

**Following the Life-Cycle of Base-Ring
Female Figurines in Late Bronze Age
Cyprus**

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

Constantina Alexandrou

The University of Dublin, Trinity College

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*Στον αγαπημένο μου παππού Κώστα
για τις αξίες, τις αρχές, την αγάπη
και την υποστήριξή του.
Σ'ευχαριστώ.*

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

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SUMMARY

This research investigates the Late Cypriot II–III A or Base-Ring female terracotta figurines from the moment they were just a lump of clay until their death/discard aiming to get fresh insights on their use, role, character and significance. Consequently, the whole thesis is based on the so-called biographical approach. The different stages of the figurines' life-cycle are examined through bringing together a variety of approaches, theoretical frameworks and methodologies.

The present thesis starts with an introduction to the basic elements characterising the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. The history of research, traditional approaches and interpretations on this group of figurines are then presented. Matters of provenance and dating are discussed in the final sections of Chapter I. Chapter II investigates the first stages of the terracottas' life-cycle; elements related to their conception and manufacture are presented here. More precisely, the creation of a more thorough typology is attempted while the sequences followed for their production are established. Through these two aspects it was possible to identify features constituting deliberate and conscious choices of the artisans that could be connected with the use, character and role of these figurines. This investigation uses primary and secondary sources, as well as experimental and experiential approaches. Foreign influences, influences from figurines rendered in other materials as well as continuities with the previous local tradition in terms of their typologies and manufacturing procedures are also discussed and evaluated in this chapter.

Chapter III deals with questions related to workshops and figurine-makers. Firstly, this chapter attempts to identify individual hands/workshops through certain features/details characterising the typology and manufacturing procedures ('motor habits') of the figurines. The evidence from the application of the portable X-ray Fluorescence on the material from Enkomi is presented next. The aim of this study is firstly to identify any possible imports from other sites and most importantly to explore the possibility that the different types were produced in different workshops. The third aspect examined is the identity of the figurine-makers; primary and secondary sources on the female and zoomorphic figurines and pottery are used for this investigation. The role and experience of the artisans in the figurine-making procedure is then explored,

drawing on the evidence provided by case-studies using anthropological and ethno-archaeological approaches.

Chapter IV examines the exact archaeological context of the terracottas in the three contexts of their discovery (settlements, burials and ritual spaces). Contextualisation required the following data collection: a description of the exact place and character of the place they were found, other finds discovered together with the figurines (i.e. assemblages) and the state of their preservation at the time of their deposition (i.e. fragmentation). The goal of this approach is to observe patterns in order to develop a more robust analysis of their use(s)/depositional practices in the different contexts.

Finally, Chapter V investigates the Base-Ring female figurines in their *longue durée*. More precisely, this chapter explores the potential reasons that led to the Base-Ring female figurines' production through a typological and contextual (social and archaeological) comparison with the 'plank-shaped' and 'transitional' figurines of the end of the Early Bronze Age–beginning of Late Bronze Age. At the same time it investigates the possible reasons that led to their decline, also through a typological and contextual comparison with the so-called 'goddesses with the upraised arms' which gradually replaced the Base-Ring specimens in the Late Cypriot IIIB. Lastly, these figurines are examined in relation to the zoomorphic and male terracottas produced during the Late Bronze Age.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Chronological abbreviations

EBA	Early Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
EC	Early Cypriot period
MC	Middle Cypriot period
LC	Late Cypriot period
CG	Cypro-Geometric period
LH	Late Helladic

Wares

BR	Base-Ring
RP	Red-Polished
WP	White-Painted

Sites

Agk.	Agkastina
Alamb.	Alambra
Apl.	<i>Apliki-Karamallos</i>
Ay.Par.	Ayia Paraskevi
Bog.	Boghaz
Deir.Bal.	Deir el-Balah
Dh.Kafk.	<i>Dhenia-Kafkalla</i>
Dhek.	<i>Dhekelia-Steno</i>
Drom.Tr.	<i>Dromolaxia-Trypes</i>

Enk.	Enkomi
Episk.Bamb.	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>
Hal.S.	Hala Sultan Tekke
Idal.	Idalion
K-AD	Kalavassos- <i>Ayios Dhimitrios</i>
Kat.	Katydhata
Kit.	Kition
Kl.Tr.	Klavdia- <i>Tremithos</i>
Kyth.	Kythrea
Maa.Pal.	Maa- <i>Palaekastro</i>
Mar.	Maroni
Myr.Pig.	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>
Nik.	Nikolidhes
Palaep.	Palaepaphos, Sanctuary of Aphrodite
Palaep.Ter.	Palaepaphos- <i>Teratsoudhia</i>
Palaep.Aspr.	Palaepaphos- <i>Asprogi</i>
Ph.V.	Phlamoudhi- <i>Vounari</i>
Pyl.Kok.	Pyla- <i>Kokkinokremos</i>
Rif.	Rifeh
S-Mas.	Sanidha
Tel.Haw.	Tell Abu Hawam
Tel.Hes.	Tell el Hesi
Tel.Ta'an.	Tell Ta'annek
Toumb.Sk.	Toumba tou Skourou
Ug.	Ugarit
Yial.	Yialousa

Museums

Al.Pier.	Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam
Antik.	Antikmuseet, Lund
Antikensam.	Antikensammlung Museum, Berlin
Arch.Mus.Dub.	National Archaeological Museum of Ireland, Dublin
Ash.	Ashmolean, Oxford
Birm.Mus.	Birmingham Museum, Birmingham
Brit.Mus.	British Museum, London
Brook.Mus.	Brooklyn Museum, New York
Ch.Bor.	Château Borély, Marseille
Christies_Desm.Mor.	Desmond Morris' Collection at Christies auction house
Cyp.Mus.	Cyprus Archaeological Museum
Dan.Nat.Mus.	Danish National Museum, Copenhagen
Dep.Clas.Ch.	Department of Classics, University of Chicago
Emor.Mus.	Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, Atlanta
Gen.Mus.	Musée d'Art and d'Histoire, Geneva
Glafk.Kl.Col.	Glafkos Klirides Collection, Nicosia
Hadj.Col.	Hadjiprodrinou Collection, Famagusta
Jen.Arch.Ins.	Archaeological Institute, Jena
Kest.Mus.	Kestner Museum, Hannover
Kunst.Mus.	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Leeds.Mus.	Leeds Museum, Leeds
Lev.Mus.	Leventis Municipal Museum, Nicosia
Low.Mus.	R.H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California
Medel.Mus.	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm
Metr.Mus.	Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York
Mosc.	State Historical Museum, Moscow

Mus.Bost.	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Mus.Cer.	Musée de la Céramique de Sèvres, Paris
Mus.Fir.	Museo Archeologico di Firenze
Nat.Arch.Ath.	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
Nic.Mus.	Nicholson Museum, Sydney
Pier.	Pierides Museum, Larnaca and George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection, Nicosia
Pit.Riv.	Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford
Prah.Staat.Mun.	Prahistorische Staatsammlung, Munich
Princ.Univ.	Princeton University Art Museum, New Jersey
Roy.Alb.	Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, Exeter
Soth.	Sotheby's auction house
Szep.Mus.	Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest
Tr.Mus.Civ.	Museo Civico di Storia ed Arte, Trieste
Un.Ber.	Museum of the University of Berlin
Wolv.Mus.	Wolverhampton Museum

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CHRONOLOGY OF PREHISTORIC CYPRUS

Aceramic Neolithic	ca. 10500-5500 B.C.
Ceramic Neolithic	ca. 5500-4000 B.C.
Chalcolithic	ca. 4000-2500 B.C.
Philia Phase	ca. 2500-2350 B.C.
Early Cypriot (Early Bronze Age)	ca. 2400-2000 B.C.
Middle Cypriot (Middle Bronze Age)	ca. 2000-1600 B.C.
Late Cypriot (Late Bronze Age)	ca. 1600-1050 B.C.

IA	ca. 1600-1500 B.C.
IB	ca. 1500-1450 B.C.
IIA	ca. 1450-1375 B.C.
IIB	ca. 1375-1300 B.C.
IIC	ca. 1300-1200 B.C.
IIIA	ca. 1200-1100 B.C.
IIIB	ca. 1100-1050 B.C.

A summary of the dates of Prehistoric Cyprus, starting from the Aceramic Neolithic until the Late Cypriot period (Steel 2004, 13).

INTRODUCTION:

CONTENTS, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is it about anthropomorphic figurines that make people so excited from the moment of their discovery? Is it their anthropomorphic form that makes them so appealing to us? Is it a combination of their form and size? Because they do not simply represent the human form but they are also miniatures of it. Their small size makes them suitable for manipulation; we can take them in our hands and handle them. In this way they come into close contact with us.

These might also be the reasons that scholars have been so interested in them and dedicated – and are still dedicating – so many studies in order to understand them. Different approaches and methodologies have been applied through the years, all having more or less the same goal, to provide answers to questions related to their identity. Who do they represent? However, modern research has now moved one step further, by trying to approach a variety of questions related to their use(s) in the different contexts, production and distribution, role and character etc. This development has resulted in the usage of a combination of traditional and novel/innovative approaches which make use of the technological advances, as well as methodologies and theoretical frameworks from both other disciplines and other subjects of archaeological research.

Thus, the main aim of the current research is to propose a methodology for the study of figurines, focusing on a group of female terracottas from Cyprus which were produced during the Late Bronze Age (LBA) or Late Cypriot II–III A period (ca. 15th–12th centuries B.C.). The terracotta figurines are, therefore, studied in depth from a multitude of points of view in order to proceed to observations regarding their use, role and character in Late Cypriot (LC) society. Although one could argue that the choice of focusing on one group of terracottas, excluding from the investigation the rest of the LC terracotta groups (i.e. zoomorphic and other anthropomorphic representations), prevents us from proceeding to observations and conclusions regarding the social context, I would argue that only by producing detailed research on each figurine group are we able to proceed to more holistic observations and understanding of the social context and beliefs of the society.

This study investigates the LC II–III A or Base-Ring (BR) female terracotta figurines from the moment they were just a lump of clay until their death/discard, aiming to produce fresh insights on their use, role, character and significance. Consequently, the whole thesis is based on the so-called cultural/social biographical approach (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Chapman 2000; Hoskins 2006; Gaydarska *et al.* 2007; Hahn and Weiss 2013; Blanco-González 2014, 441–443). This approach explores the life-cycle of objects from ‘the moment of their conception until their material annihilation’ (Georghiu 2010, 69). It should be noted that the term of social/cultural biography has been expanded to include also the exploration of the objects’ ‘second’ or other lives (i.e. the narratives of recovery, excavation, looting, commodification, collection etc.); this aspect, however, is not the key focus of this thesis. These further lives impact on our archaeological knowledge and on how any given body of material tends to be viewed and valued now. These ‘second’ lives had also a great impact on the study of the BR females as it is discussed further on.

In general, the principle goal of this approach is to reconstruct the different stages of an object’s use-life. Of course, some of the stages might have left ephemeral or non-diagnostic marks which make it difficult for us to identify. Nonetheless, as Joy has argued, it is not necessary to reconstruct an uninterrupted narrative, since it can be seen as made of

‘connected jumps as the object becomes alive within certain clusters of social relationships and is inactive at other points in time and space’ (Joy 2009, 544).

This approach might not be able to entirely overcome the lack of direct evidence for every biographical episode within a life-cycle, but this is an obstacle existing in any archaeological research (Blanco-González 2014, 453).

Although the present study is based on the biographical approach, the different stages of the figurines’ use-life are examined through a variety of approaches, theoretical frameworks and methodologies some of which have been applied to the study of figurines elsewhere. Consequently, the first step to this investigation was a literature review of case-studies on different figurine traditions from around the world. Through this study the range of methodologies and approaches used were recorded, every time evaluating their advantages and disadvantages, their feasibility through the available tools and time, as well as their compatibility to the case of the BR female

figurines. The methodology, approaches, research questions and sources used are summarised below in the description of the contents of each chapter.

Chapter I constitutes an introduction to the study of the BR female figurines beginning with a presentation of the basic elements characterising the LBA in Cyprus. Secondary literature is used for the presentation of the social, political and economic background of this period. The aim of this section is to introduce the reader to the period during which the BR female figurines were produced and used. By setting the scene we are able to understand better the conditions under which these figurines have been used and through which we may shed light on their role and character.

The history of research, traditional approaches and interpretations of this group of figurines are then presented. This examination begins from the interpretations attached to the figurines by the first people excavating in Cyprus in the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century and proceeds to the approaches and interpretations within the current scholarship. A critical evaluation of the latter is provided while the present research and its objectives are placed within the framework of the current literature on these terracottas.

In addition, a section is dedicated to their provenance. The information regarding the figurines of known provenance is presented in detail. Tables with information on both the figurines with known and unknown provenance stored or exhibited in museums in Cyprus and around the world, are provided in the appendices. All figurines known so far are documented through these tables. The information given for each figurine is: a) inventory number, b) site of discovery (if known), c) type and construction type, d) context of discovery (if known), e) mission (if known), f) publication and brief description of the data provided by the publication, g) collector or donator (if known) and h) museum that are now exhibited or stored. This examination uses the publications of excavations, reports and field-notes. Therefore, from this research, the problems of investigating the archaeological context of the figurines become obvious (discussed in Chapter IV). The data concerning the collectors/donators and museums have been collected through secondary literature, museum catalogues and online museum databases. It should be noted that the information from this section was inserted in a database (using Microsoft Access) under the title ‘General Information’ which is accompanied with pictures of the figurines when available.

The final section of the chapter provides a discussion on the dating of the terracottas. The existing literature on the dating of the BR female figurines is concentrated in this section with the important addition of new evidence deriving from recent excavations. These new data have provided evidence for a reconsideration of the traditional dating of the figurines.

Chapter II, ‘From a lump of clay to the finished product’, explores the first stages of the figurines’ existence. This chapter constitutes the first step in the biographical approach; thus, elements related to their conception and manufacture are presented here. More precisely, in the first part of the chapter, the creation of a more thorough typology is attempted. The BR female figurines have been traditionally divided into two main types: Type A or ‘bird-headed’ and Type B or ‘flat-headed’ figurines (Åström & Åström 1972, 512-514; J. Karageorghis 1977, 72-85; Orphanides 1983, 46-48; Morris 1985, 166-174; Begg 1991, 62-63; Karageorghis 1993, 3-14; Webb 1999, 234-235; Bolger 2003, 91-92; Knapp 2008, 176-182; 2009, 138-139; Budin 2011, 259-268). These two types were produced in both hollow and solid form. So far the two main types have been divided in subgroups according to their construction type and gestures/postures, taking under consideration only well preserved examples (J. Karageorghis 1977, 75-75, 82-83; Karageorghis 1993, 3-14). These two types, however, are characterised by significant variations in the rendering of their bodily and facial features, postures and gestures, incised and painted decoration etc.

After studying the methods used to create typologies for Cypriot prehistoric figurines (for example: Morris 1985; Vagnetti 1974; Mogolensky 1988; Karageorghis 1991; a Campo 1994; Goring 1991; 1998; 2003) as well as for figurines from other cultures (for example: Pritchard 1943; Badre 1980; Vajsov 1998; Lesure 1999; Marchetti 2000; Peyronel 2006) I have developed the system that had the potential to provide fruitful results and evidence on other aspects of the investigation of the present research. Therefore, a detailed typological table is provided for the two main types, divided in sections according to the parts of their bodies that are characterised by variations (area of the legs/feet, pubic triangle/vulva, navel, breasts, arms/hands, items/infants held, jewellery/ornamentation, head/facial features). Hollow and solid figurines have similar typologies; therefore, the two construction types are presented together. This type of grouping provided fruitful results in the identification of patterns which might have been either related with the production of some figurines by the same

workshop/‘analytical individual’ (analysed in Chapter III) or with the choices of the artisans examined in detail within Chapter II. In addition, the level of standardisation with regards to their typology becomes clear through this method. The grouping of the figurines is also presented through tables in the appendices which provide pictures of examples of every variation noted.

