking and depositing of fragments could be a part of cultic practices. However, other cultic contexts such as the well deposit in Room 5 (Area I) at Enkomi discussed above also demonstrate that whole, intact figurines could also be a focus of ritual action.

Lastly, we may again ask the question: why figurines? While figurines can be emblematic and powerful symbolic objects, it is their mundane character that makes them such powerful social tools. As Bailey explains, “the importance of figurines lay in their

frequency and continuous circulation and visibility in people's daily lives" (Bailey 2005: 198-199). The material interactions between people and figurines are somatic and sensorially engaging, even when figurines are simply visible in a temple temenos or near a tomb in the center of town. As the counterpatterns of Alassa, Kition, and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* have shown, these relationships can be site and context-dependent within the context of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. What unites all the sites in this study, and the study of figurines more generally, is the fact that figurines are present in daily activities and quietly maintain meaningful relationships with people.

	HST	ENK	KIT	ALA	KAD	MAA	TOTAL
Total No.	33	83	62	18	35	10	241
Bipedal	8	28	20	0	11	1	68
Quadruped	25	45	25	18	24	7	144
Head	12	44	26	11	15	1	109
Eyes	11	23	17	11	12	0	74
Nose	8	27	15	11	9	0	70
Mouth	2	8	3	7	3	0	23
Eyebrows	1	2	2	0	0	0	5
Neck	13	37	17	12	8	5	92
Hair	2	4	2	2	1	0	11
Ears	9	17	9	3	10	0	48
Horns	6	8	9	11	10	0	44
Shoulders	4	7	2	0	4	0	17
Arms	3	14	11	0	1	0	29
Hands	2	6	2	0	0	0	10
Mid-Section	10	44	24	15	9	7	109
Breast	2	11	5	0	3	1	22
Hips	3	13	2	13	5	1	37
Public Triangle	1	7	1	0	1	1	11
Phallus	0	1	1	5	0	0	7
Legs	13	32	13	17	16	4	95
Feet	1	3	1	0	2	0	7
Tail	4	12	4	11	5	3	39
Incised Decoration	6	23	15	10	5	1	60
Applied Decoration	9	17	17	12	7	0	62
Painted Decoration	22	34	42	9	7	5	119
Domestic Context	14	39	32	9	7	2	103
Production Context	4	12	5	4	0	0	25
Cultic Context	5	12	20	4	1	1	43
Mortuary Context	1	1	2	0	5	0	9
Misc. Context	0	2	2	1	13	1	19
Unknown Context	9	17	0	0	8	6	40
Assemblage Type 1	3	6	1	0	0	0	10
Assemblage Type 2	6	21	3	10	5	2	47
Assemblage Type 3	11	16	16	3	14	7	67
Assemblage Type 4	13	40	41	5	14	1	114

Table 5.10: Overall dataset numbers for attributes, context, and assemblage.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS–THE CYPRIOT CLAY BODY

*There have always been dolls
as long as there have been people.
In the trash heaps and abandoned temples
the dolls pile up;
the sea is filling with them.*

*What causes them?
Or are they gods, causeless,
something to talk to
when you have to talk,
something to throw against the wall?*

*A doll is a witness
who cannot die,
with a doll you are never alone.*

*On the long journey under the earth,
in the boat with two prows,
there were always dolls.*

iii, Five Poems For Dolls, Margaret Atwood

Introduction

This final chapter brings together all the moving pieces of this dissertation and attempts to answer the research questions first laid out in Chapter 1: what are the patterns in bodily attributes, context, and assemblage, and what do these patterns reveal about figurine use? How do clay figurines fit within the wider conception of the Cypriot body? What can figurines reveal about how people identified themselves and their communities?

The chapter begins with a summary of the patterns in attributes, contexts, and assemblage, then moves on to a theoretical consideration of figurine affordances, identity and community formation, and the complicated relationship between humans and animals as reflected in clay figurines in the Late Bronze Age. The discussion then turns to why this research is important more broadly, briefly investigating the differences between the trends within this archaeologically-informed analysis and unprovenanced collections, and ends with a consideration of how future directions within this work can balance some of the dissertation's limitations.

Summary of Interpretations

The use of figurines is culturally dependent and multifaceted. They can be objects of play, collection and display, religious practices, learning, and remembrance; and these types of uses and meanings can all be applied to a single figurine. Through their small size, figurines afford unique types of interactions with people on an intimate level that is exclusive to the small-scale.

Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines are not simply cultic icons, nor are they merely items of child's play or display. Instead, our understanding of their use and meaning are highly dependent on archaeological context. Through an analysis of patterns in figurine attributes, context, and assemblage and employing a combination of materiality, identity, and community theoretical frameworks, more nuanced understandings of how figurines relate to the Cypriot embodied experience can be achieved.

Patterns in figurine attributes demonstrate that, contrary the focus on human figurines within scholarship on Bronze Age Cyprus, anthropomorphic representations were not the in the majority. Instead, quadrupedal, in particular bovine, figurines are the predominant form in the dataset. This fact brings into question what exactly a Cypriot clay body is, as evidence suggests that most clay bodies do not resemble the human form.

Eye attributes and additional decorations (such as incised or painted lines) are frequent throughout all case-study sites, and suggest an importance placed on the visual, presentational nature of figurines. Bipedal figurines, when present, do in fact focus on female sexual attributes, and there are no attestations of bipedal male sexual attributes.

Contextual patterns show that figurines were mainly used and deposited within domestic contexts. Although they are found in concentrations in cultic contexts (such as the temple precinct at Kition), there is a clear emphasis on household use. If figurines were used as part of ritual practices, these likely occurred in the house and reflect family practices.

Based on patterns in assemblage, figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus can sometimes be interpreted as markers of elite identity. While the majority of figurines are locally-produced, they are most frequently found in assemblages with prestige and imported goods. Groups capable of acquiring and controlling luxury resources would have used the locally-made figurines as part of these assemblages.

There are overarching patterns within the above categories, but even more apparent is that Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines are highly variable from site-to-site, as evidenced in the counterpatterns discussed in Chapter 5. This reflects the sociopolitical organization of the island, with a focus on autonomous regional centers of

control and a focus on local communities. Yet this also highlights a tension between the general understanding of a “Cypriot body world” and the clear evidence for local differences.

Figurine Affordances

The first research question is aimed at understanding the contextual use and deposition of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Through an analysis focused on bodily attributes, production techniques, decorative styles, context, and assemblage, patterns in use and meaning can be observed that would not be possible through only visual *or* contextual analysis alone. This methodology is situated in a material-focused theoretical and interpretive framework, focused on affordances, miniaturization and stereotyping. It is essential to situate a study of figurines within the theoretical framework of materiality, as objects influence the ways in which we, as humans, interact with the world. However, the primacy of agency must always be focused on humans. Non-organic, non-living things cannot have the same conscious agency as living things, but they can have affordances, creating enmeshed networks and relationships between people and things.

While the design choices may seem just aesthetic, they can change the ways in which humans interact with figurines—the size, shape, material, and decoration of figurines afford different types of interactions. For example, a Base Ring bovine with geometric painted and incised decoration is a large, hollow figurine. The decoration on the body encourages the figurine to be looked at from multiple sides, the incised and applied decorations are tempting to touch, and the figurine’s polished, deep red-brown

fabric makes them distinct. This can be contrasted with the much smaller Mycenaean-made bovine figurines. Where Base Ring figurines are a rich red-brown with lighter paint on the midsection and incised decoration on the head, Mycenaean figurines are pale beige-to-pink and feature orange or red painted decoration from head-to-tail. They are much smaller in scale, usually of solid construction, and rarely include incised decoration. Representations of the same object (or animal) of reference that are different in scale, decoration, and production afford very different types of physical interactions with people. While they both resemble bovine shapes, a Base Ring bull figurine and a Mycenaean bull figurine are clearly different objects in both scale and elaboration. It is unlikely that they held exactly the same meaning and instead probable that they had different functions. Of note is that the Mycenaean bull figurines that are popular in Cyprus are not the only type of quadrupedal figurines being produced in the Mycenaean world; there are also large-size wheel-thrown figurines (French 1971). Yet there are no examples of this style of quadrupedal figurine within the case-study site corpora. Instead, Cypriot elites at these sites seem to have deliberately chosen the smaller figurines for use.

Stereotyping almost always goes along with miniaturization, as the act of making something smaller than its scale in real life necessitates the prioritization of certain visual aspects or attributes. Figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus are characterized by a focus on eye and nose attributes, and the smaller a figurine gets, the less likely it is that the “extra” attributes such as mouths or ears are depicted. While this is in part the result of practicality, there is a clear choice on the part of the maker in deciding what elements to depict; it would be simple enough, for instance, to include a short horizontal incision to indicate a mouth. These choices result in a stereotype—a standardized, often abstracted

form, that transforms a figurine from a simple representation into a symbolically meaningful object. In the case of bipedal figurines, this stereotyping is best shown in the characteristic flat tops of the heads. While there is some evidence for cranial modification in Late Bronze Age Cypriot burials (see Chapter 3, pp. 109-112), it is not to the extent that is represented in bipedal figurines. Instead, these features get transformed and exaggerated to create an object that is not human, but also not simply clay.

A materiality-focused approach to figurine analysis allows for nuanced understandings of how figurines that resemble the everyday, such as cows or people, can be transformed into symbolic objects of extraordinary meaning, as well as how the physical properties of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus can impact the people that make and use them.

Identity and Community Formation

The majority of clay figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus are found in assemblages with imported goods and luxury materials, suggesting that figurines, at least for the excavated case-study sites examined within this dissertation, were primarily used by elites and within elite spaces. In Chapter 1, it was noted that the archaeological data exhibits an elite bias, given the predominant focus of excavations on settlement centers. Thus, this elite-focus may be attributed more to excavation bias. However, the data available do suggest that figurines played a part in elite practices centered on the creation and reinforcement of group identities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, identities can be multiple, overlapping, and even competing. The most obvious identities that are reflected in clay are those of gender,

which are discussed below. Identities associated with social status are also evident; figurines tend to be found in assemblages with higher numbers of luxury and imported goods (referred to as Assemblage Types 3 and 4 in this analysis), with 42% of all figurines being found in the prestige-goods Type 4 assemblages. Figurines within these contexts and assemblages would have been used by a specific group of people with higher socioeconomic standing. Interestingly, Type 4 assemblages are found in the widest array of context-types, including cultic and mortuary, but the majority are domestic. Through the use and display of figurines, interactions with clay figurines in elite spaces, including elite households, likely reflected and reinforced elite identity. The figurines found in and around Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* offer perhaps the best example of this, and in Chapter 5 (pp. 257-265) it was argued that figurines and figural rhyta were used as part of feasting practices that were closely tied elite access and wealth at the site. As Fisher (2023) has argued, the feasting activities within Building X engaged a larger percentage of the local population, beyond the ruling elite, emphasizing the importance of social negotiations within local power dynamics.

Chapter 3, which examined archaeological evidence for bodies outside of clay figurines—the Late Cypriot “body world”—demonstrated the importance placed on visuals and display within elite spheres, best evidenced by the importance of multigenerational tomb elaboration, bodily adornment and cranial modification, and feasting practices. The popularity of eye attributes (found on 68% of head fragments) and painted decoration (found on 49% of *all* figurine fragments) parallels this focus on the act of seeing and display. Because of this connection, I argue that clay figurines within elite contexts and assemblages are reflections of these specific social bodies that

are tied to elite identity. Importance is placed on the visual nature of the body as a nexus of identity and display.

Female Sexual Attributes and Divinity

This dissertation began with a clear break from traditional scholarship that sees nude females as icons of divine fertility, and instead argued for examining the patterns in figurine attributes, context, and assemblage to understand the use and meaning of figurines. Because of the diverse context and assemblage data for female-sexed figurines, there is no clear evidence to point to a fertility goddess. In fact, only 14 bipedal fragments come from cultic contexts: one from Enkomi, two from Hala Sultan Tekke, 10 from Kition, and one from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Only the one from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* contains a female sexual attribute (in this case, a pubic triangle), while none of the others include clear sex markers.

On this basis, I argue that the characteristic so-called “Astarte” figurines of Late Bronze Age Cyprus likely did not play a part in cultic practices. Instead, female-sexed figurines are objects that are used in the negotiation and establishment of elite, female identity. Many female-sexed figurine torsos, necks, and heads include jewelry that mirrors actual pieces that are found in tomb contexts (see discussion of bodily display in Chapter 3, pp. 101-109, Figure 6.1). This points to them being closer to representations of people and how they actually adorned their bodies. The facts that the majority of figurines are from domestic contexts, that figurines such as HST 98 12-1 (see Chapter 4, pp. 184-185, 215-221) are found in multigenerational tombs alongside female-sexed remains, and that there is an increase in tomb elaboration for elite females in Late Bronze

Age Cyprus more generally, suggests that bipedal figurines may be more focused on familial ties and kin groups than representations of a goddess, be it Astarte, Aphrodite, or Hathor.



Figure 6.1: Left: Beads from necklace (reconstructed), pit, Stratum 2, Area 6, Hala Sultan Tekke. Fischer 2012. Right: HST N215, with painted “necklaces”, Fischer and Bürge 2014: Fig. 23 (p. 78).

Figurine Counterpatterns and Community

The use of case-study sites to analyze the function and meaning of clay figurines allows for compelling comparison on local levels that can point to different aspects of community formation in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. As the contextual analysis discussed at length in Chapter 5 indicates, the majority of figurines come from domestic contexts, an arena frequently associated with community formation practices (see discussion of community formation, Chapter 2, pp. 75-77). Because figurines are most frequently found in shared domestic spaces, such as domestic courtyards, interactions with figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus likely happened on a daily basis, and these types of interactions were shared by members of the house.

Community is formed through shared daily practices and beliefs within a group of people with different identities, be it status, gender, age, or occupation. In the analysis of Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines, community formation is best seen in local patterns and preferences in figurine production and usage, which usually occur within elite spheres. The figurines are fairly uniform in overall production techniques, but it is the contextual use and deposition of figurines that is highly variable at each site. Without an inclusion of contextual information, local adaptation of figurine use that reflects community identities would be impossible to interpret. Chapter 5 introduced multiple “counterpatterns” that demonstrated local adaptations or innovations to figurine use and meaning. These site-based counterpatterns could be indicative of different local identity and community groups. Alassa is the best example, as it is the only site at which no bipedal figurine fragments have been found (see discussion in Chapter 5, pp. 239-243). Why does the community at Alassa not fit within the general trend of using bipedal figurines, which is present at all other sites in this analysis? Emblematic style, as introduced in Chapter 2, is the conscious use of style in the production of objects to reflect group identities, visibly marking the community making in a particular style as different from that of other communities. Stylistic preferences at site-levels that do not align with the larger trends in figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages, reflect local agency that helps to define a community through the production and use of emblematic figurines. At Alassa, the quadruped corpus reflects local figurine practices that focus *only* on bovines. These practices, which mainly happened in domestic contexts, shape the elite community through shared experiences.

Alassa was also used as a counterpattern for patterns in assemblage, with the majority of figurines being found in Type 2 assemblages, meaning that there is a focus on Cypriot-produced, versus imported, material. This suggests that figurines at Alassa *Pano Mantilaris* were used by a wider range of the population than evident in the elite assemblages at other case-study sites. Because Alassa's figurine corpus is unique compared to the other sites in this study, the lack of bipedal figurines could be seen as a marker of otherness and another way to concretize a collective identity that separated groups living at Alassa from those living elsewhere. Site-specific analysis of figurines and a comparison of patterns in figurine attributes, contexts, and assemblages, demonstrates clear evidence for different local preferences in figurine use, reflecting community-defined aesthetics and identity.

Communities of Ritual (and) Practice

Because of the focus on luxury assemblages at the majority of sites, most of these community-formation practices occur within elite domestic spheres. However, communities are not just formed through shared domestic practices, but also through shared production, belief, and ritual activities. The counterpattern of Kition's Area II temple precinct discussed in Chapter 5 (pp. 249-257) is an excellent example that combines communities of practice and ritual. The temple area is physically connected to metallurgical processing areas as well as to the site's northern wall. This strategic location creates a bond between an important local resource (copper), ritual practices, and the physical boundaries of the settlement. Figurines deposited in this area are found in courtyards, the most accessible spaces within the temple complex. Interestingly, Kition's

temple precinct has some of the best evidence for the intentional deposition of fragmented figurines, with clear evidence for the ritual deposit of Mycenaean-made figurine heads. These fragments were involved in ritual practices that reflected shared local beliefs. While their original use may have been non-ritual in nature, the fragmentation and deposition within cultic spaces demonstrates that figurines (and fragments) can play an active role in cultic activities that, in turn, concretized communities of ritual through the establishment of temple precincts and site-wide ritual practices and beliefs.