This investigation was based on personal examination of whole and fragmentary figurines in museums (the Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Pierides Museum, British Museum, Louvre, Metropolitan Museum of Art and University College Dublin, Classical Museum), as well as on museum catalogues and secondary literature. It should be mentioned, however, that not all figurines, from those examined through museum catalogues and secondary literature, had good quality pictures or sufficient descriptions of their typology. Almost half of the figurines known so far have been examined and recorded personally; for each and every one of these specimens a form was filled with detailed descriptions of every part of their body.¹ This information is included in the database under the title ‘Typology’; pictures are added when available.

The other major aspect examined in this chapter investigates questions regarding the primary and secondary manufacturing methods, decoration, finishing and firing techniques. In other words, this part examines the *chaîne opératoire* of these figurines; this term was firstly introduced by André Leroi-Gourhan in 1964 in his book *Le geste et la parole* (Leroi-Gourhan 1964). This theory seeks to define stages in the fabrication of a product. To date, the only attempt to record the BR female figurines’ production procedures—and thus, their ‘birth’—has come from Karageorghis (1993, 3-4). He, however, offers only a brief description of the production stages, concentrating mainly on Type A hollow figurines. More generally, BR ware has been the subject of some technical studies (Vaughan 1987; Vaughan 1989, 78-81); these examinations, however, took into account only the evidence deriving from the BR vessels. Therefore, it became clear that a full investigation of the figurines’ production procedures would be an essential and important element in the current research.

Beginning with the primary manufacturing techniques (i.e. formation and assemblage), each construction type is presented separately. Variations in the

¹ This form was also filled for the figurines that provided good quality pictures through the museum catalogues.

production procedure between the examples grouped under the same construction type are noted, as well as variations characterising the production of the figurines belonging to the same type. Secondary manufacturing techniques (i.e. smoothing and paring), decoration and finishing methods are described afterwards discussing the evidence deriving from both construction types. Furthermore, the evidence related to the figurines' firing and the possible methods of firing are examined last.

In order to gain a holistic understanding of the production methods, primary study (personal examination of the material) and secondary scholarship, replication and experimental work was undertaken. As the archaeological material should always be considered as the most important evidence for any archaeological investigation, detailed object analysis was the first step in this study. Fragments and whole figurines were examined revealing most, but not all, elements of their construction. Due to the fragmentary nature of a large number of figurines studied, it was possible to observe them through a digital USB microscope, which transferred the magnified image of the object directly onto the computer; these images were important for detecting any traces connected with the production methods. Furthermore, the USB microscope was able to produce images and videos of the artefacts which were extremely helpful for further examination of the figurines. The information obtained by the examination of figurines in museums was inserted in the database under the title 'Production Procedure'; pictures were uploaded when available.

Following this, secondary literature relating directly to these terracottas was consulted, which again only served to answer a portion of the outstanding issues. An experimental programme was therefore designed in order to directly target unresolved issues and establish the sequences of actions followed for their production while at the same time evaluating the validity of previous studies. This programme had two main facets. The first sought to fully understand the production sequence of the terracottas to such an extent that they could be recreated using Cypriot clays.² The elements of these recreations could be verified against the archaeological evidence and, once acceptable, they could be used for further experimentation. Once this initial step had been completed, the second goal was to understand the firing conditions of these figurines. This was important as it could not only shed light on a little understood aspect of their

² It should be noted that the goal was not to recreate BR ware. Clay has been taken from Kornos village in Cyprus which is known for its long tradition of pottery-making.

production but also potentially reveal something of the people who made them. Throughout all of these experiments it was crucial that the results were repeatable and also verifiable against the primary evidence.

Questions relating to the timing, level of required expertise, levels of difficulty, choices of the artisans and identity of the figurine-makers were also approached through replication and experimentation while they were used for the investigation of other aspects examined in this chapter and in Chapter III. Gaining an impression of these aspects through replication and experimentation provided important insights into the use, life-cycle, role and significance of these figurines.

Therefore, after the establishment of a detailed typological table and the sequences of actions followed for their production, it was possible to identify elements that constituted deliberate choices of the artisans. The next section of this chapter contains a presentation and discussion of these features. Elements that might complicate the manufacturing procedure, adding to the time consumed and levels of difficulty are considered to represent deliberate choices of the figurine-makers. Repeated, omitted or emphasised elements are also considered in terms of the 'choices of the artisans'. Consequently, this part brings together the evidence from both typology and manufacturing procedures.

This section is partially based on theoretical studies conducted on other figurine traditions which showed that the omission, emphasis and repetition of elements on items such as figurines could activate the imagination of their handlers while they could have been connected with their character and role (Bailey 2005, 32; 2013, 249-250; Nakamura and Meskell 2009, 209-227). Thus, the system used for recording the typology constitutes a useful tool for the investigation of the emphasised, omitted and repeated elements. At the same time gaining an impression of the timing, effort and levels of difficulty during replication and experimentation provided evidence for the elements that complicated the manufacturing procedure. Moreover, the possible meaning of these elements was investigated further through data coming from the material culture of the island and also through experiential approaches. Figurines are objects made to be handled, come into direct contact with people, an aspect that is all too often forgotten. By handling the figurines people experienced the sensation of their material, size, weight and in general physical characteristics. This approach can yield

significant evidence regarding the use and role of these terracottas and help explain or add to the evidence regarding some of the features studied through this section (for the application of experiential approaches in archaeology see: Tarlow 2000; Morris and Peatfield 2001; 2006; 2012; Hamilakis 2002; Bailey 2005).

The fourth section of this chapter aims to discuss issues related to possible influences from the figurine traditions of other regions as well as continuities from the Early and Middle Cypriot (EC–MC) figurine tradition concerning both typology and methods of production. This section contributes to the discussion concerning foreign influences according to which the BR females have been interpreted and, at the same time, it contextualises them by exploring the figurine traditions of the areas adjacent to Cyprus which are contemporary to the period of their production and use. The figurine traditions of the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean³ are investigated on a typological and technological level while at the same time they are compared with the BR tradition. The continuities and novelties observed through a comparison with the previous Cypriot figurine tradition (EC III–LC I) are recorded. In other words, this part explores how strong the foreign influences on the BR female figurines are and if scholars were right to interpret them according to the foreign examples. It also examines the level of continuities with the local figurine traditions of the past and thus, takes into account the Cypriot material culture. This section is based mostly on secondary literature devoted to the typology and manufacture of the figurine traditions mentioned above. Nevertheless, examples of the previous Cypriot figurine tradition were personally examined at the Cyprus Archaeological Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art; elements of their typology and production were recorded.

The last section of this chapter discusses the similarities and differences between the Type B figurines with a group of LBA representations of females in bronze. The Type B terracottas have been interpreted as deities due to their typological similarities with these bronzes. Consequently, this part discusses the evidence thoroughly and proceeds to conclusions regarding this method of interpretation. Secondary literature on this group of bronze female figurines is used for the exploration of this aspect.

³ These areas were selected because of their geographical proximity to Cyprus and because they had developed relationships beyond trade during this period.

Chapter III deals with questions related to workshops and figurine-makers and it is the natural continuation of Chapter II. Firstly, this chapter attempts to identify individual hands/workshops through certain features of the typology and manufacturing procedures. The methodology followed for this examination resulted in the creation of various groups of terracottas that could have been manufactured by the same ‘analytical individual’ or workshop. This study is based on the identification of ‘motor habits’ (Hill and Gunn 1977; Hill 1978; Cherry 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 141; Morris 1993; Houston *et al.* 2015). ‘Motor habits’ are the small and insignificant details often repeated in the work of an artist while they cannot be shared or copied by another artist due to the fact that they are partially subconscious (Hill 1977, 100; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 141; Morris 1993, 42-43).

This approach is based on a theory applied first to Renaissance and Classical art for the identification of works that belonged to the same artist (for a history of research see Cherry 1992; Morris 1993; Houston *et al.* 2015, 21-23). A few archaeologists have, however, used it for the identification of individual hands through pottery decoration (for examples see Beazley 1922, 75-90; Benson 1961, 337-347; Morris 1993, 47-54). This approach has been rarely applied to the study of terracotta figurines (for an example see Morris 1993, 54-56). Thus, this investigation could also be used as a case-study in order to discuss and evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of this approach when applied to the case of figurines. This work also approaches questions related to the distribution of each individual’s work through the figurines of known provenance.

The second part of this chapter presents the evidence from the application of the pXRF technique (portable X-ray Fluorescence) on the material from Enkomi, stored in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus. The aim of this study is firstly to identify any possible imports and most importantly to explore the possibility of whether different types or construction types were produced in different workshops and thus, to investigate whether different workshops might have specialised in one of the two types or construction types. Moreover, the possibility of the application of different techniques for the preparation of the clay for the two construction types is explored. The analysis is based on the identification of variations characterising the chemical composition of clay used for their production. Through this examination the advantages and disadvantages of this method in the study of figurines are also noted.

The third aspect explored is the identity of the figurine-makers; primary study and secondary literature on the BR female and zoomorphic figurines and pottery are used for this examination. Whole and fragmentary examples of zoomorphic figurines/*rhyta* and compositions of animals and anthropomorphic figurines were examined personally at the Cyprus Archaeological Museum. Their mode of production was recorded as well as their typological characteristics. Through the experimentation conducted on the BR females it was possible to gain an impression of the level of expertise needed as well as of the difficulties encountered during their manufacture which added to the evidence concerning this aspect.

Finally, the last section of this chapter constitutes an attempt to show that the production of anthropomorphic figurines in ancient societies could be a more complex process for the figurine-makers. In other words, the production procedure might have involved acts that went beyond the mere formation of figurines. This part is mostly based on secondary literature and particularly on case-studies using ethno-archaeological and anthropological approaches. The aim of this section is not to transfer the evidence deriving from these areas to the case of Cyprus but to show, through the use of an analogy, that the making of a figurine could have had a distinctive impact on the figurine-makers. Since this work aims to investigate the BR female figurines from multiple aspects, the experience of the figurine-makers should not be dismissed or overlooked.

Chapter IV examines the exact archaeological context of the terracottas. Although a few scholars have recognised the importance of recording the archaeological context in developing a better understanding of the role of the BR figurines, none of these attempts have been systematic or focused specifically on this group of terracottas (J.Karageorghis 1977, 75-85; Orphanides 1983, 5-9; Merrillees 1988, 43-56; Begg 1991, 15-23; Webb 1992, 90; Karageorghis 1993, 3-14; Knox 2012, 176-177). It is, therefore, essential for a careful examination of their exact archaeological contexts to be undertaken in order to proceed to observations regarding their use and life-cycle.

This chapter is divided in three main sections. The first section presents the evidence deriving from settlements, while the other two present the evidence deriving from tombs and ritual spaces respectively. Contextualisation required the following data collection: a description of the exact place and character of the place they were found,

other finds found together with the figurines (i.e. assemblages) and the state of their preservation at the time of their deposition (i.e. fragmentation). The goal of this approach is to observe patterns in order to develop a more robust analysis of their use or uses/depositional practices in the different contexts. The archaeological context was recorded through publications and reports of excavations, field-notes as well as personal communication with the excavators in the case of unpublished material.

Apart from this general information, various other elements were recorded according to the terracottas' context of discovery. For instance, their position within the settlement plan (spatial distribution), whether they are located in interior or outdoor spaces, character of the room they were found, exact place/feature of discovery, associated assemblages, state of preservation and type were the elements documented for each of the specimens recovered from settlements. From this examination, it was possible to note concentrations of figurines in certain buildings and observe if their use was connected mostly to interior or outdoor spaces. The character of the rooms in which the figurines were discovered as well as the documentation of their exact archaeological context and associated assemblages provided some hints on their potential use and character.

Although the evidence on figurines found in contexts of use is minimal, the context and assemblages of terracottas found in contexts of discard/deposition yielded information essential for the reconstruction of the different stages of their use-life. Consequently, the aim here is not only to gain evidence concerning their function(s) but also their life-cycle. How people discard/deposit these figurines might shed light regarding their significance towards this stage of their lives and the attitudes of the society (Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 1-15). Thus, every find context is considered to be meaningful. This examination constitutes the next step in the biographical approach.

The state of their preservation was also investigated with the aim of recording possible fragmentation patterns. Through the experimental work, it was noticed that the assemblage of the various pieces constituting this group of terracottas produced weak connections which led to the commencement of this examination. Studies exploring the manufacture of terracottas from other regions have shown that their production in various parts and assemblage through weak connections might have been used in order to facilitate breakage of the figurines in some stage of their lives (Talalay 1987, 163;

Chapman 2000, 70; Georghiu 2010, 65; Naumov 2014). Consequently, this study was based on fragmentation approaches applied to figurines and other categories of artefacts elsewhere (Talalay 1987; Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2006; Gaydarska *et al.* 2007; Naumov 2014). Lastly, the types and construction types were noted in order to explore whether (or not) a specific type occurred more often in this context.

Although only a handful of figurines have been found *in situ* in burials which made it difficult to record any solid patterns regarding their exact position and use in this context, some interesting observations were made. In addition, the status of their users/owners was investigated through their appearance in burials which have been categorised as wealthy or modest on other criteria by scholars working on Cypriot funerary practices (Keswani 2004). With regards to this aspect, the types and construction types were noted in order to examine whether a specific type occurred more often in wealthy or modest burials. It was also explored whether a certain type occurred with specific assemblages; assemblages that could yield evidence for other dimensions of status and/or identity.

As in the case of the settlements, the frequency of appearance of the two main types and construction types in this context was examined. The results from the two contexts were then compared, providing interesting patterns. Furthermore, in cases where more than one figurine appeared in the same tomb, the types and construction types were recorded in order to study the different combinations that could (or not) occur. Finally, their state of preservation was also recorded; nonetheless, burials produced mostly complete figurines.

When one proceeds to the third context of their discovery, the ritual spaces, the data are reduced even more, since only a dozen were found in structures of such a character. From these 12 specimens, only six might have been found in LBA features of the so-called sanctuaries. The exact context of their discovery is noted while the potential reasons behind their restricted appearance within ritual spaces are discussed. The information related to the figurines' archaeological context from domestic structures and burials was inserted in the database under the heading 'Archaeological Context' as well as in tables in the appendices.

Chapter V shifts perspective to examine the BR female figurines in their *longue-durée*. Thus, the whole chapter is based on the *longue-durée* theoretical

framework. The theory of *longue-durée* was invented by the French Annales School of History. Fernand Braudel divided time into three durations: that of events or short term, medium length conjunctures and long-term or ‘enduring structures’ (Ames 1991, 935; Johnson 2010, 187). The theory of *longue-durée* is based on the idea that to comprehend historical developments, to explain their causes and dynamics, one must have a knowledge of their temporal and geographic scale, know what happened at their edges and their centre, why they developed and why they passed away and how they changed during their span (Braudel 1958, 1972; Ames 1991, 935). Therefore, in order to understand better the role and character of the BR female figurines we have to study the anthropomorphic figurine tradition of the previous period as well as the tradition that came after the BR females. In other words, the BR females are situated into the wider context of Cypriot traditions of figurine-making and use.

More precisely, an exploration of the contexts, typology and functions of the so-called ‘plank-shaped’ and ‘transitional’⁴ figurines produced towards the end of the EC and during the MC–LC I period follows. Evidence for the possible reasons that the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines went out of use as well as the potential reasons behind the beginning of the BR female figurines’ production can be gained through a comparison of their typologies, archaeological context and a careful study of their social context and changes occurring in the society during the two periods. This examination uses mostly secondary literature on the elements characterising the EC–LC I periods in Cyprus as well as on the typology of the figurines. Some specimens belonging to this period were personally examined. For the recording of the archaeological context of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines publications of excavations and secondary literature were used.

In the last section of this chapter, I move to the transitional period to the Iron Age and examine the contexts, typology and possible functions of the Late Cypriot IIIB (LC IIIB)–Cypro-Geometric I (CG I) anthropomorphic figurines. The reasons behind this investigation are similar to those of the previous section of this chapter. This section aims to investigate the reasons that the BR females went out of use and thus, gradually replaced by the so-called Cypriot ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’.

⁴ ‘Transitional figurines are the specimens produced during the transition to the LBA, from MC III to LC I.