Within communities of ritual and practice, figurines could act as objects of remembrance. As part of funerary and cultic practices, the body of the figurine can be a connection to the past and a physical object of social memory. The figurines deposited near Tomb 11 at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, were deposited after the tomb was closed. It is likely these figurines were part of rituals associated with the tomb that, as South (1997; 2000) and Fisher (2023) have argued, connected the ruling elites at Building X to the past through ritual acts of remembrance.¹ There are spatial and symbolic connections between the tomb and the elite control of resources. The practice of depositing figurines within these contexts is a marker of the importance of commemorating the dead within living elite practices; likely creating and legitimizing site control through the assimilation of ancestors, whether kin-connections be real or imagined.

¹ See counterpattern discussion of Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*' administrative context (Chapter 5, pp. 256-264).

Figurine use and meaning is first and foremost focused on interactions with the individual body. However, bodies are socially and culturally dependent. Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines are objects reflective of identity, community, and social memory. Their use in practices within domestic, cultic, mortuary, production, and administrative contexts can all be shared by different members of the community within these spaces. As markers of identity, figurines could be used as part of learning practices, ritual practices, and consumption practices that in turn created communities through shared collective experiences. The analysis of figurines reveals that Cypriot communities were agentive in their preferences for figurine types and functions, as evidenced in the various counterpatterns discussed in Chapter 5. Figurines could be part of domestic ritual and social practices that reinforce certain group identities through the use and display of figurines during these activities.

Human-Animal Divide

This dissertation originally began as an investigation into the body as reflected in clay figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus; however, it does not answer as many questions surrounding the *human* body as I had assumed going into this research. Instead, it speaks to a far more complicated human-animal divide (or lack thereof). One of the major takeaways from trends in attributes is that, contrary to most Late Cypriot figurine scholarship (e.g., Morris 1985; Orphanides 1988; Karageorghis 1991; 1993; Bolger 2003; Budin 2011), quadrupedal figurines are by far the most frequent form in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Their numbers more than double those of bipedal fragments,

and the majority can be interpreted as resembling bovine forms (see Patterns in Attributes discussion, Chapter 5, p. 228).

As discussed throughout this dissertation, and within Chapters 2 and 3 in particular, animals were not just beasts of subsistence and burden, and instead had meaningful interactions and relationships with people.² While this study has placed emphasis on affordances within human-object interactions, “human-animal engagements could be of greater importance in creating the social and identity than human-object actions” (Poole 2015: 859).

Throughout the Prehistoric Bronze Age in Cyprus, animals (and especially cattle) were included in representations of people (see discussion of the Bellapais *Vounous* model in Chapter 4, pp. 208-210). In the Late Bronze Age, the importance of animals within Cypriot society is reflected in the predominance of their representations, both as whole animals and as elements incorporated into other bodies, such as the Horned God and Ingot God. The use of bull horns to denote divinity, a common Levantine and Mesopotamian motif, as well as the ritual deposit of bucrania in temples at Enkomi and Kition, point to a cultic importance of bovine bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

Quadruped clay figurines are representations of domestic animals, mainly bovines, that, through the acts of miniaturization and stereotyping, become transformed from everyday animals into extraordinary objects laden with meaning. I argue that, based on similarities with other types of cultic representations and their popularity at all sites in

² See Overton and Hamilakis 2013 and Boyd 2017 for overview of social zooarchaeology and the rejection of anthropocentrism.

this study, bovine figurines are far more likely to have had religious importance and played a role in domestic ritual practices than their bipedal counterparts.

The importance of animals as reflected in clay figurines, however, is not just limited to cultic bovine bodies. Even the most easily recognizable anthropomorphic figurines from Late Bronze Age Cyprus contain elements with visual similarities to animals. Why create bipedal figurines with humanoid bodies yet distinctively non-humanoid facial anatomy such as beaks?

The dichotomy of human/animal, or culture/nature, that defines our modern Western ontology is not universal. For some Amazonian peoples, for example, humans and animals have the same essence or spirit, and it is the physical form that can vary and change—the human-animal divide is perhaps better understood as a spectrum, through which bodies can constantly shift and change (Miracle and Borič 2008: 102-103, 107; see Vivieros de Castro 1998). Conneller (2004), for example, has persuasively argued that animals were an essential part of human identity at the Mesolithic site of Star Carr. The incorporation of animal bodies into the human form happened in multiple ways, including the use of animal bodies for clothing, bodily decoration, food, and tools: “in these mundane activities [there is] already an ambiguity of where human bodies end and animal bodies start” (Conneller 2004:47-48). The taking-on of animal attributes, such as antlers, allowed the human body to transform. However, these transformations, Conneller argues, are not literal human-to-deer, but instead transformations of the human body into something else entirely (2004: 50). This is not to say that Late Bronze Age Cyprus is exactly analogous to these examples. Instead, the purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate that there can be far more complex understandings of humans and their

place in the world, including their relationships with animals, that do not fit our modern western perceptions.

Newman and Rossi (2022) and Averett (2015; 2020) have demonstrably argued that people can become hybrid human-animals through the incorporation of elements, both physical and psychological, of an animal. For Newman and Rossi, it is through the representation of animal elements or body positions that the transformation happens. For Averett, this happens in ritual practices using masks to transform the wearer.

The “Astarte” or “bird-faced” figurines, discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 221-224), have beak-like noses that are a conscious choice on the part of the makers. If the noses indeed are inspired by birds, there are two possible, and intertwined, interpretations. First, these could be representations of humans wearing bird-like masks. Second, it could be argued that bird-faced figurines represent human-animal hybrids. Both of these interpretations suggest the active transformation of the human.

If the figurines are masked, then these objects represent human bodies that actively take on elements of animal bodies as part of ritual practices; these are representations of an active transformation beyond the human. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of masks within the datasets of Enkomi and Kition, and Averett’s work on masks from the end of the second millennium to the mid-first millennium BCE provides ample evidence for the physical use of masks and animal skulls (see Averett 2015; 2020). If the figurines instead represent true human-animal hybrids, then they themselves are transformations of the human body into something more-than-human. The assimilation of animal forms into anthropomorphic

representations in clay and bronze suggests that there is a far more blurred boundary between what is human and what is animal in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

This brief analysis points to complicated understandings of the relationships between human and animal bodies that merit further analysis. A feature of this dissertation is the focus on site-wide corpora, allowing for an inclusion of all provenanced figurine data. If quadruped figurines were not included, and the focus was purely on bipedal figurines, not only would the number of provenanced figurines be extremely limited, but it would also foster the misleading assumption that bipedal figurines were far more common than they actually are in the archaeological record. The surprising popularity of quadruped figurines brings in new questions and lines of inquiry about the very nature of being human in Late Bronze Age Cyprus that would otherwise be missed in a purely anthropomorphic analysis.

The Cypriot Body World and Clay Bodies

How exactly do the clay bodies discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 fit within the broader concept of a Late Bronze Age Cypriot “body world” as introduced in Chapter 3? There are clear tensions between the broader patterns in archaeological evidence for bodies and community-based differences. These are best shown in the counterpatterns discussed in Chapter 5, but are also evident in the array of tomb, head-shaping, and settlement architecture variation throughout the island during the period. With significant evidence for local differences, does the term “Cypriot body world” still have utility in this analysis? I would argue that local adaptations are in fact a key feature of the Cypriot body world: evidence both within and outside of clay figurines suggests that emblematic

style—the agentive choice to create something to reflect a group identity (see Chapter 2, p. 59)—and community identity are central to embodied experience in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Community and local variation are at the heart of the Cypriot body world, with group identity impacting everything from what one wore, to how an infant’s head was bound, to how one was interred, and to the types of clay bodies one chose to make and use.

An even larger issue is contending with how clay figurines, which mainly resemble animals, fit within the concept of a human-focused body world. It seems antithetical to use animal figurines to interpret a body world. However, and as previously mentioned, the ways in which humans interact with animals and images of animals is can be reflective of how people conceive of their place within the world. Animals, particularly domestic animals, are integral parts of society and can be just as important as humans in community formation (Galaty and Johnson 1990; Hill 2013). Animal figurines do not speak directly to embodied human experience or conceptions of the human body; in fact, clay figurines seem to not be essential in artistic representations of human bodies more generally.