Finally, this chapter also examines the relationship between the BR females and the zoomorphic and male terracottas of the LBA. More precisely, it discusses questions concerning the predominance of the BR females in the LC society in comparison to their male counterparts. Also, the observation that BR female figurines are sometimes found with zoomorphic terracottas (discussed in Chapter IV) is explored further through a case-study approach. The social context and changes occurring during this period in the society are again key elements in approaching these questions. Consequently, this diachronic investigation approaches through another perspective the BR female figurines aiming to better comprehend their role, character and significance in LC society.

CHAPTER I: SETTING THE SCENE

This chapter aims firstly to introduce the reader to LBA Cyprus, the period in which the figurines were produced and used. This first part consists of a concise presentation of the major changes, developments and characteristics of the political, economic and social organisation of the island. Only by positioning the figurines within their wider context, are we able to come one step closer to understanding their use, character and role in the society. The LBA in Cyprus was a very important period marked by major changes in all aspects of the society since it presents the first evidence for urbanisation on the island.

In the second part of this chapter the history of research is presented along with a discussion of the traditional interpretations and approaches applied to the study of this group of figurines. More precisely, this section begins by looking at the interpretations and attitudes of the early ‘excavators’ towards these figurines. The interpretations and approaches of modern scholars are presented in detail and then critically evaluated.

The third section is devoted to the presentation of the provenance of these figurines. The BR female terracottas have been found either during excavations (including both systematic and the early explorations) or they are lacking provenance. Finally, the last part presents a discussion regarding the dating of the figurines. This discussion uses the evidence provided by the earlier scholarship along with new data deriving from recent excavations.

1. The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus

The LBA or LC is a very important period since various changes and developments are observed in the social structures, economy and religion. Town centres with monumental architecture appear throughout the island; distinctions in social status can be seen clearly through the burial practices; Cypro-Minoan writing is first seen on clay tablets, cylinders, pottery, lumps of clay and other materials; the production and export of copper becomes more intensified and widespread; extensive regional and inter-regional trade develops (Webb 1999, 3; Keswani 2004, 85; Knapp 2008, 133; 2013, 348, 359-389; Satraki 2012, 77-78, 103-104; Steel 2013, 577-578). All these changes in the material culture of the island indicate that Cyprus 'was no longer egalitarian, isolated, or village-oriented but rather had become socially stratified, international and town-centred' (Knapp 2008, 133). Thus, the LBA in Cyprus presents the first evidence for urbanisation on the island.

One of the major reasons that led to the urbanisation of Cyprus was the increasing exploitation of the island's mineral wealth, namely copper, both for internal consumption and for external trade. During the LBA, ruling polities in the Aegean, Levant, Cyprus and Egypt increasingly became involved in the production, exchange, and consumption of raw materials, utilitarian products and luxury goods. However, it was only in the second millennium that the island became fully integrated into the international maritime trading system. While maintaining the agro-pastoral base that was crystallised during the EC–MC, Cyprus began also to be orientated towards the wider Mediterranean and Levantine world (Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004, 154-155, 169; Knapp 2008, 131-132; 2013, 416-423).

Cyprus appears to play a vital role in long-distance maritime trade as is indicated by the movement of the Cypriot copper and pottery throughout the Aegean, Levant and Egypt. The importation of quantities of Mycenaean pottery to the island and the occurrence in Cypriot tombs of exotic valuables such as pottery of Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian origin, small finds of precious metals, lead and faience, and Syro-Babylonian cylinder seals also constitute evidence for the interaction between these regions. There is substantial evidence from the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. that maritime contacts extended to Sardinia, Lipari and Sicily, as illustrated by the movement of copper ingots, finished bronze artefacts and pottery (**Fig. 1.1**). Their contact with these civilisations

resulted in the assimilation and adaptation of foreign iconography and technologies. Hybridisation is apparent in many aspects of the LC cultural repertoire and there is significant evidence for the manipulation of exotic goods used in the construction of elite identity (Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004, 154-155, 169; Knapp 2008, 131-132; 2013, 397-398, 416-432; Steel 2013, 578).

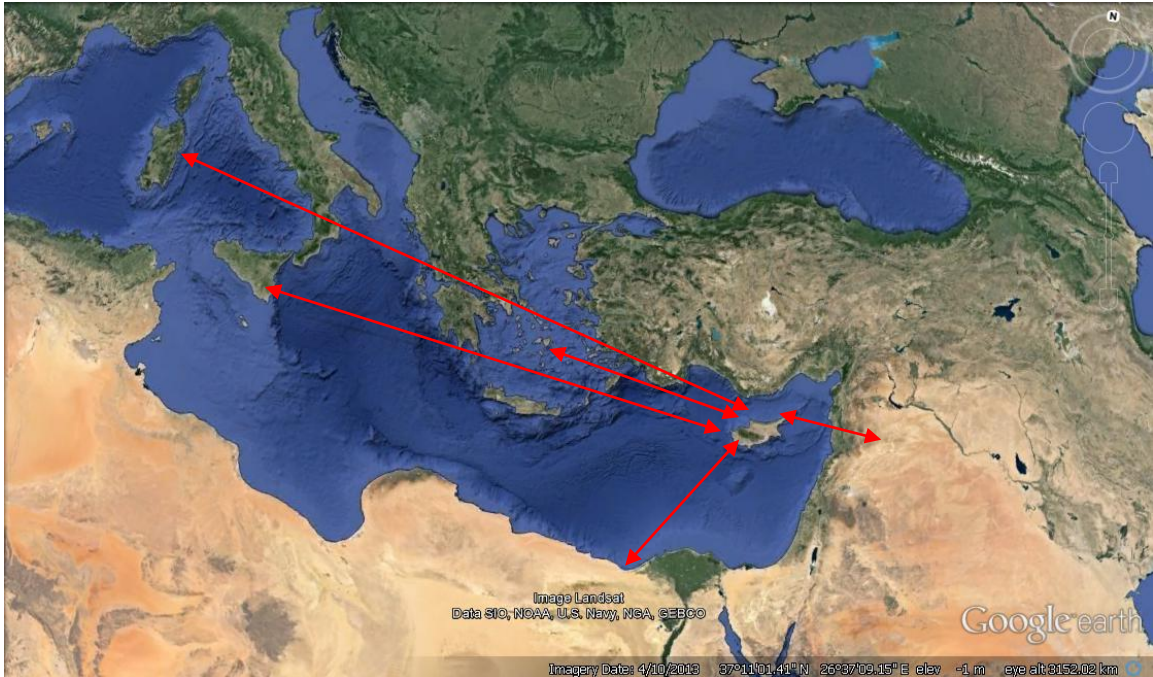


Figure 1.1: A map showing the maritime contacts of Cyprus during the LBA.

During the LC I period, several prominent new settlements were established on or very near the coast; for example, Enkomi on the east coast of the island and Toumba tou Skourou in the northwest. Thus, the image of a more widespread occupation is created through this shift in the location of settlements from the hinterland to the coast. The foundation of the new towns was most certainly stimulated by the growing demand for the Cypriot copper abroad and the increasing participation of Cypriot communities in trade and other forms of cultural interaction with neighbouring civilisations (Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004, 156-158; Knapp 2008, 133-136; 2013, 352-353).

The question of how Cyprus was politically organised during the first centuries of the LBA has generated extensive discussion; scholars are divided into two groups: those who support the idea of Cyprus being a single archaic state, founded and dominated by a paramount centre at Enkomi (Muhly 1989, 299; Peltenburg 1996, 27-37; Knapp 1997, 46, 64-66; 2008, 148, 300; Webb 1999, 3-4), and those who support

the idea of Cyprus consisting of several regional polities (Keswani 1996, 234-235; Merrillees 1992, 310; Steel 2004, 181; Iacovou 2007, 16; 2013, 588).

More precisely, Keswani (1996, 234) argues that there is little evidence for the operation of a hierarchically-organised, island-wide administrative system at any time. She also argues that Enkomi certainly seems to have risen to prominence earlier than the other LC towns, but it was later outshone by Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke. Nonetheless, she notes that groups of settlements may occasionally have formed alliances, operating in tandem rather than separately, but it is difficult to single out any one site as the permanent, supreme centre of an island-wide state. Moreover, she argues that there is no iconography or administrative technology attesting to a unified administrative complex. Webb (1999, 305-8), however, contests Keswani's last argument presenting several material indices of a common iconographic system as well as coherent ritual or ceremonial practices. Merrillees (1992, 310) also denies any possibility of a 'unitary' state and supports the view that Cyprus consisted of autonomous settlements, differentiated by size and wealth according to the nature of their economic, especially commercial activity. He also comments on the idea of Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos* being the ruling polity of Cyprus during the LC period as 'a figment of imagination' (Merrillees 1992, 310). Crewe (2007, 17-19, 156-157) has also argued that no single site, meaning Enkomi, established control over Cyprus' production and distribution system during the LC period.

The evidence that led some scholars to argue in favour of the existence of a 'unitary' state in Cyprus found its origins in the information provided by the Amarna letters and other clay tablets deriving from Egypt, the Levant and Aegean which refer to Alashiya, a state located in the Eastern Mediterranean ruled by one king. Alashiya was rich in copper resources and belonged to a goods exchange system with the aforementioned civilisations (Knapp 2008, 152, 303; 2013, 438; Steel 2013, 582-583). Scholars identify Alashiya either as the whole island or one of the regional polities of Cyprus and particularly Enkomi. Muhly (1989, 299) suggested that Alashiya was both the name of the capital which he identifies as Enkomi but also the name of the kingdom, exactly as it is the case of the nearby Ugarit.

It is uncertain whether Enkomi's authority and influence extended to the entire island. Yet, it is clear that it played a key role in the intensified mining, transport,

refining, and export of Cypriot copper (Knapp 2008, 151; 2013, 437; Webb 1999, 3-4). Nonetheless, scholars agree that by the late 14th or early 13th century the island was divided into series of regionally-based polities, ruled by local elites whose power depended largely on the control of copper industries and other material and symbolic resources (Muhly 1989, 301; Peltenburg 1996, 28; Webb 1999, 4). Peltenburg has been one of the few who has tried to explain the incompatibility of the archaeological evidence with the texts. After going through a number of cases, mainly in the Levant, where the king was not the absolute authority but his power was controlled by a council of elders or other groups, he argued that the language used for the correspondence between the 'royals' of that period might not have been representative of their political situation. It is possible that the language used was the language expected in such correspondence (Peltenburg 2012; Peltenburg and Iacovou 2012, 345-351).

Knapp (1997, 48), Catling (1962, 129-169) and Keswani (1996, 236-239) have proposed a model of settlement hierarchy that seemed to have characterised LC society and more specifically the LC IIC, c. 1300-1200 B.C. Catling proposed a simple categorisation of the sites based mostly on the topography rather than the function of the settlements: the coastal urban centres; the inland agricultural centres; and the copper production centres (Catling 1962, 129-169). On the other hand, Knapp suggested a four-tiered settlement hierarchy based on the different functions of the sites; on the first tier are the coastal centres or primary urban centres which served commercial and production purposes, as well as being administrative and ceremonial centres. On the second tier the author places the secondary inland towns (administrative, production, transport), and at the third the tertiary inland sites (ceremonial, production, transport, some storage) which were usually located on strategic communication nodes where the production or flow of copper, agricultural products and exchanged goods could be controlled. At the final tier of the site hierarchy he places the mining sites, pottery-producing villages and agricultural support villages which tend to be concentrated in or near the igneous zone of the Troodos foothills, or in the Mesaoria close to the sedimentary interface (Knapp 1997, 48; 2013, 355).

Keswani offers a more or less similar categorisation to Knapp, distinguishing the agricultural villages from the mining sites due to their different function, but omitting the secondary inland towns (Keswani 1996, 236-239). However, they are all convinced that the primary urban centres, such as Enkomi or Toumba tou Skourou, which were

located at considerable distances from the copper mining zones of the Troodos mountains, may have controlled regional networks in the mining areas and long major transport routes. Not all the primary centres, however, were far from the mining zones; for example *Kalavassos–Ayios Dhimitrios* and *Alassa–Paleotaverna*. Those primary centres also served multiple functions overlapping with those of secondary and tertiary centres (Keswani 1996, 229-232; Knapp 2008, 138-140).

The LC IIC–IIIA transition has been seen as marking a major turning point in the history of the island, traditionally attributed to the arrival of Aegean newcomers who fled from the Mycenaean mainland due to disturbances at the end of the LH IIIB. In general, the end of the 13th century is characterised by the ‘collapse’ of the major civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean. Site abandonments occurred in Cyprus at the end of the 13th century as well; the excavation record, however, does not provide evidence for a deliberate destruction of these settlements prior to their abandonment (Georgiou 2011, 109-112, 116-117; Iacovou 2013, 589; Steel 2013, 586), nor a destruction due to natural catastrophes or to violent actions of enemies, as it was the case in Mycenae or Ugarit (Iacovou 2013, 592). Moreover, they did not lead to a sudden and total replacement of LC IIC material culture, as seen through the continuity in ceramics and other aspects of the archaeological record. The archaeological record seems rather to display a blending of local, Levantine and Aegean features; this is used as an argument contradicting previous suggestions of an incursion of a dominant population from the Mycenaean mainland which led to a Greek colonisation of the island (Webb 1999, 6; Iacovou 2008, 230; Satraki 2012, 84-88, 153-154).

Other elements that have been characterised as ‘ethnic’ elements from the Aegean like the horns of consecration and ‘ashlar’ buildings (Karageorghis 1994, 3-4; Åström 1998, 81) are now known to be present in Cyprus before the LC IIC–IIIA horizon (Fisher 2013, 84-86; Iacovou 2013, 611). Even the Aegean influences on LC ceramics could reflect the island’s participation in a new pattern of maritime trade which emerged with the collapse of the political and economic centralised systems. The development of a wheel-made ware on Cyprus similar to the Aegean was likely to have functioned as a substitution of the former in order to satisfy internal and external markets already created by a Mycenaean pottery trade, centred in the Northeast Peloponnese. While small groups of Aegean people may have reached Cyprus at this time, they are likely to have been cultural and economic migrants for whom the

assimilation to the society of Cyprus with its close Levantine and Egyptian connections was a desirable process (Sherratt 1992, 323-325).

The last quarter of the 12th century is associated with site abandonments, shifting of settlements and cemeteries, the introduction of a new tomb type and the production of the Proto White Painted ware. Proto-White Painted ware is the first pottery type that is characterised by a level of standardisation and controlled mass production (Iacovou 2008, 234; Satraki 2012, 175-176). LC IIIB has long been understood to reflect the arrival of a second, and perhaps larger, wave of Mycenaean colonists (Webb 1999, 7). However, these changes were neither sudden nor dramatic. Thus, it is more reasonable to hypothesise a long, slow and peaceful process of the assimilation of new people into the local population; a process of a mutual influence between the two ethnic groups. Finally, towards the middle of the 11th century and the beginning of CG period, organised trade between the areas of the Levant and Cyprus starts to develop again. Before the middle of the 11th century, it seems that Cyprus continued to have relationships with Phoenicia and probably Crete. Contacts with the wider area of the Aegean do not start until the CG II, and more precisely the 10th century B.C. (Satraki 2012, 176-177).

2. History of Research and Traditional Interpretations

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, diplomats and travellers started to become interested in the island's history and archaeology which resulted in the first 'excavations'. Among the artefacts that were brought to light during these early excavations was a number of BR female terracotta figurines. The interpretations on these figurines and the way they were seen in this early stage of their examination varied. Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the American consul at Larnaca in Cyprus during 1865–1877, was one of the people who carried out some of the first 'excavations'. Cesnola in his book *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples*, which is actually a narrative of his researches and excavations, informs us that the figurines were interpreted 'by distinguished archaeologists as children's toys' (Cesnola 1877, 87). He clarifies that he does not agree with this interpretation since it is not compatible with the archaeological evidence; it seems that through the excavations of tombs, he had never discovered such figurines in children's tombs. In addition, he goes one step further by characterising

these figurines as ‘statuettes of the Cyprian Venus’ or ‘little images of Venus’ found mostly, as he notes, in women’s graves along with mirrors and long hair-pins and needles (Cesnola 1877, 87-94).

Figure 1.2: A Type A or ‘bird-faced’ specimen; Cyp.Mus._1934/IV-27/23.



Figure 1.3: A Type B or ‘flat-headed’ specimen; Drom.Tr._1009.



In contrast, the British Mission excavating in Cyprus almost twenty years later than Cesnola, describes the figurines as ‘rude female figures, more or less identical with those obtained by Layard in Assyria and more recently by the Americans at Nippur’, ‘they are generally known as idols of Astarte’ and ‘it is obvious that their production has nothing to do with the general progress of art in the island’ (Murray *et al.* 1900, 26). They add that ‘they merely represent *das ewig Weibliche* among people who were or remained in a primitive condition’ (Murray *et al.* 1900, 26). They also observed similarities with the marble figures which ‘occur in primitive tombs of the Greek islands’ (Murray *et al.* 1900, 34), meaning the Cycladic figurines. According to Murray *et al.* (1900, 34) of the British Mission they were produced to be used only in graves. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899, 51) in their *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, also refer to the similarity of these figurines to the Cycladic marble figurines. Ohnefalsch-Richter, however, commented that ‘these idols resemble the terracotta idols of Senjerli, and their resemblance to Schliemann’s lead idols from Hissarlik (Ilios) is scarcely less striking’ (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 34). While Cesnola believed that the figurines were small representations of the ‘Cyprian Venus’, automatically connecting them with a Greek past, the British saw them as rude, representations of a Goddess of a primitive society comparing them mostly with the idols found in Assyria. Through these descriptions we can observe how the interpretations regarding these figurines changed and developed in the course of almost twenty years. Just as the interpretations on the

figurines varied at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, so too do the opinions of more modern scholarship.

The typology, archaeological context, iconographical influences, and use and identification of the BR female figurines' role comprise the larger portion of the scholarly discussion on these terracottas. In general, in the study of the figurines, scholars have been mainly occupied with the question of who do these figurines represent and what their character is. In terms of their role, they were traditionally interpreted as a fertility goddess or goddesses (Karageorghis 1975, 60; J. Karageorghis 1977, 73-85; Orphanides 1983, 46-48; 1988, 198; Coldstream 1986, 11; Webb 1999, 234-235; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272) or as human representations connected with sexuality. In other words they were interpreted as mortal females whose 'sexuality is geared to ensure a pleasant trip to Nirvana' (Morris 1985, 166).

Budin, however, argues that through these approaches scholars have avoided connecting the divine with sexuality or desire. She notes:

'the power of sexuality, in this case female sexuality, is kept within confined and 'safe' limits; the sexual attributes of goddesses merely indicate their power to provide a good harvest or healthy children, while sexuality among mortal women is for the use and benefit of men' (Budin 2002, 316).

Therefore, after cataloguing a number of Near Eastern goddesses connected with power and sexuality, she interprets the figurines as goddesses connected with power and pleasure and not with maternity and fecundity. She continues by adding that Type B figurines (**Fig. 1.3**) are much more sexualised female figures since they are totally devoid of 'kourotrophos' imagery (Budin 2002, 320). Other scholars are more sceptical as to whether these figurines represent a deity at all (Knapp 2008, 182). These represent a number of rather divergent interpretations, each privileging or emphasising different aspects, but all focusing mainly on typology as evidence for identity.

Scholars were right to notice typological similarities with the representations of the Near Eastern goddesses such as Ishtar/Inanna in Sumeria and Akkad, Hathor/Isis in Egypt and Ashtaroth, Asherah, Anat and Astarte in Syria, Phoenicia and Canaan. Although they recognised that the Near Eastern characteristics were blended with purely Cypriot elements that had been transmitted from the EC–MC figurine tradition, their interpretations focused primarily on the foreign influences (Catling 1971, 29; Åström

and Åström 1972, 584; Karageorghis 1975, 62; 1993, 21; J. Karageorghis 1977, 78-79; Orphanides 1983, 39-48; 1988, 198; Webb 1999, 211; Budin 2002, 317; 2003, 140; 2011, 260-265; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272-273; Bolger 2003, 92).

More precisely, Åström and Åström (1972, 584) favour the idea that the Cypriot figurines derive from the old type of figurine tradition which started in Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium B.C. J. Karageorghis (1977, 77-78) argues that the iconography of the figurines presents a mixture of both local characteristics and elements influenced by the Syrian figurine tradition, and in particular, the tradition from the region of Aleppo. The Type A figurines (**Fig. 1.2**), according to the latter, resemble the oriental figurines in the rendering of the neck which could be characterised as long and rather large; in the rendering of the eyes which are formed by large pellets with round pupils in the centre; both traditions have large pierced ears, beak-like noses, emphasised pubic triangles and sometimes diagonal lines between the breasts. This class of figurines was produced during the MBA in Syria before the emergence of the mould-made ‘Astarte’ plaques around the 18th to 17th centuries B.C. (Moorey 2001, 34). Thus, these figurines were produced centuries before the beginning of the production of the BR figurines. In my opinion, the two centuries gap that exists between the two figurine traditions make a direct transfer of typological elements from the Levant to Cyprus less probable.

Moreover, Budin (2002, 317) proposes that the ‘bird-faced’ or Type A figurines were modelled specifically from the mould-made figurines from the Orontes region in northern Syria. She goes one step further by proposing that they represent the same deity due to common distribution of both artefacts and identical repertoire of positions; she argues that they are both shown either with arms out to the sides, supporting the breasts, or one arm to the breast and the other indicating the genitalia. However, apart from the ‘hands-on-breasts’ posture, Type A are characterised by a variety of postures different from those assumed by the so-called ‘Astarte’ plaques. The items sometimes held by the two groups of figurines are also different. The aforementioned argument appears to be weak when the two figurine traditions are studied carefully (for a detailed comparison of the two figurine traditions see Chapter II, Section 4.1). Therefore, the identification of Type A as the ‘goddesses’ represented on the ‘Astarte’ plaques seems unlikely.

As mentioned before, the similarities between the BR female terracottas and the Near Eastern figurines led the scholars to interpret the former as deities connected with fertility or sexuality and thus, belonging to the wider family of Oriental fertility goddesses worshipped under different names (Budin 2011, 267). Consequently, scholars took another step forward; from interpreting them as just goddesses to identifying them with specific goddesses. For instance, Budin (2002, 317-318) describes at a great length both the iconographic similarities and the possible literary associations between Ishara and Ishtar and the Cypriot figurines. She links the reference of Ishtar and Ishara in Akkadian texts from Alalakh levels VII and IV to the floruit of Type A in Cyprus. She concludes that the 'bird-faced' figurines from the area around Alalakh represent Ishtar or Ishara (or both) and that it was these goddesses—and their representations—that gave rise to Cyprus's 'bird-faced' figurines.

An additional argument used to support the existence of Levantine deities in Cyprus, or at least some level of syncretism between Cypriot and Levantine deities, is the reference to the gods of Alashiya in an Ugaritic text. The gods mentioned are Baal, Shapsh, Athtart, and Anat (J. Karageorghis 1977, 80; Knapp 2008, 181; Budin 2011, 262). Using this text as additional evidence to the iconography, which was identified as being explicitly influenced by Levantine prototypes, they conclude that either Cyprus had a similar mythology to Mesopotamia or Syria or it came into contact with these religions during the LC period. More precisely, they suggest that the iconographic influence must have been accompanied with elements of the ideology of the Levantine religion (J. Karageorghis 1977, 80; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 273-274; Budin 2011, 262).

Furthermore, Budin argues that the Type A has a divine character through the depiction of the nude female in the Cypriot glyptic. In other words, she identifies the nude female depicted in glyptic as the same image as that depicted in terracotta. In glyptic, the figure of the nude female appears winged with horned mitre supporting her breasts, and usually placed among fantastic creatures and divine characters. This figure on glyptic is considered to be the final transformation of the 'bird-faced' figurines into a divinity (Budin 2011, 263-264).

For the 'flat-headed' type, scholars argue that the Cypriot and Near Eastern characteristics are blended with influences deriving from the Mycenaean Tau, Phi and

Psi painted figurines regarding the rendering of their head and facial characteristics (Åström and Åström 1972, 584; J. Karageorghis 1977, 84-85; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272; Bolger 2003, 92; Budin 2011, 267) and also with regards to the fact that they never appear holding an infant (Budin 2011, 266-267). However, a significant group of Mycenaean figurines are occasionally depicted holding infants (Pilafides-Williams 2009, 113-124). Nonetheless, a more thorough examination on both types of figurines reveals that the similarities between them are rather more superficial (see Chapter II, Section 4.3 for a detailed discussion on this matter).

Scholars imputed Mycenaean influences in other areas such as the ceramics and architecture, using these as evidence in order to support the argument of a Mycenaean presence on the island during the 13th century B.C. and more precisely, of a Greek colonisation (Karageorghis 1994, 3-4; 1998, 127-130). Therefore, according to these scholars, the form of the BR female figurines had to change in order to satisfy the newcomers (J. Karageorghis 1977, 85).

Other scholars (Catling 1971, 23-29; Webb 1999, 234; Budin 2011, 262-263) attached a divine status to the 'flat-headed' figurines due to their typological resemblance to a group of 13th and 12th century female figurines made of bronze (Catling 1971, 19, 24-25; Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 55; Karageorghis 1990, 29). These figurines were interpreted as goddesses due to their valuable construction material and their archaeological context, particularly in the case of the *Teratsoudhia* example. Moreover, an additional argument supporting their divine status is their resemblance to the 'Bomford' figurine which has been interpreted as the counterpart of the 'Ingot God' (a bronze male figurine, standing on an oxhide ingot, which was found in Enkomi's settlement area). Particular attention has been drawn to her base, which, although damaged, has been interpreted as an ingot (Webb 1999, 232-235). Catling (1971, 29) identified her as a 12th century version of a long established indigenous fertility deity ultimately of Near Eastern origin, whose responsibilities included the productivity of the mines, furnaces and workshops. Knapp, being sceptical about the identification of the Type B figurines with the Bomford figurine and, in consequence, with their identification as deities, notes:

‘The Bomford statuette seems exceptional, rendered in a different medium, fully modelled in the round, nude and with sexual attributes somewhat less explicit than those of the terracotta figurines’ (Knapp 2008, 182).

Thus, he proposes a more careful examination of the figurines before proceeding to any conclusions (see Chapter II, Section 5 for a detailed comparison between the two groups of figurines).

Nevertheless, as I will argue in this thesis, typological influences do not necessarily imply the assimilation of a similar role and character in Cypriot society. Although some of the elements that characterise the terracottas were recognised as purely Cypriot (Åström and Åström 1972, 585; J. Karageorghis 1977, 77; Coldstream 1986, 11; Merrillees 1988, 55-56; Karageorghis 1993, 21-23; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 271-272; Budin 2011, 261), the local Cypriot material culture and traditions have been omitted and overlooked in the process of interpreting the figurines (typological continuities with the previous figurine tradition of Cyprus are discussed in detail in Chapter II, Section 4.4). Figurines, like other artefacts, need to be interpreted in the context of the society they are found since, even if foreign elements are imported and assimilated by a society, they may take on different dimensions and meanings.

Furthermore, while a small number of scholars have recognised that the archaeological context is important for developing a better understanding of the role of the BR figurines, such work has been limited and unsystematic, focusing on only single figurines or on only one of the several contexts in which the figurines have been found (J. Karageorghis 1977, 75-85; Orphanides 1983, 5-19; Merrillees 1988, 43-56; Webb 1992, 90; Karageorghis 1993, 3-14). Begg (1991, 15-23) in his study of the LC figurines proposed to record the archaeological context of these terracottas but the examples under investigation were highly selective. He stated that only 11 whole figurines were found in mortuary contexts and 16 fragmentary examples were discovered in domestic structures. Webb (1999, 211), on the other hand, in her study of the LBA cult in Cyprus, enumerates the Type A and B figurines. She also provides a percentage of the LC tombs that contained a figurine (Webb 1992, 90) as well as the number of figurines found in cultic structures (Webb 1999, 211). However, in her account of the figurines, she does not take the additional step of making an analysis of the exact archaeological context which could have provided evidence for their use.

With a group of scholars arguing that the BR female figurines were mainly found in tombs and, thus, used in mortuary ritual, they were interpreted as something similar to the Egyptian *ushabtis*. The *ushabtis* were believed to serve and accompany the deceased in afterlife. Other scholars interpreted them as goddesses of fertility who were placed in tombs to perpetuate the life forces and provide prosperity against death (J. Karageorghis 1977, 72, 78-79; Orphanides 1983, 46-48; 1988, 187; Merrillees 1988, 55; Karageorghis 1993, 21-23; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272).

However, the assumption that the figurines were found and, thus, used only in a funerary context is not supported by the evidence, since they are found in ritual and domestic contexts as well. Those in favour of a funerary use of the figurines explain their occurrence in the other contexts by suggesting that they might have been scattered tomb material (Karageorghis 1993, 21). It is important here to draw attention to the point that the notion that these figurines were manufactured as grave goods

‘...perhaps stems partly from the overwhelming funerary bias of the Cypriot archaeological record and partly from the fact that most of the earlier figurines of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, at least those with good provenance, were recorded from burials’ (Knapp 2008, 179).

As Webb (1992, 90) argues, during LC II only 8 out of 268+ tombs contained figurines and during LC III only 1 out of 145+ tombs included terracotta figurines. Consequently, the figurines do not constitute a consistent or necessary element in funerary practices. Likewise, they do not seem to appear in significant numbers in residual cult assemblages (Webb 1999, 211).

Their presence in other contexts has led scholars to offer alternative interpretations, suggesting a symbolic, magical or apotropaic validity without precluding their status as deity or deities connected with a more personal piety (Begg 1991, 53; Webb 1992, 90; Budin 2005, 265; 2011, 265). Their scarce appearance in mortuary and sacral contexts is interpreted as deposition of votives (Webb 1999, 211; Budin 2011, 265) or as valued possessions of the dead (Webb 1992, 90).

As mentioned above, these interpretations regarding their use and frequency of appearance in the different contexts have never been based on a systematical examination of the archaeological contexts. Their appearance in domestic and ritual assemblages implies a use of the figurines in the activities of the living and a connection

with their religious beliefs; thus, the figurines might take on different dimensions corresponding to the context in which they are used. A priority, then, for the interpretation of these figurines, is a careful examination of the exact archaeological contexts in order to shed some light on their use and, consequently, their character and role in LBA Cyprus. The current research aims not only to provide a careful and detailed analysis of all available contexts but also to introduce previously neglected or overlooked approaches, notably the study of production, typology and social context.

3. Provenance

The BR female figurines have been discovered all over Cyprus, as well as having been reported from sites in the Levant and Egypt. In Cyprus they have been recovered from settlements, burials and more rarely from sanctuaries or ritual spaces (**Fig.1.4**).