Instead, zoomorphic figurines reinforce the importance of non-humans in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. As discussed throughout this dissertation, cattle held economic and cultic importance, and the popularity of their representations in clay is not a coincidence. The possible human-animal hybrids discussed in the previous section also emphasize the importance of animals within the human lived experience, and suggest that animals were central to the totality of bodily experiences and representations that make up the Late Bronze Age Cypriot body world. Animal bodies in Late Bronze Age Cyprus merit far

more academic scrutiny: their popularity in clay suggests that animals were integral elements within economic, social, and cultic practices that helped shape local communities.

The Importance of Provenance

Archaeological context has been the cornerstone of this study, but the question remains: what about the many unprovenanced clay figurines said to be from Late Bronze Age Cyprus? In order to truly understand how much information has been lost, the figurines collections from Desmond Morris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met), and the British Museum (BM) will be briefly examined. There are some clear differences in this unprovenanced material compared to that of the case-study sites discussed in this dissertation. However, these distinctions become inconsequential, for objects devoid of context are incapable of offering insights into the understanding of people or practices.

Desmond Morris' *Art of Ancient Cyprus* (1985) is a frequently cited source; it is a detailed, descriptive discussion of the many arts of ancient Cyprus, and is informed by the author's own private collection. Morris' collection of Late Bronze Age clay figurines is surprisingly small compared to the rest of his collection—8 anthropomorphs and 5 quadrupeds, all of which are unprovenanced—but he also uses comparanda to create stylistic categorizations. Within the category of anthropomorphic figurines, Morris discusses 17 additional figurines. Of these, only 5 have recorded findspots. Morris does not include any comparanda for his quadruped figurines, all of which are variations of bull rhyta. If Morris' discussion of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus were to be taken at face value, not only would quadruped bodies seem to be in the minority, it would also

seem that they are only found as parts of vessels. Bull rhyta are found in archaeological contexts, of course, but there are far more free-standing, non-vessel animal figurines than presented within his catalog.

The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is one of the largest collections of Cypriot artifacts outside of Cyprus and was originally purchased in the 1870s by the Met. There is no archaeological information for any of the pieces in the collection aside from a few “said to be from X” comments, and there are no records to confidently confirm where Cesnola found these objects. Within this collection, there are 14 anthropomorphic figurines, 3 of which have no sexual attributes. Seven of the anthropomorphic figurines are in the “bird-shaped” style, while the rest are a combination of Mycenaean *psi*, flathead, or miscellaneous types. There are also 3 bovine figurines and 8 vessels with animal attributes, 2 of which are also bovine (Karageorghis 2000a: 43-45; Karageorghis *et al.* 2016: 19-28). There is a clear focus on female-sexed bipedal figurines (11), particularly examples in the bird-face style (7): they are visually striking and make for interesting art objects in a museum, so a preference for them as part of a large museum purchase makes sense. Non-vessel quadrupeds are only represented by three Base-Ring bulls, and animal vessels are not even included in discussions of clay art objects.³

The manner in which the objects are presented suggests that nude female anthropomorphic figurines were by far the most popular subject matter for figurine-makers in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and that there is no connection between free-standing

³ They are completely missing from Karageorghis *et al.*'s 2016 catalog of Cypriot terracotta art, and are introduced separately in the pottery section of Karageorghis' 2000a catalog of the Cesnola collection.

figurines and vessels with figural elements, such as rhyta. However, the Middle Cypriot period saw an explosion of figurines attached to or forming a part of vessels (*e.g.*, the Bellapais *Vounous* model). Both rhyta and free-standing bovines are also made in the same style and out of the same Base Ring fabric, suggesting that the difference between figurine and vessel may not be as clear as is reflected in these catalogs. Beyond this superficial division of clay figurines, the collection suffers most from a complete lack of archaeological context—there is a bias towards the human body, and the pick-and-choose style of “excavation” at the turn of the last century results in a collection of artifacts that does not reflect what is actually in the archaeological record.

The British Museum holds a collection of Cypriot artifacts within the Greek and Roman Antiquities department. The Late Bronze Age material was mainly acquired through the Turner Bequest Excavations, which took place between 1896-1897 (Murray *et al.* 1900). While some records were kept, there are no clear indicators of where contexts were in relation to one another, or to the geography of the landscape. All clay figurines from this expedition come from tombs—this is unsurprising, as the BM was specifically searching for rich tomb contexts, and frequently ignored materials they saw as unimportant (see Steel 2001). This resulted in the collection of very specific types of objects; there was no systematic collection of materials, and instead only pieces “worthy” of being shipped back to London were taken. Of these, 56 are clay figurines from the Late Bronze Age; 22 are bovine and 26 are anthropomorphic (Walters 1903: 1-7).⁴ Contrary to the data presented in this study, anthropomorphic figurines make up just

⁴ This includes 23 nude female figurines, a chariot rider, a standing figure with phallus, and a cradleboard figure.

under half of the Late Cypriot figurines at the British Museum (within the case-study sites, 28% of figurines are anthropomorphic, whereas those at the BM make up 46% of their corpus). This is clearly due to the conscious choice in what to collect from tombs, and it has resulted in a biased picture of Cypriot tombs and figurines.

There is a disconnection between these collections and what has been presented here from the case-study sites. This demonstrates the amount of material that has been removed from the archaeological record—there may have been far more figurines in tomb contexts than what I have presented, but the expeditions of western Europeans at the turn of the twentieth century looking for museum-worthy objects have made it impossible to understand the relationship between figurines and mortuary practices.

The corpus of Early Cycladic marble figurines is perhaps the best lesson in the importance of archaeological context when analyzing figurine groups. The corpus has been deeply corrupted by fakes, making any analysis of figurines without context practically impossible (Gill and Chippendale 1993; Chippendale and Gill 2000). Beyond this, Gill and Chippendale estimated that 85% of Early Cycladic tomb contexts had been destroyed in the pursuit of figurines (1993: 625). The work of early western expeditions to Cyprus likely parallels this to an extent. Recent work by Marthari *et al.* (2017; 2019) and Stampolidis and Sotirakopoulou (2017) have attempted to remedy this by focusing on Cycladic figurines with solid contextual information, and these volumes speak to the different veins of analysis that are possible for provenanced objects.

The point of this discussion is not just to lament the lack of archaeological information available for a large portion of Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines, but also to clearly demonstrate how little unprovenanced objects can actually tell us. The

questions of this dissertation are focused on Cypriot communities and their practices, and objects without context cannot, by principle, answer them. These comparisons make clear that a provenance-focused approach reveals completely different types of information about figurine production, use, and deposition than that of unprovenanced material; in fact, the unprovenanced figurines run the risk of completely obfuscating the patterns in figurine attributes within archaeological contexts and assuming all figurines had the same functions and meanings regardless of where they were made, used, and deposited.

Moving Forward

While this dissertation has some significant findings, there are of course limitations to the analysis and what can be argued. These limitations can, however, be rectified by future avenues of research. The most obvious one is the dataset size—the amount of figurine fragments from solid archaeological contexts in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is small. Because of the limited nature of the corpus, the dissertation cannot speak to all of Late Cypriot figurine practices. An inclusion of all Late Cypriot figurines with solid archaeological provenance would be beneficial in testing the methodology and strengthening (or weakening) the interpretations of this study.

Based on Knox's 2012 examination of clay figurines from Bronze Age Cyprus, there are 914 total clay figurines that date to the Cypriot Late Bronze Age. Of these, 263 have no archaeological information, and the remaining 651 have varying degrees of context. Based on her analysis, including her categories of low, medium, and high provenance, around 50% of the "provenanced" figurines from the Late Bronze Age do

not meet the requirements for context and archaeological recording of this dissertation (Knox 2012: 88-89). Based on these numbers, I would estimate that there are approximately 330-350 well-provenanced clay figurines dating to ProBA Cyprus, meaning this dissertation has examined between 68-71% of provenanced figurines.⁵

While it would take some time to scour excavation reports, *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* season summaries, and articles, the endeavor would be worthwhile. From a brief search (and to compare the size of this study's corpus to that of figurines with archaeological contexts writ large), there are many sites that include one or two figurine fragments that were not included in this dissertation, but the sites presented in this dissertation as case studies represent the largest amounts of well-recorded, excavated figurines. Kourion-*Bamboula* would be a difficult, but useful inclusion—the excavations by the British Museum are unfortunately not well-recorded (done under Walters as part of the Turner Bequest Excavations), but there are many (unpublished) records for the University of Pennsylvania excavations. It is currently unknown how many have solid contextual information, but the Penn Museum does have an archive of all records from the excavations (some of which are now available on their digital archive, *Digital Kourion*). The Late Cypriot tomb at Kazaphani-*Ayios Andronikos* includes at least three bull rhyta, and would add to the (still limited) information about figurines in tomb contexts. Unfortunately, the relationship between the tomb and the rest of this site has not been fully investigated (see Nicolaou *et al.* 1989). There are also a

⁵ Knox's estimates did not include the majority of the Hala Sultan Tekke or Alassa Pano Mantilaris figurines, as both sites had the majority of publications after her dissertation. If those sites are taken out, then we are left with 190 figurines in this dissertation, meaning it still accounts for 54-57% of provenanced material as of 2012.

small number of figurines from Maroni *Vournes* (unpublished), Katydata-*Linou* (published, Åström and Phlourantzios 1989), Sinda (published, Furumark and Adelman 2003), Morphou-*Toumba Tou Skourou* (partly published, Vermeule 1974), Apliki (published, Kling *et al.* 2007).⁶ Also worth noting is that Cypriot-made figurines are found outside of Cyprus—14 figurines have been found at Ugarit, 10 at Lachish, 10 at Alalakh, and smaller amounts at sites throughout the Levantine coast (see Knox 2012: 205, Table 20).⁷ A comprehensive study of figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus with archaeological context would not only help in strengthening the interpretations of this dissertation, it could also provide a window into figurine use outside of coastal centers, perhaps revealing more counterpatterns.

Another limitation of this study is chronology; as briefly discussed in Chapter 1 (see Tables 1.2 and 1.3, p. 20), the majority of figurines in this dissertation actually date to the ProBA 3, meaning that most of the trends in the dataset represent figurine use and meaning ca. 1340-1100 BCE, with Enkomi and Kition providing evidence of continued figurine use during the Protogeometric. The data in this study could potentially be used to examine temporal trends and shifts, but, as Table 1.2 shows, the occupational period of each site is dramatically different, making any analysis of cross-site figurine chronology in Late Bronze Age Cyprus difficult. A site-based *longue durée* analysis of figurine use would, however, be productive, considering how local innovations within figurine

⁶ This list is aggregated based on Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973 and Knox 2012. However, the quality of archaeological recording is still unknown. For example, Knox 2012 includes all of the British Museum figurines collected at the turn of the century in her count for figurines with provenance. I would, on the other hand, categorically reject them, as there was no systematic recording or excavation. There is no detailed, specific archaeological information that would allow for more analysis that has been done here.

⁷ My brief research has not found evidence of Cypriot clay figurines in the Aegean, interestingly.

production and use develop over time. This dissertation focused broadly on the Late Bronze Age, but it would be worthwhile to conduct a detailed chronological examination of figurine use at a given site, both within and beyond the Late Bronze Age (such as the Smith's 2009 focused analysis of Kition from the end of the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age). Sites such as Enkomi and Kition, which have continued habitation both before and after the Late Bronze Age (Enkomi in the Middle Cypriot period, and Kition into the Iron Age), could provide important data for local traditions in figurine production and consumption that remain constant or dramatically change.

A final possible direction would be one focused on materials and the *chaîne opératoire* of production. This has already begun to be investigated by Alexandrou (2016), who focuses on the use-life of Base Ring bipedal figurines. It would be worthwhile to include an analysis of Base Ring quadrupedal figurines within this analysis, as it could reveal differences in the *chaîne opératoire* for bipeds and quadrupeds. It would also be useful to begin a study of fabrics and clay sources, as there is some ambiguity between Mycenaean-made and Mycenaean-influenced, but locally made figurines. A detailed analysis of clay sources would help in understanding if there was an exchange of figurines between different regions within Cyprus or if figurines tended to stay in the regions in which they were produced.

Coda

If this research has proven anything, it is that a contextual analysis of figurines is essential for understanding their use and meaning. Without contextual data, an analysis of figurines—or any small object for that matter—is incomplete. This context-focus

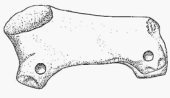
operates both on an archaeological and a historical/cultural level. Provenance and archaeological data are essential in understanding how figurines relate to a site and to one another. But is it also important to consider how figurines fit within the larger cultural context; in this dissertation, figurines are situated within the Late Cypriot “body world” to better understand their relationships with other bodies. A study of the body as reflected in figurines that does not include other types of bodies in the archaeological record is incomplete. This contextual analysis has shown that figurines were used as part of social negotiations of identity and community, and this was done through the visual display and use of figurines alongside elite paraphernalia.

Beyond this, this dissertation demonstrates the applicability of an interdisciplinary analysis of figurines, which in turn can encourage collaboration amongst archaeologists, anthropologists, and art historians in future studies of Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines. This collaboration not only enriches our understanding of the past, but also paves the way for innovative methodologies and cross-disciplinary approaches that can be applied to other archaeological contexts worldwide.

Appendix

Excavation No.	Site	Context	Biped	Quadruped	Domestic Context	Production Context	Cultic Context	Mortuary Context	Misc. Context	Unknown Context	Assemblage Type 1	Assemblage Type 2	Assemblage Type 3	Assemblage Type 4	Image Citation	Image
ENK 21	Enkomi	Area I, court, B-F 2-4 south, floor I (Level IIIC)		X			X								Dikaios 1969: Pl. 147/52; 177/12	
ENK 29	Enkomi	Tomb 19 (Area I, Squares A-N, 0-4 North)	X					X						X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 217/13	
ENK 206	Enkomi	Area I, room 33, in layer overlying floor III					X							X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 134/55; 164/8	
ENK 253	Enkomi	Area I, room 12, floor II (Level IIIB)	X				X							X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/4; 170/3	
ENK 660	Enkomi	Area I, Room 24, Floor I, Level IIIC		X			X							X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 147/44-45; 177/11	
ENK 777	Enkomi	destruction layer IIIB in Area III		X						X		X		X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 147/43	
ENK 838	Enkomi	Area I, Room 42, Level IIIC		X	X										Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/17	

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ENK 905	Enkomi	Area I, Room 42, Floor II, Level IIIB (Late)		X	X								X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/12-13; 170/12- 13	
ENK 949	Enkomi	Area I, Room 46 north-east corner, in layer overlying floor VI (End of IIIA Level)		X	X						X		X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/39; 164/4	
ENK 1090	Enkomi	Area III, room 18, I-K 10-12 east, floor I		X	X					X				Dikaios 1969: Pl. 177/10	
ENK 1102	Enkomi	Area III, room 4, Γ- Δ 22-24 east (Level IIIB)	X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/1; 170/1	
ENK 1105	Enkomi	Area III, Z-H 18- 20 east, floor I (Level IIIC)	X						X		X			Dikaios 1969: Pl. 147/39; 177/8	
ENK 1123	Enkomi	Area III, court, E- Z 22-24 east (ex- room 27) floor II (Level IIIB)		X		X								Dikaios 1969: Pl. 170/9	
ENK 1130	Enkomi	Area III, room 5, Δ-E 18-20 east, in layer overlying floor IV (End of IIIA)		X	X							X	X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/42; 162/43	

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ENK 1160	Enkomi	Area III, court, Δ-E 8-10 east, ex-room 29 (Level IIIB)		X					X			X			Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/23	
ENK 1161	Enkomi	Area III, room 32, Z-H 28 east, in debris overlying floor III (Destruction of IIIA)	X		X										Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/29; 162/41	
ENK 1164	Enkomi	Area III, room 55, in debris overlying floor III (Destr. Of IIIA)	X			X					X			X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/33A	
ENK 1165	Enkomi	Area III, room 21, in layer overlying floor III (End of IIIA)		X	X								X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/48; 162/32	
ENK 1167	Enkomi	Area III, room 12, I-K 34-36 east, on floor I	X		X										Dikaios 1969: Pl. 147/40-41; 177/6-7	
ENK 1172	Enkomi	Area III, room 6, Γ-Δ 10-12 east, in debris overlying floor I (Destr. Of IIIB)	X		X								X	X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/3; 170/2	
ENK 1202	Enkomi	Area III, room 21, in debris overlying floor III (Destr. Of IIIA)		X	X								X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/47; 162/39	