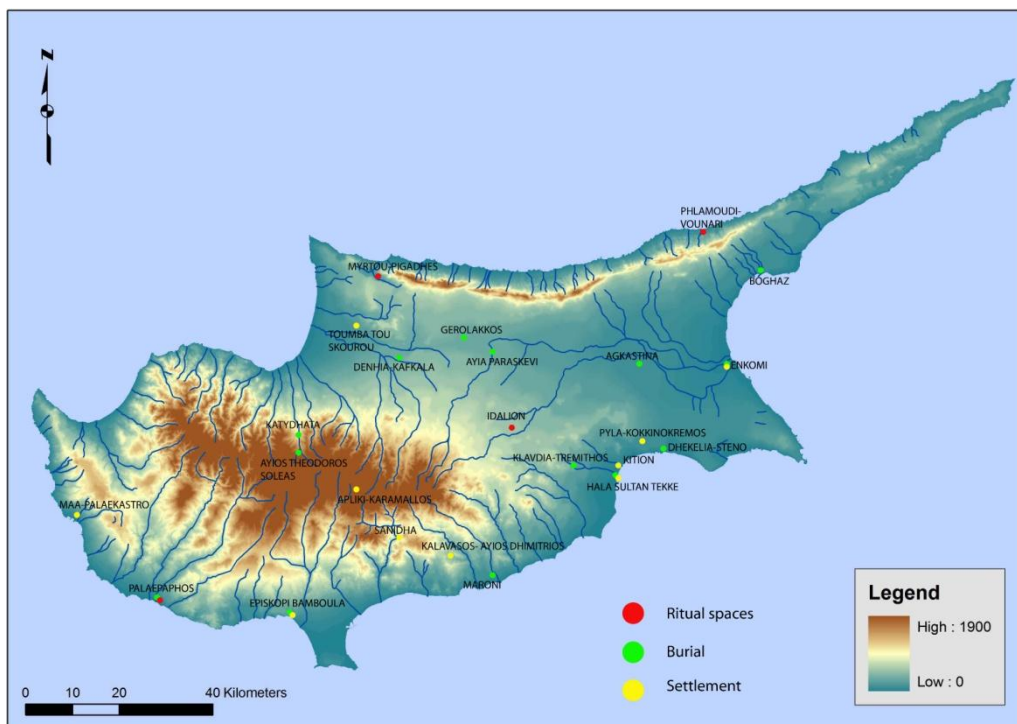


Figure 1.4: The distribution of BR female figurines throughout Cyprus in settlements, burials and ritual spaces (prepared by P. Mylona).

In the Levant and Egypt, specimens have been found in both settlements and tombs. More precisely, specimens have been reported to have been discovered in Tell el-Hesi (Åström 1972, 584), Tell Ta'annek (Dussaud 1910, 228), Tell Abu Hawam (Hamilton

1935, 54-55; Balensi 1980, Pl. 153, n° 319 and Pl. 156, n° 320), Rifeh (Åström 1972, 584), Ugarit (Badre 1980, Pl. LIX), Tyre (Clouzan 2013, pers.comm.), Deir el-Balah (Ornan 1986, 23) and Egypt (Goring 1988, 73) (**Fig.1.5**). The figurine from Deir el-Balah belonged to a private collection before it was given as a gift to the Museum of Israel in Jerusalem and its provenance is only presumed. The same is applicable for the figurine from Tyre, now in the Louvre and for the figurine with the general provenance of Egypt, now in the the National Museums of Scotland. The rest of the Levantine sites catalogued here include only figurines that came from early ‘excavations’. Only the context of the figurines found during the excavations of Tell Abu Hawam could be recorded. However, none of the specimens have been found in well-stratified contexts (Balensi 1980, 60-61, 178-179, 299-301, 395).



Figure 1.5: The distribution of BR female figurines in the Levant and Egypt.

In general, the figurines with a known provenance derive from either the earlier ‘excavations’ conducted in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries or from systematic excavations conducted approximately from the mid 20th century until the present day. A number of terracottas found during the early ‘excavations’ are now in museums around the world labelled either as objects without a provenance or under a presumed provenance. The provenance of 149 specimens is known or presumed. Nonetheless, 104 specimens belonging to museum collections, private collections and even auction houses are without a provenance due probably to looting activities.

Out of the 149 examples of known provenance, 55 were discovered in settlement structures. Fifty-two were found in burials while twelve were recovered from ritual spaces. Consequently, only the context of 119 examples is known. Thirty examples lack context. Nonetheless, when one attempts to record their exact archaeological context, this number is reduced significantly.

Thirty-nine figurines deriving from the settlement structures of Enkomi, Kition (Area I), Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Episkopi-*Bamboula*, Maa-*Palaekastro*, Toumba tou Skourou, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* and Apliki-*Karamallos* provide evidence for their exact archaeological context. This number includes both published and unpublished material. Details on the exact archaeological context of the specimens from Hala Sultan Tekke deriving from the recent excavations of the site by the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition, is not yet available. Sanidha and Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* are two additional settlement sites that have produced this type of figurines. The example from Sanidha constituted a surface find (Hadjicosti 1993, 141, 144) while the exact context of one of the Pyla specimens was not published sufficiently.

Only six figurines have been discovered *in situ* in burials. These figurines derive from the burials of Enkomi excavated by the Cypriot (Dikaios 1969–1971, 408–410) and Swedish Mission (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 475–487), the tombs at Agkastina excavated by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Karageorghis 1964, 1–22; Nicolaou 1972, 58–105), Tomb 1 at Dromolaxia-*Trypes* also excavated by the Department of Antiquities (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 40–41) and Tomb 19 at Episkopi-*Bamboula* excavated by the American Mission (Benson 1972, 22–23). In general, BR female terracottas have been discovered in tombs in Boghaz, Enkomi, Agkastina, Dhekelia-*Steno*, Hala Sultan Tekke, Dromolaxia-*Trypes*, Klavdia-*Tremithos*, Maroni, Episkopi-*Bamboula*, Palaepaphos-*Asproyi*, Palaepaphos-*Teratsoudhia*, Ayios Theodoros Soleas, Katydhata, Ayia Paraskevi and Dhenia-*Kafkalla*.

Most of these tombs were excavated in the early 19th–beginning of the 20th century. The early ‘excavators’ seem to have been mostly interested in excavating tombs for their Mycenaean pottery, gold and other valuable items. These early explorations and expeditions resulted in unsystematic and non-scientific excavations, most of the time without any proper recording of the exact archaeological context of the finds and assemblages. For the majority of these tombs we lack the most basic

information about the architecture, stratification, disposition of the burials and also anthropological studies of the skeletal material. Their publications and notebooks contained only brief descriptions of the finds and some comments on the condition of the tombs at the time of their discovery. In general, the majority of the tombs, including those excavated in modern times, were found looted or disturbed and, thus, the figurines were not recovered from their original position. Others constituted part of the general filling of the tomb or were surface finds. There are also cases where the information provided by the publications regarding the position or assemblages of the figurines is minimal or not mentioned at all. The results of the excavations of other tombs remain unpublished.

Twelve specimens have been found in features of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos (Mitford and Illife 1951, 59; Maier 1977, 140; 1979, 172-174; Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011, 10-11), Idalion-*Ambelleri* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 517, 724; Webb 1999, 89), Phlamoudhi-*Vounari* (Al-Radi 1983, 19; Horowitz 2008, 80) and Myrtou-*Pigadhes* (Du Plat Taylor 1957, 82). These figurines were either surface finds, discovered either in features or along with material of later periods or without any stratigraphic context. Only two specimens seem to have been found in LBA features at Myrtou-*Pigadhes* (Du Plat Taylor 1957, 82).

Nevertheless, almost half of the figurines known today had a different course of life after they were unearthed. Their discovery was not the work of expert archaeologists or early ‘excavators’ but of looters, resulting in their provenance and context being lost. These figurines ended up either in museums which bought them from different individuals/collectors or in private collections and auction houses. In the tables in Appendix I the general information for each figurine is summarised. The first table presents the figurines of known provenance; the site of their discovery, type, and construction type, structure of recovery, mission/excavator, publication and sufficiency of publication (with regards to the archaeological context) as well as the museum they belong to are noted. The second table presents the figurines of unknown provenance; the type and construction type, collector/donator, publication and museum/private collection/auction house they belong to are recorded. To this day, a total of 253 BR female figurines are known.

4. Dating

The largest obstacle to developing a reliable chronology is the fact that the majority of the figurines do not derive from safely dated contexts. As already noted a large number of these figurines are without provenance and, thus, lack an archaeological context. Others derive from tombs that were found looted or disturbed during excavation which provided the excavators with only a wider date range for the terracottas. Moreover, the tombs of the LBA Cyprus are usually family tombs covering several generations which adds to the difficulty of getting precise dates.

Therefore, only thirty-four figurines found in settlement, burial and ritual spaces provide us with more precise dates; this number excludes the examples that give a wider dating which usually covers the whole LC II–III A period. The dates provided by the excavators from the excavations at Enkomi (Dikaios' excavations), Agkastina, Apliki-*Karamallos*, Kalavastos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Katydhata, Kition, Episkopi-*Bamboula* and Myrtou-*Pigadhes* were employed for the investigation of this aspect (**Table 1.1, 1.2**). Settlements that provide more precise dates, but where the type of the figurines is unidentifiable because of their fragmentary nature, were not included. Also the figurines from settlements and the Myrtou-*Pigadhes* specimen from a ritual space are presented in a separate table from those in burials since figurine fragments in these contexts could have been lying around for some time and even re-deposited before entering the archaeological record. On the other hand, the specimens from burials, which usually survive in their entirety, yield evidence for a deliberate deposition and through them we might be able to obtain a more reliable chronology. Moreover, the figurines from mortuary contexts are likely to have been fully 'functional' when they were placed in the tomb whereas the fragments of specimens from settlements may have belonged to terracottas that were no longer considered meaningful. Finally, it is important to highlight that this investigation explores dates of deposition rather than dates of production and use. Of course, as it will be argued further on, the fragile nature of these terracottas would not have allowed them to be used, at least as whole figurines, for a long time (see Chapter II, Section 3.1). Thus, their dates of deposition should not be far away from the dates of production and use, especially in the case of the examples discovered in mortuary spaces.

Site	Inv. N°	Type	Context	Date
Enkomi	1818	Type A	Area III, Level IIA	1425–1300
Enkomi	4509/1	Type A	Area III, Level IIA	1450–1300
Enkomi	1764	Type B	Area III, Level IIB	1300–1230
Enkomi	1938	Type B	Area I, Level IIB	1300–1230
Enkomi	1853/13	Type B	Area III, Level IIB	1300–1230
Enkomi	1477	Type B	Area III, Level IIIA	1220/10–1190
Enkomi	3912/3-4	Type B	Area III, Level IIIB	1190–1100
Enkomi	1566	Type B	Area III, Level IIIA	1220/10–1190
Enkomi	1164	Type B	Area III, Level IIIA	1220/10–1190
Enkomi	1102	Type B	Area III, Level IIIB	1190–1100
Enkomi	10	Type A	Quartier 3E	1300–1200
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	202	Type B	Fill A49	1300–1200
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	561	Type B	Between Building IX and North Complex	1300–1200

(South-East Area)				
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	562	Type B	Between Building IX and North Complex (South-East Area)	1300–1200
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	2093	Type A	Building X (North- East Area)	1375–1300
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	2096	Type B	Vestibule of Building X	1375–1300
Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	2266	Type B	East of Building X (North-East Area)	1300–1200
Kition	365	Type B	Area I, Floor IV	1300–1175
Kition	312	Type A	Area I, Floor IV	1300–1175
Kition	552	Type B	Area I, Floors IIIA- IV	1300–1175 or a bit after 1175.
Kition	742/1	Type B	Area I, Floors I-III	1125–1050
Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	B1565	Type B	Area D, Stratum A	1300–1200
Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	B1566	Type B	Area D, Stratum A	1300–1200
Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	252	Type B	CD2, Period V	1300–1200

<i>Apliki-Karamallos</i> (2)	A8.12	Type B	House A, Room 8	1300–1050
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Table 1.1: This table presents the figurines from settlements and ritual spaces which were found in contexts providing more precise depositional dates.

Site	Inv.N°	Type	Context	Date
Enkomi	29	Type A	Tomb 19	1425-1400
Agkastina	15	Type B	Tomb 3	1375–1200
Agkastina	29	Type B	Tomb 5	1375–1200
Katydhata	A54	Type A	Tomb 100	1450–1375
Katydhata	A59	Type A	Tomb 100	1450–1375
Katydhata	A39	Type B	Tomb 100	1450–1375
Katydhata	Unknown	Type A	Tomb 81	1375–1300/1300–1200(?)
<i>Episkopi-Bamboula</i>	B1563	Type A	Tomb 19	1450-1300

Table 1.2: This table presents the figurines from burials which were found in contexts providing more precise depositional dates.

Åström (1972, 584) was the first to date the BR figurines. Recognising the problems caused by the restricted amount of evidence, he proceeded to identify LC II as the period of the figurines' existence. Karageorghis (1993, 21) and Catling (1971, 28)

added to Åström's observations, noting that these figurines continued to be used also during the LC IIIA; the examples found in LC IIIA contexts in Enkomi were used as evidence. Coldstream, however, suggests that these figurines were produced and used during the 'prosperous era of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.' (Coldstream 1986, 11).

J. Karageorghis (1977, 72-76, 83) was the first to attempt to give more accurate dates through studying the material deriving from safely dated contexts and in particular Enkomi. She suggested a date between the 15th–14th centuries B.C. for Type A figurines, while she identified the 13th century as the time when Type B figurines started to be produced and used. She notes, however, that there is evidence for the use of the latter until the 11th century B.C. Courtois (1984, 79-80) follows J. Karageorghis' dating, adding that a Type A figurine was found in a LC IIC context which adds 13th century as a period when the latter are still in use. He also uses the material from the French Mission's excavations in Enkomi to argue for a continuation of the use of the Type B figurines into the 11th century B.C. Merrillees, in his study of the 'kourotrophoi' Type A figurines mentions that 'they were more at home in LC IIA and B than in LC IIC, that is the 15th–14th centuries B.C.' (Merrillees 1988, 56). Lastly, Orphanides (1983, 41) embraces Albright's suggestions, dating the Type A figurines between the 16th–14th centuries B.C. and the Type B between the 14th–12th centuries B.C.

Using the evidence from safely dated contexts (including new evidence gained from more recent excavations), I attempt to re-evaluate the previous arguments. Charts summarising the information deriving from this research are provided. Twenty-four figurines out of the thirty-four that give a more precise dating belong to Type B while only ten belong to Type A. Here, I am also presenting separately the figurines from settlement/ritual spaces and those from burials. Settlements yielded one Type B example that can be dated in the 14th century, three in the 13th, ten between the 13th–12th, one between the 13th–11th, three in the 12th and one between the 12th–11th centuries B.C. (**Fig. 1.6**). Burials yielded one Type B specimen between the 15th–14th and two between the 14th–13th centuries B.C. (**Fig. 1.7**). Regarding the Type A examples, settlements produced two specimens that can be dated in the 15th–14th centuries B.C., one in the 14th, one in the 13th and one between the 13th–12th centuries B.C. (**Fig. 1.8**). Burials produced one Type A example that can be dated in the 15th

century B.C., three between the 15th–14th and one between the 14th–13th centuries B.C. (Fig. 1.9).

TYPE B FIGURINES: SETTLEMENTS/RITUAL SPACES

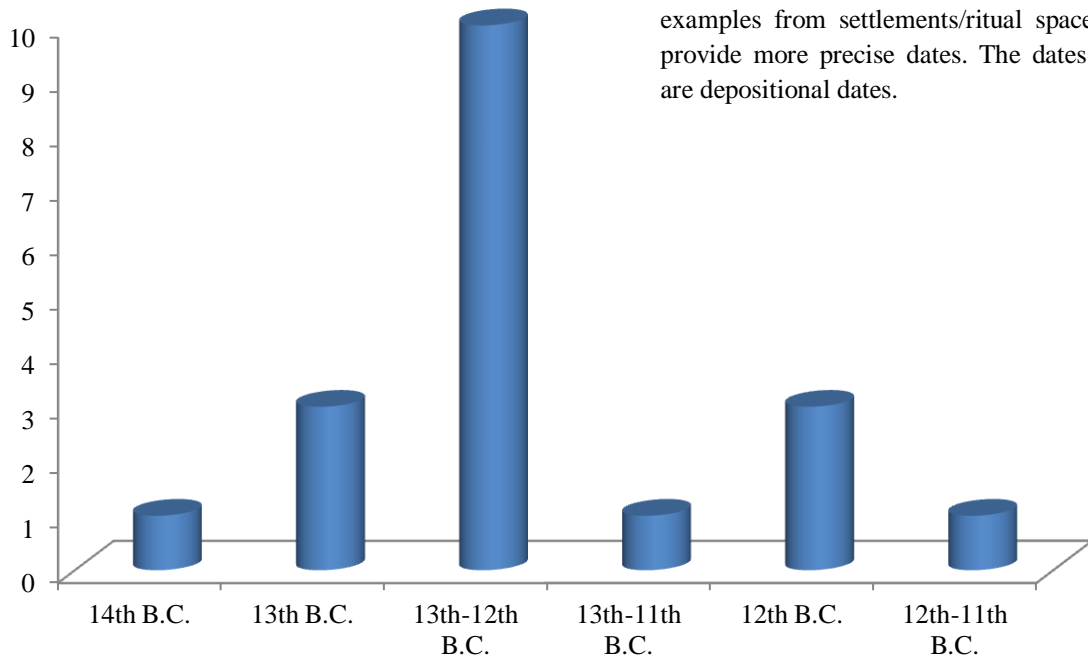


Figure 1.6: This chart illustrates the Type B examples from settlements/ritual spaces that provide more precise dates. The dates noted are depositional dates.