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ENK 1209	Enkomi	Area III, room 8, Θ-I 12-14 east, floor II (IIIB)		X		X									Dikaio 1969: Pl. 170/15	
ENK 1242	Enkomi	Area III, room 2, in debris overlying floor III (Destr. Of IIIA)		X	X								X	X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 131/45; 162/40	
ENK 1254	Enkomi	Area III, court, debris overlying Floor II, Level IIIB (End)		X	X							X			Dikaio 1969: Pl. 137/16	
ENK 1286	Enkomi	Area III, court, H- Θ 20-22 east, floor II (IIIB)	X							X			X		Dikaio 1969: Pl. 137/8; 170/6	
ENK 1381	Enkomi	Area III, court, Z- H 44-46 E, Floor I, Level IIIC		X	X							X			Dikaio 1969: Pl. 147/46; 177/3	
ENK 1413	Enkomi	Area III, Fortification Wall, Level IIIC		X						X		X			Dikaio 1969: Pl. 147/47; 177/1	
ENK 1465	Enkomi	Area III, Room 43, Floor II, Level IIIB		X	X										N/A	

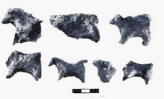
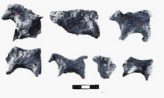
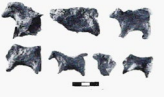
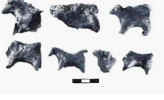
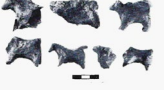
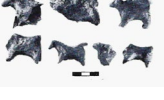
Appendix

ENK 1477	Enkomi	Area III, room 42, between floors III and II of Lev. IIIB	X		X									X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/27; 162/42	
ENK 1505	Enkomi	Area III, Room 57, disturbed layer, Level IIIA		X						X				X	N/A	
ENK 1566	Enkomi	Area III, room 49, Z-H 38-40 east, in material of floor IV (Early IIIA Level)	X			X							X	X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/31; 162/34	
ENK 1697	Enkomi	Area III, room I, 10 cms below floor IV (Early IIB Level)		X		X						X			Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/40; 157/1	
ENK 1764	Enkomi	Area III, B-Γ 22024 east, in filling under floor III of Lev. III A room 4 (Late IIB Level)	X							X			X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/35; 156/46, 47	
ENK 1792	Enkomi	Area III, Room 47, on wall, Level IIIA		X	X										N/A	
ENK 1818	Enkomi	Area III, Room 13, on floor VI (Level IIA)	X			X								X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 127/20, 47	

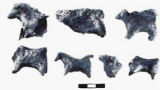
Appendix

ENK 1903	Enkomi	Area III, A-B 58-60 east, under the floor of casemate 64 (Early IIB Level)			X						X			X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/41	
ENK 1938	Enkomi	Area I, Room 104, in debris overlying floor IV (end of Level IIB)	X		X								X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/37; 156/48, 48a (erroneously marked 1958)	
ENK 3000	Enkomi	Area III, Room 23, in layer overlying floor IV, Level IIIA (early)		X	X										Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/35	
ENK 3056	Enkomi	Area III, room 77, in layer overlying floor IV (end of IIIA)	X		X									X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/34; 162/33	
ENK 3309	Enkomi	Area III, Court 94, in layer overlying Floor IV (Destruction of Level IIIA)		X	X									X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/46	
ENK 3397	Enkomi	Area III, Court 94, almost on Floor IC (Level IIIA)		X	X									X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/43	
ENK 3468	Enkomi	Area III, room 70, H-16 east, in debris overlying floor III (end of IIIB)	X		X								X	X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/7; 170/8	

Appendix

ENK 4004	Enkomi	N/A	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011 78, Figure 1.2	
ENK 4012.1	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X								Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4012.2	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4012.3	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4012.4	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4012.5	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4012.6	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X						X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 137/16a	

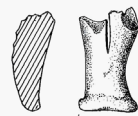
Appendix

ENK 4012.7	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X							X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 137/16a	
ENK 4013	Enkomi	Area I, room 5, in well (Level IIIB)		X			X							X	N/A	
ENK 4511	Enkomi	Area III, room 13, well 7, Λ-M 18-20 east		X	X									X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 150/7-8	
ENK 4512	Enkomi	Area III, room 13, well 7, Λ-M 18-20 east		X	X									X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 150/3	
ENK 4533	Enkomi	Area III, Room 77	X		X									X	Karageorghis 2011: 78, Figure 1.1	
ENK 4639	Enkomi	Area III room 77, H-Θ 13-14 east, almost on floor VI (Early IIIA)		X	X									X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 131/37; 164/3	
ENK 4679	Enkomi	Area III, room 21, in layer overlying floor III (End of IIIA)		X	X								X	X	N/A	

Appendix

ENK 6180.5	Enkomi	Tower flanking NE gate of the Fortification	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 79, Figure 1.8	
ENK 6192.5	Enkomi	Tower flanking NE gate of the Fortification	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 78, Figure 1.4	
ENK 6192.6	Enkomi	Tower flanking NE gate of the Fortification	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 79, Figure 1.5	
ENK 6192.7	Enkomi	Tower flanking NE gate of the Fortification	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 79, Figure 1.6	
ENK 6192.8	Enkomi	Tower flanking NE gate of the Fortification	X							X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 79, Figure 1.7	
ENK 1853/13	Enkomi	Area III, A-B 60- 62 east, under the floor of casemate 65 (Early IIB Level)			X						X				N/A	
ENK 2158/1	Enkomi	Area III, Room 115		X						X			X		Karageorghis 2011: 80, Figure 2.1	

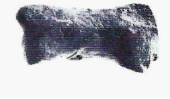
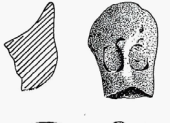
Appendix

ENK 2443/18	Enkomi	Area III, room 47, Z-H 44-46 east, in layer overlying floor III (end of IIIA)	X			X									Dikaios 1969: Pl. 131/28	
ENK 2487/5	Enkomi	Area III, room 45, Z-H 48-50 east (IIIA Level)				X					X			X	N/A	
ENK 2745/6	Enkomi	Area III, room I, B-Γ 34-36 east, in filling under floor IV (Early IIB Level)				X						X			Dikaios 1969: Pl. 128/37a	
ENK 2875/4	Enkomi	Destruction layer IIIB in Area III								X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 84, Figure 5.3	
ENK 3022/8	Enkomi	Area III, room 71, K-M 0-4 east, between floors III and I (IIIA-B)	X			X							X		Dikaios 1969: Pl. 170/4	
ENK 3742/24	Enkomi	Area III, room 32, Z-H 24-26 east, in debris overlying floor III (Destruction of IIIA)			X										Dikaios 1969: Pl. 134/49; 164/40	
ENK 3769/29	Enkomi	Area III, Room 32, H-) 26-38 E, in debris overlying floor III (Destruction of IIIA)		X	X									X	Dikaios 1969: Pl. 177/4	

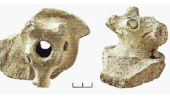
Appendix

ENK 3821/5	Enkomi	Area III, room 34, in layer overlying floor III (End of IIIA)		X		X							X	X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 131/44	
ENK 4277/1	Enkomi	Area III, Room 54A, Level IIIA		X						X		X			N/A	
ENK 4509/1	Enkomi	Area III, Room 77, almost on floor VIII (Level IIA)	X		X										Dikaio 1969: Pl. 127/21	
ENK 4779/6	Enkomi	Area III, Room 44, layer overlying Floor II, Level IIIB		X	X									X	N/A	
ENK 4916/7	Enkomi	Area I, Room 2, between floors V and IV (Early Level IIIA)			X									X	N/A	
ENK 5573/2	Enkomi	Area I, Room 26, in debris on Floor II, Level IIIB (end)		X						X			X	X	Dikaio 1969: Pl. 137/14	
ENK 5586/5	Enkomi	Area I, Room 27, pit in floor III, Level IIIA (end)		X	X										Dikaio 1969: Pl. 131/41	

Appendix

ENK 5616/4	Enkomi	Area I, room 28, in layer overlying floor II (End of IIIB)			X							X		X	Dikaïos 1969: Pl. 146/13	
ENK 5916/3	Enkomi	Area I, room 44, floor III near the north façade wall (Late IIIB)	X		X										Dikaïos 1969: Pl. 137/5-6	
ENK 6098C	Enkomi	Area I, Room 43A, Level IIIB		X	X								X	X	Dikaïos 1969: Pl. 137/9-10	
ENK 6193/1	Enkomi	Area III, tower flanking north gate, Floor I, Level IIIC		X					X		X				Dikaïos 1969: Pl. 147/42	
ENK 729/16	Enkomi	Area I, room 6, between floors IV and III (Early IIIB)	X		X							X			Dikaïos 1969: Pl. 170/5	
ENK 761/A	Enkomi									X		X			Karageorghis 2011: 84, Figure 5.1	
ALA PM 104	Alassa <i>Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 61' Locus 003, floor		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 27	

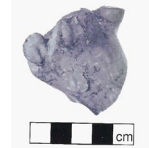
Appendix

ALA PM 105	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 6I Locus 003, floor		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 28	
ALA PM 134	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 7B East Street waste pit		X					X				X		Hadjisavvas 2017: 16	
ALA PM 137	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.90 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	
ALA PM 138	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.80 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	
ALA PM 139	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.80 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	
ALA PM 140	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.80 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	
ALA PM 141	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.80 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	

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ALA PM 142	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 9A Room Φ depth +248.80 m als		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 61	
ALA PM 145	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 8A, Courtyard Σ, depth +248.70		X	X							X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 66	
ALA PM 18	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 4Δ depth +247.96		X			X								Hadjisavvas 2017: 41	
ALA PM 19	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 4Δ depth +247.96		X			X							X	Hadjisavvas 2017: 41	
ALA PM 20	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 4Δ depth +247.96		X			X							X	Hadjisavvas 2017: 42	
ALA PM 22	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 4Δ depth +247.96		X			X							X	Hadjisavvas 2017: 42	
ALA PM 44	Alassa Pano Mantiliaris	Square 8Γ Room ψ, depth +248.87		X		X							X	X	Hadjisavvas 2017: 32 *ORIGINALLY INPUT AS PM 44	

Appendix

ALA PM 46	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 8Γ Room ψ, depth +248.86		X		X							X		N/A	
ALA PM 65	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 6Δ-7Δ balk, on sherd floor		X		X						X			Hadjisavvas 2017: 26; Hadjisavvas 1989a, 38, fig. 3.6	
ALA PM 98	<i>Alassa Pano Mantiliaris</i>	Square 7Γ Room ψ Pit 25		X		X									Hadjisavvas 2017: 33	
KAD 51	<i>Kalavastos Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	L9D 2.1		X						X			X	X	South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 98, pl. VI	
KAD 81	<i>Kalavastos Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	T.1 4.1		X				X (near B.X)							South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 46, 100, fig. 45, pl. XXII; South 1980, pl. IX: 7	
KAD 88	<i>Kalavastos Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	T.1 4.1		X				X (near B.X)						X	South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 46, 100, fig. 45, pl. XXII; South 1980, pl. IX: 7; Heuck 1981, fig. 3:12	
KAD 182	<i>Kalavastos Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	A.43 3.1		X	X								X	X	South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 107, pl. VI	

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KAD 202	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.49 3.1	X							X		X			South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 10, 108, pl. VI, fig. 15	
KAD 300	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.57 2.1		X	X								X		South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 11, pl. VI, fig. 15	
KAD 309	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.43 10.3		X						X		X			N/A	
KAD 324	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.53 4.1		X						X			X		South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 11, 115, pl. VI	
KAD 400	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	01A 7.1		X						X					N/A	
KAD 420	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.54 3.1		X	X							X		X	South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 11, 120, pl. VI	
KAD 429	Kalavassos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.46 3.5		X	X								X		South <i>et al.</i> 1989: 11, 121, pl. VI	

Appendix

KAD 524	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	110. 0.0	X							X					South <i>et al.</i> 1989; 10, 127, pl. VI, fig. 15	
KAD 561	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	A.43W 3.1	X		X								X		South <i>et al.</i> 1989; 10, 127, pl. VI, fig. 15	
KAD 562	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	A.43W 3.4	X		X								X		South <i>et al.</i> 1989; 10, 128, pl. VI, fig. 15	
KAD 636	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	N52C 3.2		X						X					N/A	
KAD 738	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	T.11 3.3		X				X (near B.X)						X	Unknown	
KAD 743	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	T.11 3.3		X				X (near B.X)						X	Unknown	
KAD 1142	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	P51C 10.3		X						X				X	N/A	

Appendix

KAD 1143	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	O51A 4.1		X					X					X	N/A	
KAD 1144	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	O1A 7.5		X					X					X	N/A	
KAD 1145	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	O53D 5.2	X					X (near B.X)						X	South 1984: Fig. 5, no. 27	
KAD 1146	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	A.159 4.1		X					X					X	N/A	
KAD 1325	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	Q51A 3.3		X					X				X	X	N/A	
KAD 1326	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	Q51C 11.1		X					X				X		N/A	
KAD 1327	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	Q51A 6.1		X					X				X		N/A	

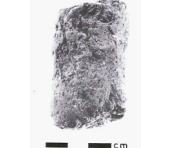
Appendix

KAD 1438	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	R1B 5.2		X						X		X			N/A	
KAD 1464	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	M51B 9.1		X					X						N/A	
KAD 1465	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	M51B 8.1	X						X					X	N/A	
KAD 1528	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	N3A 3.1		X					X			X		X	N/A	
KAD 1909	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	M2C 5.1		X	X								X		N/A	
KAD 2093	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	M51B 70.1	X				X (near B.X)						X		N/A	
KAD 2096	Kalavastos <i>Ayios</i> <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A.154 10.2	X						X						N/A	

Appendix

KAD 2226	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	P53A 3.1	X										X	N/A	
KAD 2264	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	P53C 21.1	X						X			X		N/A	
KAD 2266	Kalavassos <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>	R1A 8.1	X					X				X		N/A	
MAA 18	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	In layer of debris above Floor I, Courtyard C (Area I)		X	X							X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CXX, CCXXI	
MAA 19	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	In layer of debris above Floor I, Courtyard B (Area I)	X		X						X			Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CXX, CCXXI	
MAA 150	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	Above layer of compact soil, Area 37 (Floor I, Area I)		X					X			X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CXX, CCXXI	
MAA 113	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	On Floor II, West of Room 46 (Area II)		X					X			X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. XLV, CLXXI	

Appendix

MAA 154	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	In ashy debris above Floor II, NW of Building I in area of Pit 22 (Area II)		X						X			X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. XLV, CLXXI	
MAA 201	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	On Floor I, N of Room 57 (Area III)								X		X			Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CXXXV, CCXXXI	
MAA 317	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	In ashy debris above Floor II, Area 96, South of Room 77 (Area III)		X						X					Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. LXXXIV, CC	
MAA 424	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	On floor of Pit L (Floors I-II, Area III)		X						X			X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CV, CCXII	
MAA 691	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	On Floor II, Area 98 (Area III)							X				X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. LXVI, CLXXXVI	
MAA Tray 18	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i>	Pit IA, Area 88A (Floor I, Area III)		X			X						X		Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CXLV	
KIT 1087	Kition	Area I, Room 31, on Floor III			X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XX, XLIX	

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KIT 1101	Kition	Area I, Room 32A, Floor III		X	X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XX	
KIT 13	Kition	Area I, Tomb 9 Lower Burial	X					X						X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. LXIII	
KIT 183	Kition	Area I, Room 27, between Floors I and II		X	X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI, LII	
KIT 2040	Kition	Area II, Temenos A, on Floor II	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	
KIT 2262	Kition	Area II, Temenos A, between Floors II and III		X			X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLII	
KIT 238	Kition	Area I, Tomb 4&5		X				X						X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXVI; Kition I (Plates) 1974	
KIT 312	Kition	Area I, Room 43, Floor IV	X		X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. X	

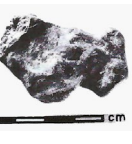
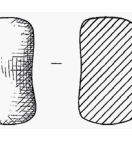
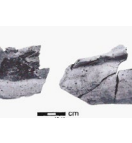
Appendix

KIT 317	Kition	Area I, Room 9, Floor I pit	X		X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXIV, LVII	
KIT 3177	Kition	Area II, On Floor III, Temenos A		X			X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXXIX	
KIT 3213	Kition	Area II, Temenos A, on Floor II	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	
KIT 3219	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	
KIT 3220	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	
KIT 3221	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	
KIT 3222	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	

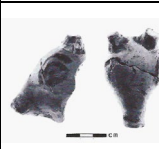
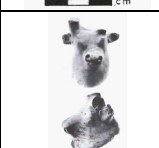
Appendix