TYPE B FIGURINES: BURIALS

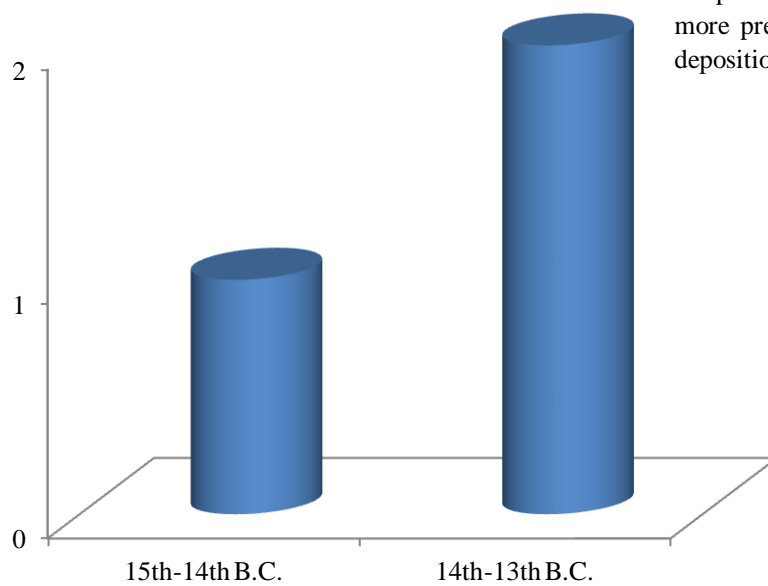


Figure 1.7: This chart presents the Type B specimens from burials that provide more precise dates. The dates noted are depositional dates.

TYPE A FIGURINES: SETTLEMENTS/RITUAL SPACES

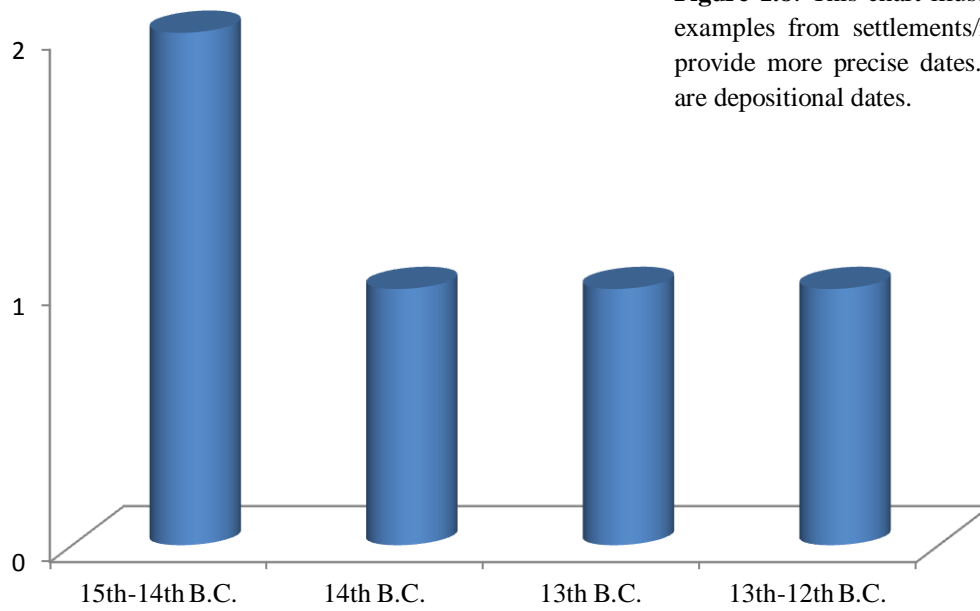


Figure 1.8: This chart illustrates the Type A examples from settlements/ritual spaces that provide more precise dates. The dates noted are depositional dates.

TYPE A FIGURINES: BURIALS

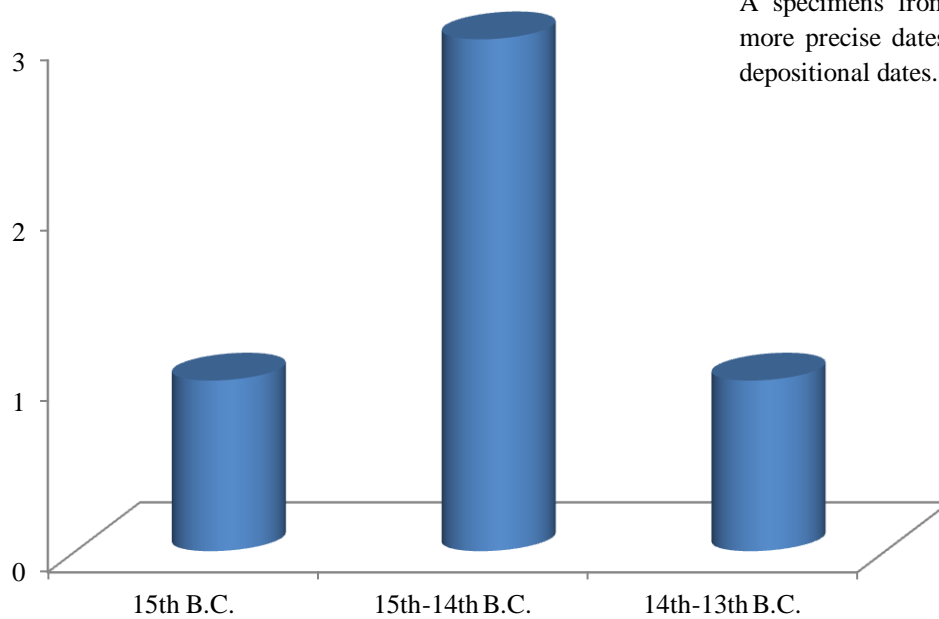


Figure 1.9: This chart presents the Type A specimens from burials that provide more precise dates. The dates noted are depositional dates.

Although the number of figurines is restricted, it strongly suggests that we need to reconsider the previous assumptions regarding the periods of at least the deposition of the figurines. Type B figurines have been found in burials dated in the 15th–14th and 14th–13th centuries. It is likely that prior to their deposition in the tombs they were

fully 'functional'. Therefore, this evidence suggests that Type B were in use before the 13th century. It should also be pointed out that the dates provided by the specimens deriving from tombs for both types are similar (15th–13th centuries). Another observation that should be made is that the dates of deposition do not surpass the 13th century which might be partially related to the change in depositional practices (discussed further in Chapter IV, Section 2.3). Nonetheless, only evidence deriving from future excavations could clarify the picture.

Regarding the figurines from settlements, Type A are underrepresented with only five examples providing more precise datable contexts while the deposition of only one might have been deliberate (Enk._1818) and it can be dated between the 15th–14th centuries (see Chapter IV, Section 1.2). Nineteen Type B specimens recovered from settlements provide more precise dates. Nevertheless, only the context of three could tentatively argue in favour of a deliberate burial; these are dated in the 13th (Enk._1764), between the 13th–12th (Enk._1477) and 12th centuries B.C. (Enk._3912/3-4) (see Chapter IV, Section 1.2).

CHAPTER II:

FROM A LUMP OF CLAY TO THE FINISHED PRODUCT: TYPOLOGY AND MANUFACTURE

The life-cycle of an object begins with its ‘birth’; therefore the investigation of the BR female figurines will deal first with matters related to their conception and creation. Typology, although a process made by archaeologists in their efforts to group items in categories in order to better investigate and understand them, could provide information regarding their conception. Thus, the typology of the terracottas is treated here as part of their creation; every single detail or variation characterising each and every part of the figurines’ body is recorded. All these variations constitute choices of the people who made them and could be significant in the investigation of their role and character.

The second part of the chapter examines the techniques used for their manufacture—from their formation to their firing—using a variety of approaches. Through the evidence deriving from the exploration of the typology and production procedures, the choices of the artisans as well as the omission, emphasis or repetition of elements are discussed, aiming to reveal something about their function and character. The last two sections of the chapter contribute to the discussion regarding foreign influences, continuities with the previous local figurine tradition and typological resemblance with the bronze female representations of the LC period, using again the evidence provided by the typology and manufacturing procedures.

1. Typology

The BR female figurines are divided into two main types: Type A or ‘bird-headed’ and Type B or ‘flat-headed’ figurines. So far, the two main types have been divided in subgroups according to their construction type and postures taking into consideration only well preserved examples (J. Karageorghis 1977, 75-75, 82-83; Karageorghis 1993, 3-14). These two types are, however, also characterised by significant variations in the rendering of their bodily and facial features, postures, incised and painted decoration. This section aims to provide a detailed typological table for the two main types, divided according to the parts of their bodies that are characterised by variations. Hollow and solid figurines share many typological features; therefore, the two construction types are presented together.

1.1. The Type A or ‘Bird-headed’ figurines (see Appendix II, Section 1)

Type A figurines are characterised by variations in the rendering of their a) feet, legs and knees, b) pubic triangle and vulva, c) navel and breasts, d) arms and hands (including postures), e) infants/items held, f) jewellery/ornamentation and g) head and facial features.

Feet, legs and knees (Appendix II, Sections 1.1, 1.2, 1.3)

The majority of the Type A figurines have their feet pointed downwards, flattened without any incisions indicating the toes. The feet are usually small and narrow since there is no need to create space for the application of incisions. However, there are a few examples that present a different picture not only in the rendering of their toes but also in the direction of their feet. A number of solid figurines have their feet turned outwards while one hollow figurine has its feet pushed upwards like a normal standing posture (Cyp.Mus._A57). A few exceptions are also noted in the indication of the toes. Specimens with one, two and three incisions on each foot have been recorded. One example, with its feet connected as one, has six incisions denoting the toes (Enk._A10). The rendering of this feature seems to only occur on hollow specimens.

The knees are not usually rendered. Nevertheless, there are a few examples that have their knees indicated through various techniques; double pellets, single pellets and light relief. Again, similarly to the toes, only hollow figurines have their knees articulated. Finally, regarding the rendering of the legs, generally one is usually slightly larger than the other. This is, however, the result of the hand-made manufacture, as will be argued later.

Pubic triangle and vulva (Appendix II, Sections 1.4, 1.5)

The pubic triangle is usually rendered by a combination of incisions on the abdomen and legs. The most recurring combination is two incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg, or two on the abdomen and two on each leg. The combinations of three incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg as well as two on the abdomen and four on each leg or one on the abdomen and three on each leg have been recorded but are more rare. Even rarer are the following combinations:

- a) two incisions on the abdomen, four on the left and three on the right leg
- b) two incisions on the abdomen, five on the left and four on the right leg
- c) one incision on the abdomen and two on each leg
- d) two incisions on the abdomen, three on the right and two on the left leg
- e) three incisions on the abdomen, two on each leg
- f) four incisions on the abdomen and four on each leg
- g) two incisions on the abdomen and five on each leg
- h) three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg
- i) one incision on the abdomen and four on each leg
- j) three incisions on the abdomen and four on each leg

After the triangle is formed, it is filled with smaller incisions. The latter could either been placed in such a way that they create some kind of ‘arrow-heads’ through the different levels of incisions; lie in the same direction; or just irregularly applied without creating any pattern. No paint is used. A group of Type A hollow figurines have punctures, instead of incisions, filling the pubic triangle (Ay.Par._74.51.1547, Cyp.Mus._A57 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22). Some might have a vertical incision reaching different levels of the triangle which might be a method to denote the vulva. The first two patterns (‘arrow-heads’ and unidirectional) are observed in the majority of this type

of figurines. It should be noted that sometimes smaller incisions can be rendered between the main incisions forming the triangle.

The vulva is considered to be part of the pubic triangle and it is indicated through a variety of methods: a hole; a vertical incision; an extension of the line separating the two legs which is created through a tool; and a combination of a small hole with a vertical incision. Nevertheless, a number of hollow and solid figurines do not have their vulvas rendered. The majority of hollow figurines have their vulvas denoted through a hole while a hole is also used to indicate this part on a group of solid specimens. The indication of the vulva through a vertical incision or the extension of the line separating the two legs can be seen on both hollow and solid examples. It is significant to note, though, that these last two methods of indicating this feature is mostly seen on solid specimens. The combination of a hole and a vertical incision is so far restricted to hollow examples.

Navel and breasts (Appendix II, Sections 1.6, 1.7)

The vast majority of Type A figurines do not have their navel rendered. Only a small number of specimens have it denoted with an array of methods used to indicate it. It could be rendered through a hole, a single or a double pellet and a single pellet created by the impression of a circular tool.

Regarding the indication of the breasts, they are always denoted with three exceptions (one hollow example Cyp.Mus._1933/XII-13/2 and two solid Idal._C475 and Palaep._KC-731). The breasts of almost all Type A figurines can be characterised as pointed; however, a number of examples have slightly rounded breasts.

Arms and hands – including postures (Appendix II, Sections 1.8, 1.9)

The arms of the Type A figurines do not usually touch the body apart from a group of solid and one hollow specimen (Louvre_AM2407). Nonetheless, the hands are almost always attached to the body assuming different postures. Of course there are some exceptions to this rule. One or both hands are not attached to the body when:

- a) they hold an infant, a disc (Louvre_AM1) or a stemmed cup (Szep.Mus._T12)
- b) they have their hands connected in a posture like clapping (Nat.Arch.Mus._Unnumbered)

- c) they have their arms and hands extended in front on the level of the breasts without touching them (Ay.Par._74.51.1548)

Apart from these exceptions, Type A figurines have their hands mostly below their breasts/on the stomach and on their abdomens/waists. Some examples have both hands on the breasts, one hand on or below the breast and the other on the abdomen/stomach and one hand between the breasts and the other on the abdomen/stomach. Although it is usual for figurines that hold infants to have both hands on the latter, there are specimens that have one hand on the abdomen/stomach. A restricted number of specimens that hold infants on their left arm have both hands on the abdomen/stomach or stomach/below breasts.

The fingers are always rendered through different combinations of incisions. The most usual combinations are three and four on each hand with the first to appear on a larger group of figurines than the latter. Two incisions on each hand also occur; however, this motif is rarer. Different combinations of incisions on each hand were also recorded:

- a) three incisions on the left and four on the right hand
- b) four incisions on the right and two on the left hand
- c) three incisions on the right and two on the left hand
- d) three incisions on the right and four on the left hand
- e) three incisions on the left and two on the right hand
- f) hands connected with three incisions covering both hands
- g) five incisions on the right and four on the left hand
- h) four incisions on the right and five on the left hand

Infants/Items held (Appendix II, Section 1.10)

Examples of both construction types appear as 'kourotrophoi'. The infants can be either rendered in their entirety or schematically. The majority of the 'kourotrophoi' have their infants illustrated in their entirety while only a handful of infants are depicted schematically. The latter are usually presented with only their heads and/or neck and right arm. The infant could also be rendered as a simple cylindrical mass held horizontally across its mother's chest in both arms, above the breasts. The nose is pinched and the eyes impressed (Glafk.Kl.Col._Unknown; Karageorghis 1993, 9). A

similar variation has the infant attached onto the torso in a horizontal position with the eyes rendered through incisions (Enk._A12).

The infants rendered in their entirety can be depicted either in a horizontal, upright or diagonal position. In all three cases, the infant is almost always held or has an inclination towards the left hand side. The ‘infants held upright’ constitute the biggest group with the ‘infants held horizontally’ following. Only a small group of figurines hold their infants in a diagonal position.