KIT 3233	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	
KIT 3251	Kition	Area II, Pit H, below Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CIX	
KIT 3264	Kition	Area II, Room 38, Temple 4, on Floor II					X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLVII, CCXIV	
KIT 331	Kition	Area I, Room 9, Floor I		X	X							X		X	N/A	
KIT 3323	Kition	Area II, On Floor IIIA, Temenos A	X				X								Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXI, CXCI	
KIT 359	Kition	Area I, Room 34, between Floors III and IIIA	X		X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XVII	
KIT 36	Kition	Area I, Room 13, Floor I	X		X								X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXIV	

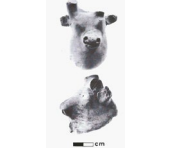
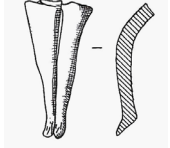
Appendix

KIT 365	Kition	Area I, Room 44, of Floor IV	X		X								X		Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. X	
KIT 366	Kition	Area I, Room 44, of Floor IV		X	X								X		Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. X	
KIT 384	Kition	Area I, Courtyard D, Floor II		X	X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXVI	
KIT 3880	Kition	Area II, On street A near Temple 4, on Floor II		X					X				X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	
KIT 412/1	Kition	Area I, Courtyard B, Floor I			X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. LVII	
KIT 42	Kition	Area I, Room 27A, between Floors I and II		X	X								X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI	
KIT 423/4	Kition	Area II, Room 38C, Temple 4, between Floors II and III			X						X				Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLII	

Appendix

KIT 4249	Kition	Area II, Tower C, on Floor II					X								Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	
KIT 4486	Kition	Area I, Room 17, in pit on Floor II		X				X				X		X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXVI	
KIT 467	Kition	Area II, Temenos B, between Floors II and III		X	X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLII	
KIT 4810	Kition	Area II, Courtyard B, between floors III and IIIA		X			X								Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXVIII, CXCV	
KIT 4990	Kition	Area I, Room 9, Floor I pit										X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXIV		
KIT 507	Kition	Area II, Room 123, on Floor IIIA		X	X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXI, CXCI	
KIT 5177	Kition	Area II, Courtyard C, on Floor III					X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXXIX	

Appendix

KIT 5313	Kition	Area II, Courtyard C, between Floors III and IIIA		X			X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXVIII, CXVIC	
KIT 5365	Kition	Area II, Courtyard C, between Floors III and IIIA					X							X	N/A	
KIT 5380	Kition	Area II, Room 5A, on Floor III, "in a pit"		X			X							X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXXIX	
KIT 5470	Kition	Area II, Room 58, Temple 5, on Floor II		X		X							X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	
KIT 5477	Kition	Area II, Room 11, on Floor II		X			X								Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLVIII	
KIT 550	Kition	Area I, Room 40, between Floors IIIA and IV				X							X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XV, XLI	
KIT 552	Kition	Area II, Room 12, on Floor II	X		X								X		Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX, CCXIV	

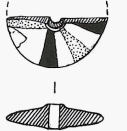
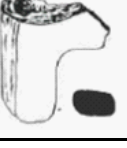
Appendix

KIT 553	Kition	Area I, Room 27A, Floor II				X									Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXVI	 cm
KIT 56/2	Kition	Area I, Room 22A, between Floors I and II		X	X							X		X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI	 cm
KIT 578	Kition	Area I, Room 32A, Floor III	X		X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XX	 cm
KIT 586	Kition	Area II, Room 16, on Floor II			X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIX	 cm
KIT 589	Kition	Area II, Courtyard B, between floors III and IIIA	X				X							X	N/A	
KIT 6	Kition	Area I, Room 29, between Floors II and III		X		X							X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXIV	 cm
KIT 632/3	Kition	Area I, Room 39, Floor IV			X								X		Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. X	 cm

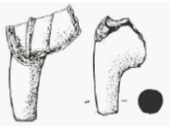
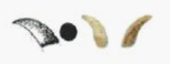
Appendix

KIT 671/1	Kition	Area I, Room 13B, Floor I		X	X								X		Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXIV	
KIT 69	Kition	Area I, Room 27, between Floors I and II		X	X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI	
KIT 70	Kition	Area I, Room 27, between Floors I and II		X	X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI, LI	
KIT 71	Kition	Area I, Room 15, Between Floors I and II			X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI	
KIT 742/1	Kition	Area I, Courtyard A, Floor I	X		X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXIV	
KIT 759/1	Kition	Area I, Courtyard A, Floor I		X	X								X	X	N/A	
KIT 759/2	Kition	Area I, Room 6, on Floor I			X								X		N/A	

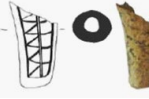
Appendix

KIT 786	Kition	Area I, Room 40A, between Floors IIIA and IV		X	X								X		N/A	
KIT 792/1	Kition	Area I, Room 40A, between Floors IIIA and IV			X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XV, XLI	
KIT 844	Kition	Area II, Room 15, on Floor II			X									X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. CXLIV, CCXI	
KIT 859+935	Kition	Area I, Room 21, between Floors I and II	X			X							X	X	Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XXXI, LIII	
KIT 943/1	Kition	Area I, Courtyard H, on Floor IIIA			X										Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Pl. XVI, XLIII	
HST 98 12-1 218	Hala Sultan Tekke	BM Tomb VII	X					X						X	Åström <i>et al.</i> 1976 Pl. XV a,b	
HST L232-9	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 1, L232, R19		X		X								X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:2	

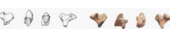
Appendix

HST L264-3	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L264		X	X							X		X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:11	
HST L297-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 1, L297, R28		X	X						X				Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:8	
HST L302-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 1, L302 R24	X							X			X		Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:10	
HST L305-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 2, L305 R35		X			X								Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig 4.3:5	
HST L332-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 2, L332, R 31		X	X							X		X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:6	
HST L347-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 2, L347 R37		X	X										Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:4	
HST L369-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 1, L369 R23/23'		X		X								X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:9	

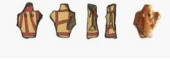
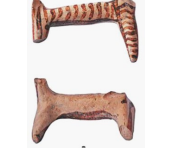
Appendix

HST L46-59	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area A, Pitv V, L46		X			X							X	N/A	
HST L46-60	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area A, Pitv V, L46					X							X	N/A	
HST L475-3	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Area 6W, T22C/D, R54	X							X		X		X	N/A	
HST L577-3	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 1, L2577		X						X		X			Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:3	
HST L586-2	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L586 R66		X	X										Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:8	
HST L608-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L586 R66		X	X									X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:9	
HST L628-3	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 3, L637 (floor of R67)		X		X								X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:2 (p. 423)	

Appendix

HST L673-13	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L273 in R76		X	X								X	X	Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:10	
HST L673-2	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L273 in R76		X	X								X		Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:7	
HST L680-2	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 3, L680 in R69		X						X			X		Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:3 (p. 423)	
HST L7-1	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 1, L7, R2 next to W1		X	X						X				Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:1	
HST N100	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, Trench 3, L249, west of corner of W36 & W37, open courtyard?		X	X						X				Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:6	
HST N101	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 2, L246 of R14, bottom of pit west of W34	X							X		X			Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:5	
HST N207	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I	X							X			X		Fischer and Bürge 2013: Fig. 22 (p. 78)	

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HST N214	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I		X						X			X		Fischer and Bürge 2013: Fig. 24 (p. 78)	
HST N215	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Trench 14B, Stratum I	X							X			X		Fischer and Bürge 2013: Fig. 23 (p. 78)	
HST N239	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ2, Stratum 1, L412 outdoor area	X		X							X			Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.3:7	
HST N336	Hala Sultan Tekke	CQ1, Stratum 3, L637 (floor of R67)		X		X									Fischer and Bürge 2018: Fig. 4.2:1 (p.423)	
HST N57	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area A, Pit V	X				X							X	Fisher and Bürge 2017 Fig. 31 (p 197)	
HST N58	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area A, Pit V		X			X							X	Fisher and Bürge 2017 Fig. 31 (p 197)	
HST N6086	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area 22, Square II, F6550B		X	X								X	X	Åström 1989: Fig 176	

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HST N6087	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area 22, Square II, F6550B		X	X								X		Åström 1989: Fig 177	
HST N6504	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area 22, Square I F6513		X	X								X		Åström 1989: Fig 152	
HST N7009	Hala Sultan Tekke	Area 23, F7000 (surface layer)		X						X			X		Åström 1989: Figs 206-207	
TOTALS: 241			68	143	103	25	43	9	20	39	10	47	67	114		

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