The first group which contains the ‘infants held in an upright position’ has the head at the level of their mother’s neck. Their arms and hands assume multiple positions. In the majority of cases, their right arm/hand is around their mother’s neck while their left arm/hand is placed between her breasts or chest. Only one example has the right hand on the shoulder and not around its mother’s neck (Jen.Arch.Ins._3). The left arm/hand could also be placed above or touching its mother’s left breast. Three examples have their hands connected in a clapping-like posture (Ay.Par._74.51.1545, CS-1484/II-I, Enk_A10). The legs/feet are always placed on the left side of their mother’s torso.

The majority of the ‘infants held horizontally’ have their heads placed on their mother’s left breast or slightly above the level of their breasts. A few specimens have their heads on their mother’s chest. A number of variations are observed regarding this group’s position of the hands: their left hand could be placed either between her breasts or on the chest, above, below or on their mother’s right breast or touch her right hand. Their right hand could be placed next to or on her left breast and below her underarm. The legs/feet are usually illustrated under their mother’s right breast, sometimes covered by their mother’s right hand. Only one example has its feet indicated under its mother’s left breast (Episk.Bamb._A2).

The ‘infants held diagonally’ have their heads on their mothers’ left breast or on her chest. They have their right hand below their mother’s left underarm and their left hand above her right breast or they have their right hand below their mother’s left breast and their left hand between her breasts. Their feet are usually on the right side of the stomach/abdomen.

Concerning the rendering of the infants' facial features; the eyes can be indicated through the impression of a circular tool like a straw creating a small pellet or through incisions or circular punctures. Nonetheless, there is only one example that does not have its eyes indicated at all (Louvre_AO22224). The nose is always beaky while the mouth and ears are not indicated. Only one example seems to have had ears though only traces of them survive (Cyp.Mus._A61). Although infants are not characterised by incised horizontal lines on their necks, one specimen seems to bear five (Enk._A10).

Furthermore, incisions are also used for the representation of the fingers and toes. However, a small number of infants seems to have no incisions for the indication of these parts, while some seem to bear incisions only for the rendering of the fingers and not for the toes. The fingers are usually rendered with two or three incisions on each hand or a combination of three and two. Those that have one incision on each hand or a combination of three and two, five and four, two and none are rarer. The legs/feet are usually denoted as one with, more rarely, an incised line separating them in two. The specimens that have the line separating the legs/feet usually lack the incisions indicating the toes or have one or three incisions on each foot. The rest of the infants that have their toes indicated, those are usually formed through three incisions. One example has two (Pier._LB83/MIII490) and one has seven (Enk._A10).

Two figurines are left in order to conclude the list of Type A specimens that hold infants/items. These two examples are unique since there are no other terracottas represented holding discs or stemmed cups. AM1 from Louvre holds a circular object which is usually referred to as a disc; it is held in an upright position. T12 from Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest holds an object that looks like a stemmed cup. Again the cup is held in an upright position. It seems that there is a hole on the upper part of the cup which is surrounded by small pellets. Unfortunately, the latter was examined only through photographs; therefore, I was not able to record its typological characteristics in detail.

Jewellery/Ornamentation on the torso and neck (Appendix II, Section 1.11)

Through the use of incisions on the neck, chest, under the breasts and stomach, ornamentation is depicted on both hollow and solid Type A figurines. Almost all have horizontal incisions on the neck (these do not encircle the neck but appear only on the

front) while sometimes they are characterised by diagonal incisions on the chest. Even rarer are the horizontal incisions below the breasts and on the stomach/abdomen. Only one example is known, so far, to have added bracelets on its lower arms (Cyp.Mus._V30.596).

The majority of the figurines have three incisions on their necks while a number of them have two or four. Two specimens belonging to the group with three incisions have the space between two of the horizontal lines filled with smaller diagonal incisions. A handful of examples have no incisions on their necks. Examples with one, five, six or seven incisions were recorded; of course their occurrence is quite rare. A quite significant number of figurines is characterised by two diagonal incisions on their chest. One has one diagonal and one horizontal incision on its chest (Louvre_AO22224); two specimens have two vertical incisions (Idal._C475 and Kat._A59); and two have two horizontal incisions (Hal.S._1173/2 and Nat.Arch.Ath._11935). Moreover, the number of incised lines below the breasts is confined to one or two or, more rarely, three. Examples exist with two horizontal incisions on the stomach and two below breasts.

Head and facial features (Appendix II, Section 1.12)

Type A figurines usually have cylindrical heads with slightly flattened or rounded top of the head; large flappy ears with holes, which sometimes bear earrings; double pellets for the eyes; a beaky nose; and no indication of the mouth. As is the case with the other bodily features and decoration, variations also exist in the rendering of certain facial features. Starting from the mouth, only one specimen seems to have an incision on the lower part of the nose (Cyp.Mus._A57) which might be considered as an attempt to denote it. Type A is also known for their beaky noses; a group of them, however, is characterised by smaller sized noses that are less accentuated. No variations exist in the formation of the eyes which are always rendered through double pellets. The eyebrows are not usually denoted on Type A figurines; however, there are a handful of examples that have either an applied strip on their forehead decorated with diagonal incisions or have the diagonal incisions applied directly on their forehead.

Although the ears are always presented as 'flappy', variations are observed in the number of holes and their formation. The vast majority has two holes on each ear.

There are also a handful of examples characterised by three holes. A specimen that has three small holes on each ear has also circular impressions around them (Ay.Par._74.51.1548). Furthermore, a group of Type A figurines has pellets on their ears instead of holes; these can vary from two to three. A figurine with double pellets as earrings has also small holes in the inner pellet (Kat._A54).

Finally, variations can be seen in the formation of the top of the head; half of the examples have a slightly flattened top of the head while the other half is characterised by a rounded top of the head. Lastly, two unique examples have a conical lump of clay added on top of their heads (Ay.Par._74.51.1547: **Fig. 2.1**, Pit.Riv._1884.39.22).



Figure 2.1: Ay.Par._74.51.1547, exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum, has a conical lump of clay on top of its head (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum).

1.2.Type B or ‘Flat-headed’ figurines (see Appendix II, Section 2)

Type B figurines are characterised by variations in the rendering of their a) feet and legs b) pubic triangle and vulva, c) navel and breasts, d) arms and hands (including postures), e) infants held, f) jewellery/ornamentation and g) head and facial features.

Legs and feet (Appendix II, Sections 2.1, 2.2)

Similarly to Type A, Type B figurines have also downward pointing feet with the seated solid examples forming the exception. The legs of the latter are folded in the middle while there are two projections on the back representing a chair. Contrary to the majority of Type A, Type B figurines are usually characterised by incisions denoting

the toes; again some of the seated examples provide a different picture since they rarely have their toes rendered. The knees are never indicated, while one leg is usually slightly larger than the other as a result of the hand-made manufacture (further discussed below). However, there is a very small group of Type B hollow specimens that are characterised by very thin legs that distinguish them from the other specimens (Ay.Par._74.51.1543, Christies_Desm.Mor._Unknown4, Cyp.Mus._A45, Cyp.Mus._A51, Cyp.Mus._A52, Enk._E003:184, Pit.Riv._1884.39.20).

As already mentioned, the feet are usually incised. Although the seated examples often lack this feature, Kit._552 has four incisions on the right and three on the left foot. Moreover, a group of figurines with downward pointing feet also lack the incisions indicating the toes. In their majority, Type B have either two or three incisions on each foot while only one example has one incision on each foot and it is of a solid construction (Birm.Mus._1982A976). In addition, Medel.Mus._NM Ant 1554 is the only specimen that has four incisions on each foot. Nevertheless, different combinations also exist:

- a) three incisions on the left and four on the right foot
- b) three incisions on the left and two on the right foot
- c) three incisions on the right and four on the left foot
- d) three incisions on the right and two on the left foot
- e) four incisions on the right and five on the left foot
- f) four incisions on the right and two on the left foot
- g) five incisions on the right and four on the left foot

Pubic triangle and vulva (Appendix II, Sections 2.3, 2.4)

Similarly to Type A, the pubic area is indicated by a combination of incisions on the abdomen and on each leg creating a triangle; then, it is filled with smaller incisions that have various directions. Nevertheless, contrary to Type A, the triangle is usually filled with black paint as well. Although this description corresponds to the majority of the Type B, a number of variations exist.

More precisely, the vast majority of the figurines have two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; incisions and black paint fill the pubic triangle. The second largest group—with fewer examples—is characterised by two incisions on the

abdomen, two incisions on each leg filled with black paint only. This group comprises both solid and hollow examples. A vertical incised line or dashed vertical incisions occasionally separate the triangle of the second group. Moreover, a very small group of figurines has no incisions and no paint filling the pubic triangle, but is characterised by the usual pattern of two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg. A short vertical incised line can also be seen in the middle of the triangle of the previous group. It should be noted that the vast majority of the solid examples lacks the smaller incisions filling the triangle.

However, variations in the number of incisions forming the triangle were also noted. The following groups include one or two examples:

- a) two incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- b) one incision on the abdomen and two incisions on each leg; the triangle is filled with black paint only
- c) three incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- d) three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- e) three incisions on the abdomen, three on the left and two on the right leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- f) two incisions on the abdomen, three on the left and four on the right leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- g) two incisions on the abdomen, three on the left and two on the right leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- h) two incisions on the abdomen, two on the left and three on the right leg; the triangle is filled with incisions and black paint
- i) one incision on the abdomen and one on each leg; the triangle is filled with black paint only

Regarding the seated solid figurines, variations in the indication of the pubic triangle are observed here as well. The triangle could be formed through:

- a) two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with black paint only

- b) one incision on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with incisions and black paint
- c) one incision on the abdomen and one on each leg; filled with incisions and black paint
- d) incised horizontal line on the abdomen with a black band covering it
- e) three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with black paint only

Furthermore, the majority of the smaller incisions filling the triangles on the Type B figurines are arranged in such a way that they create 'arrow-heads'. Only on four examples do these have the same direction (Ay.Par._74.51.1549, Enk._A17, Mar._A40 and Christies.Desm.Mor._Unknown1), while on two specimens they are irregularly applied (Christies_Mirsk.Col._Unknown7 and Enk._E003:184).

To conclude with the pubic area, the vulva on Type B hollow figurines is usually denoted through a hole. Nevertheless, a few examples of both solid and hollow construction do not have their vulvas indicated at all. A group of solid specimens as well as Mar._A37 (hollow) probably have it rendered through a vertical incision reaching different levels of the triangle. Another group of solid examples as well as Agk.29 (hollow) probably have it rendered through the line separating the two legs formed by a tool. Usually, this line reaches the point where the vulva would have been.

Navel and breasts (Appendix II, Sections 2.5, 2.6)

When the navel is indicated on Type B specimens is always shown in the form of a hole. However, half of the Type B do not seem to have any indication of the navel and this includes both solid and hollow examples. The other half has the navel denoted through a hole; this feature is present only on hollow specimens.

When it comes to the rendering of the breasts, the majority of the Type B are characterised by rounded breasts, in contrast to the Type A formation of the latter. However, a significant number of Type B specimens have relatively pointed breasts. In addition, a group of solid specimens lack this feature while one solid example has incised circles for breasts (Cyp.Mus._A58).

Arms and hands– including postures (Appendix II, Section 2.7)

The arms of Type B figurines could either be attached onto the body or be extended away from it; the number of the former is almost double that of the latter. The hands, in general, always touch the body assuming different postures. Only one seated example holds an infant and it is considered to be unique since no other example of this type is known to hold infants or any other items (Dan.Nat.Mus._3713).

The most usual posture assumed is ‘arms attached onto the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts’. The rest of the postures assumed by this type contain one to five examples:

- a) arms extended away from the body and hands on the abdomen/waist
- b) arms attached onto the body and hands on the abdomen/waist
- c) arms extended away from the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts
- d) arms attached onto the body and hands between the breasts
- e) arms attached onto the body, left hand below breasts and right hand on the stomach/abdomen
- f) arms attached onto the body, left hand on the stomach and right hand on the abdomen
- g) arms extended away from the body, falling along the sides of the torso and hands on the waist

The postures of the seated Type B figurines are examined here separately. These specimens assume the postures noted below:

- a) arms attached onto the body and hands on the abdomen/stomach
- b) arms extended away from the body and hands on the abdomen/stomach
- c) arms extended away from the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts
- d) arms attached onto the body and folded below breasts
- e) arms attached onto the body, left hand below breasts and right hand on the left breast
- f) arms attached onto the body, right hand on left shoulder

The hands are usually incised in order to denote fingers. The majority has three or two incisions on each hand. Other variations include from one to five examples:

- a) four incisions on each hand
- b) five incisions on each hand
- c) one incision on each hand
- d) three incisions on the right and four on the left hand
- e) three incisions on the right and two on the left hand
- f) two incisions on the right and three on the left hand
- g) six incisions on the right and five on the left hand
- h) three incisions on the right and five on the left hand
- i) four incisions on the right and five on the left hand
- j) four incisions on the right and three on the left hand
- k) four incisions on the right and two on the left hand

Infants



Figure 2.2: Type B seated specimen holding an infant (photo: Karageorghis 2001, 55).

As already mentioned, only one Type B figurine is known to hold an infant and it is of the seated type (Dan.Nat.Mus._3713: **Fig. 2.2**). Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to examine this specimen in person; therefore, its investigation was restricted through published pictures. Although the angle of the picture taken for the publication (Karageorghis 2001, 55) reveals little about the infant's typology, it seems that it is rendered schematically; its head is on the left breast while its legs are on its mother's lap. The infant's typology does not seem to differ significantly, therefore, from that of the Type A infants.

Jewellery/Ornamentation on the torso and neck (Appendix II, Section 2.8)

The depiction of ornamentation on Type B is confined to the area of the neck and upper arms. The vast majority of both solid and hollow Type B figurines seem to bear three bands encircling the neck. Usually, the red band denoted on the upper level of the neck is succeeded by a black and then by a red band (red-black-red). The opposite motif of black-red-black is also seen on a number of figurines but not as often as the red-black-red motif.

A variation of the first group has a wider black middle band framed by narrower red bands. Another variation that belongs to the same group has the lower red band continuing between the breasts creating two diagonal bands; this is represented by only one specimen so far (Cyp.Mus._A52). Also, a specimen that belongs to the first group has a wavy black band (Lev.Mus._LS2100). A variation of the second group has the middle red band slightly larger than the two black bands. A second variation of the second group has three wavy rather than straight bands; this is represented by only one example so far (Palaep.Aspr._KTA11.4).

A minority has two bands on the neck which have either the upper red and the lower black or the upper black and the lower red. A variation of the latter has the red lower band continuing between the breasts creating two diagonal bands; this is represented by only one specimen so far (Ay.Par._74.51.1543). Two specimens have one band on the neck in black colour (Cyp.Mus._A45 and Enk_16.51) while another two lack this feature (Christies_Desm.Mor._Unknown3 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.23).

Lastly, less than a handful of examples have black vertical bands on their upper arms while one specimen has four horizontal bands on the shoulder and upper part of the surviving arm (Roy.Alb._31/1918/102). The upper band is black, the middle ones are red and black and the lower is red (black-red-black-red).

Head and facial features (Appendix II, Section 2.9)

Type B figurines have more or less cylindrical heads with flattened tops and protrusion on the upper back part; the protrusion is applied to both solid and hollow figurines. The top and back part of the head is usually covered in black paint which denotes hair. The mouth is indicated with an incision and red paint; the nose is almost realistically rendered with two incisions denoting the nostrils; the eyes are always rendered as double pellets with the inner pellet painted in black; the eyebrows are indicated through black lines; the ears are usually small and slightly folded in the middle while the sideburns are rendered through black paint.

This description corresponds to the majority of the Type B specimens. Nevertheless, variations occur in the rendering of almost all the features described above. Beginning with the mouth, it might not be denoted at all; rendered through an incision only; or only through paint. The nose could be rendered without the indication

of nostrils, with a horizontal incision or two punctures denoting the nostrils. The shape or size of the nose does not change significantly from one figurine to the other. Apart from the painted sideburns, there are examples that have them added in the form of relief curls; these are also painted in black. A significant number, however, does not have this feature illustrated.

Regarding the eyes, they are all rendered as double pellets painted in black with only one specimen lacking the black paint (Enk._A17). Moreover, two figurines have no indication of the eyebrows (Cyp.Mus._A43, Enk_A17) while one specimen is characterised by Type A ears with two holes on each (K-AD 2096). Regarding the top of the head it could also be rendered as totally rounded covered in black paint or slightly rounded, again covered in black paint. Lastly, the back of the head could also be characterised by the lack of the protrusion which is sometimes accompanied by added curls painted in black.

1.3.General Remarks

Although the two main types of the BR females are characterised by a more or less standardised appearance, variations in the details could be observed which is probably related with their production by different artisans and/or workshops. The evidence from this investigation is used in order to understand better the elements constituting choices of the artisans (emphasised, repeated or omitted elements). Also, this examination sheds light on the production of groups of terracottas by the same ‘analytical individual’ or workshop, discussed in detail in Chapter III. The other aspect taken under consideration when exploring the aforementioned questions is the procedures followed for their manufacture.

2. Manufacturing the Base-Ring female terracotta figurines

The figurines under study belong to the family of the BR ware; this includes not only the anthropomorphic figurines but also zoomorphic figurines, bull-*rhyta* and pottery which are all of a handmade manufacture. During the LBA in Cyprus, two types of local pottery are produced; the BR and White Slip ware. BR pottery is thought to

imitate metallic vessels (Vaughan 1987, 2) while certain shapes have been interpreted as containers of opium (Merrillees 1962, 287-288; Koschel 1996, 159-166; Collard 2012, 156-157). Merrillees (1962, 287-288) was the first to suggest that some of the BR vessels may have been containers of opium. This suggestion was stimulated by their shape which seems to resemble inverted poppy seed pods. Since Merrillees argument was put forward, examples of BR pottery have been analysed using various techniques (Koschel 1996, 161-163; Collard 2012, 163-165); in some of these cases traces of opium alkaloids were indeed detected (Koschel 1996, 161-163).

Interestingly, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines produced on the island during this period are mainly of the BR ware. The reasons of choosing this type of clay to produce their figurines might have been technical; for instance, the properties of this type of clay might have been more suitable for the formation of figurines. Apart from this technical reason, other reasons might have existed; for example, it might have been connected with the identity of the figurine-makers and their skills. It should be noted though that towards the end of the LBA other types of figurines are produced using different types of clay.

The BR female figurines are usually characterised by grey cores as the rest of the BR family groups. Nevertheless, there are examples that have a reddish, pinkish or even yellowish core. The surface is almost always characterised by a pinkish, orange or light reddish colour while some examples present black or grey patches, mostly on their backs. It should be noted that variations in the fabric are observed on figurines deriving from the same sites. These variations might be related to different preparation techniques, clay sources or firing procedures. Thus, they could have been products of different workshops or even imports from other sites. The female figurines are made out of fine clay characterised by small amount of inclusions, seen macroscopically.

In this section, the production procedures of the BR female terracotta figurines are investigated. The primary manufacturing methods (i.e. formation and assemblage) are discussed first. A description of the secondary manufacturing methods (i.e. paring and smoothing), decoration and finishing techniques follows. Finally, the evidence for their firing and possible firing methods is presented.

In order to gain a holistic understanding of the production methods, primary and secondary sources, replication and experimental work was undertaken. As the

archaeological material should always be considered as the most important evidence for any archaeological investigation, detailed object analysis was the first step in this study. Following this, secondary literature relating directly to these terracottas was consulted, which again only served to answer a portion of the outstanding issues. An experimental programme was therefore, designed in order to directly target unresolved issues and establish the sequences of actions followed for their production while at the same time checking the validity of previous studies. This programme had two main facets. The first sought to fully understand the production sequence of the terracottas to such an extent that they could be recreated using Cypriot clays. Once this initial step had been completed, the second goal was to understand the firing conditions of these figurines. Throughout all of these experiments it was crucial that the results were repeatable and also verifiable against the primary evidence.

2.1.Primary manufacturing methods

Solid figurines (Appendix III, Table 1)

Both Type A and B solid figurines are produced in four parts which constitute the frame onto which other elements are added. The four main parts are the two legs, torso and neck and head as one piece (**Fig. 2.3**). The arms, breasts, face (for Type B figurines) and facial features are added onto the main parts. These features will be referred to here as ‘secondary parts’. The procedures followed for the formation of the various parts are described first, while the steps for their assembly are discussed later.



Figure 2.3: The four main parts constituting the frame of the solid figurines; legs, torso, neck/head.

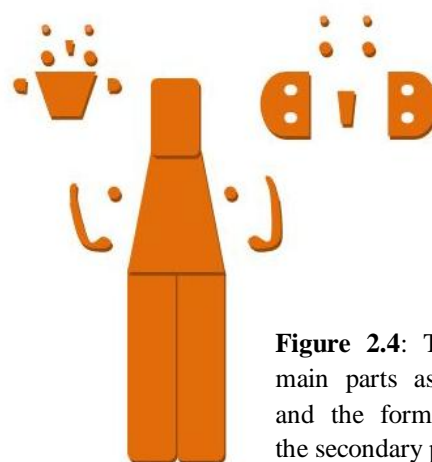


Figure 2.4: The four main parts assembled and the formation of the secondary parts.

Beginning with the legs, they are formed through two lumps of clay rolled between the palms. The lower edge of the legs is rolled slightly more in order to get

narrower and for the feet to be formed. The torso was formed separately. The neck/head was made as one piece for both types. However, differences in the formation of the Type A and Type B heads are observed. The Type A neck/head is formed through a lump of clay rolled between the palms; the upper part of the head is either left rounded or is slightly flattened. The Type B neck/head is produced through a roll of clay flattened on top through the index. At the same time, the back of the head is pinched by the index and thumb in order to create a protrusion.

After the formation of the main parts, the secondary parts are formed. The arms and hands are made through two small lumps of clay rolled between the two palms; one of the edges is pinched in order to create a wider surface for the hands to be rendered. The breasts are produced by two small balls of clay slightly pinched. While Type B faces are formed separately through a flattened oval piece of clay on which the facial features are added, Type A's facial features are added directly onto the head. Type B face is shaped before and after its assemblage with the head.

The eyes are produced by two pellets of clay; a tool probably like a straw or with a cylindrical edge was used in order to produce a cavity on the outer and larger pellet onto which the smaller pellet (made by hand) was added. On some examples, the inner pellet is characterised by straight 'walls' which could only suggest that it was made by a tool and not by hand. In this case, a tool like a straw was probably used in order to produce the inner pellet (probably out of the outer pellet). The noses of both types are formed through similar methods; they are both pinched until they assume the required shape. Nevertheless, for the Type A noses a larger lump of clay is used.

The mouth of the Type B is incised while Type A specimens usually lack this feature. The ears of the two types differ significantly. The Type B's ears are less complicated in their formation; they are made by two small flattened pieces of clay slightly folded. Type A ears are made through two flattened pieces which are pierced before their attachment to the head (**Fig. 2.4**). The earrings of the Type A figurines are made through the connection of the edges of rolls of clay.

Continuing with the assemblage, it should be noted that it takes place immediately after each part is formed; and more precisely, when the clay is characterised by the right amount of moisture content. Through replication work, it became obvious that in order to avoid fractures or even breaks and create strong joins,

the assemblage of the various parts should take place when clay is still wet (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). These results contradict previous arguments supporting that the assemblage took place when the parts were leather-hard (Karageorghis 1993, 3).

Thus, after the formation of the legs, their assemblage follows. The legs are pressed together while the feet are joined and flattened, usually pushed downwards. After that, the legs are pressed in order to be flattened. The upper part of the legs is pressed slightly more in order to create the pelvic area. The latter is smoothed in order to receive the incised decoration. After this procedure, the line separating the two legs is no longer visible on the pelvic area. On a number of examples, the line separating the two legs seems to have become obscured, possibly during the flattening of the legs; this led the figurine-makers to use a tool to accentuate it, traces of which are visible on the archaeological material. Next, the upper part of the assembled legs is pressed in order to receive the torso (**Fig. 2.5**).

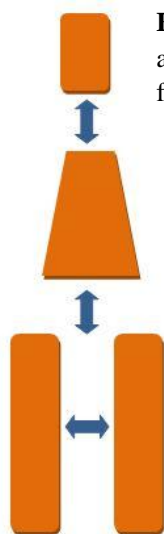


Figure 2.5: The assemblage of the four main parts.

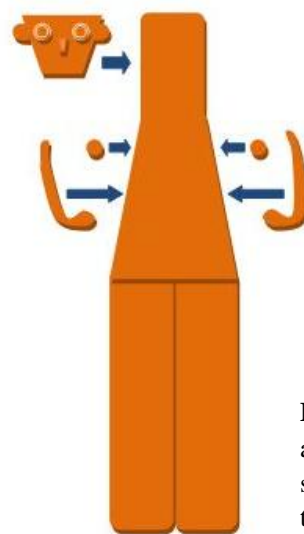


Figure 2.6: The assemblage of the secondary parts onto the main parts.

The assemblage of the legs and torso is accomplished through pressing the pieces together and smoothing the join with the fingers. Before the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso, the face (Type B figurines) and the facial features were most likely added onto the head. Through replication work it became obvious that the occurrence of breaks and fractures was minimised when the face and facial features were added onto the head before its assemblage with the torso. Nevertheless, Type B ears could have been added after their assemblage since the pressure exercised during their attachment is minimal. Eyes could also be added afterwards for the same reason.

The assemblage of Type B faces, both types' noses and Type A ears required more pressure and smoothing in order to be attached. The earrings of the Type A figurines were most probably added after the figurine had dried enough in order to be handled without deformation. After the face and the facial features are added onto the neck/head, the assemblage between the latter and the torso is done by pressing the two pieces together. Smoothing takes place in order to create a stronger join and remove any traces of assemblage.

The breasts are added next by pressing them onto the torso and smoothing the surface around them. However, on some figurines (most often on Type A solid figurines) the breasts might have just been pressed onto the torso without being smoothed. The arms were added after the breasts on the level of the shoulders (**Fig. 2.6**). On some examples, it is clear that they were also added after the rendering of the incised decoration since they partially cover it. In the case that items or infants are held, the arms are attached after their addition.

As already mentioned, Type A could be represented as 'kourotrophoi' with infants rendered either in their entirety or schematically. The latter required the formation of just the head and usually one arm. In this case, the eyes are rendered with incisions and not with pellets. The reason for rendering only the head is mostly because the torso is very narrow. Nonetheless, in their majority, infants are rendered in their entirety. Usually the infant is formed in five parts; the head, the arms, the torso and the legs. More precisely, the torso can be formed along with one of the legs while the other leg is attached as a separate piece onto the torso. In addition, the left side of the torso with the left leg can be formed together while the right side of the torso and right leg are formed as one piece. Another variation, which is seen more rarely, is the rendering of the infant in three pieces; head, left side of the body (including: left arm, left side of the torso and left leg) and right side (including: right arm, right side of the torso and right leg).

The head of the infant is pinched in order for the 'beaky' nose to be formed; the pellet rendering the eyes is formed through the impression of a tool with a rounded edge. All the pieces used for the formation of the infant are small rolls of clay. The infant is assembled on the figurine before the assemblage of the arms and after the

assemblage of the breasts and most probably, the rendering of the incised decoration since they seem to partially cover incised elements on a number of terracottas.

Hollow figurines (Appendix III, Table 2)

The formation and assemblage of the Type A and B hollow figurines could be characterised as more complicated than the formation and assemblage of the solid figurines. Being hollow, hand-made and produced by various pieces assembled together are all factors that complicate the overall production procedure. Hollow specimens are usually produced by five pieces that constitute the main parts onto which the secondary parts are added. It should be noted that since these figurines are hand-made they are individualised. The fact that this group of terracottas is hollow and hand-made gives the artisans the opportunity to follow slightly different methods in order to accomplish this particular appearance; something that was less evident in the production of the solid figurines. All variations are noted below.

As mentioned before, at their most basic, hollow figurines are made up of five hollow, hand-made pieces of different proportions. These are the legs, pelvis, torso and neck/head (**Fig. 2.7**). Feet, arms, breasts, items held or infants (for Type A), face (for Type B), facial features and top of the head (for Type B) are added into or onto the five main parts (**Fig. 2.8**).

Firstly, it is important to mention that all parts are totally hand-made and not moulded around tools or pieces of wood as it was suggested previously by Karageorghis (1993, 3). To understand this interpretation, features that might suggest mould technology were evaluated. Only one feature, the presence on the internal surface of tiny horizontal lines, seemed a likely candidate. However, in replicating the figurines it was noticed that these marks also occur simply in the hand making procedure, an observation corroborated by the presence of finger prints internally on the primary material. Furthermore, subtle irregularities in the size and wall thickness of the primary parts suggest no standardisation either within individual figurines or across groups of figurines which strengthen the argument for a totally hand-made production (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*).

The legs are made individually. At this stage the outer surface of the legs is smoothed with a finger, producing vertical, parallel fluting. Following this, the pelvis is made either from a number of pieces of clay added to the top of the legs or from extensions to the top of the legs. Then the hollow torso and head are produced each from a single piece of clay. The only difference between the Type B and Type A heads is that Type B heads are formed as a cylinder open on top and bottom while Type A heads have only the bottom open. The top of the Type A hollow heads remains either rounded or slightly flattened (**Fig. 2.7**).



Figure 2.7: The five main parts constituting the frame of the hollow specimens; legs, pelvis, torso, neck/head.

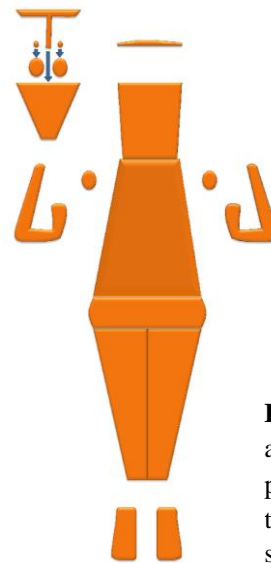


Figure 2.8: The assemblage of the primary parts and the formation of the secondary parts.

After the formation of the primary parts, the secondary parts are formed. The feet can be formed through two different methods, either by pinching the lower leg into a flattened foot shape or formed independently through two small lumps of clay rolled between the two palms. The breasts and arms are formed through the same method as the solid examples'. Thus, the arms are solid and not hollow. The formation procedure followed for the infants held by Type A hollow specimens is the same as the solid examples'. Regarding the Type B hollow figurines, one of the secondary parts added onto the neck/head is the top of the head which is formed through a flattened piece of clay. The face of the Type B hollow specimens and the facial features of both types follow the same procedures applied for the solid specimens (**Fig. 2.8**).

Continuing with the assemblage of the various parts (**Figs. 2.9, 2.10**), it should be noted that it takes place immediately after each part is formed, similarly to the solid specimens. The assemblage of the figurines starts with the two legs placed together and

joined to the pelvis (**Fig. 2.11**). Internally, where the top of the legs meet, a small strap of clay is often added to support this area; this is observed on the majority of the figurines. Bringing together these three pieces naturally creates an open vulva, which is often accentuated with the use of a tool (**Fig. 2.12**). However, not all the figurines have this internal strap. The latter also lack the hole denoting the vulva; their legs are pressed tightly without leaving any space between them. Thus, the vulva cannot be rendered without taking the additional step of placing the small strap, which is used in order to join the two legs without eliminating the space between them.

The pelvis – torso and torso – neck/head are joined by slotting one into the other and pinching the join (**Figs. 2.13, 2.16**). The assemblage between the pelvis and torso is usually conducted at the level of the incisions on the abdomen used for the rendering of the pubic triangle. Proceeding to the torso-neck/head assemblage, it should be noted that while the Type B heads can be assembled onto or into the torso, the Type A heads are only assembled into the torso. This difference could be due to the different size of the Type A and B heads; Type A heads are smaller and narrower than the Type B heads. They are also narrower than the opening of the torso which leaves only one way to be assembled – to be slotted into the latter. The assemblage of these parts sees only the outer part of the joins sealed while the inner section is left relatively unsmoothed, producing particularly weak connections.

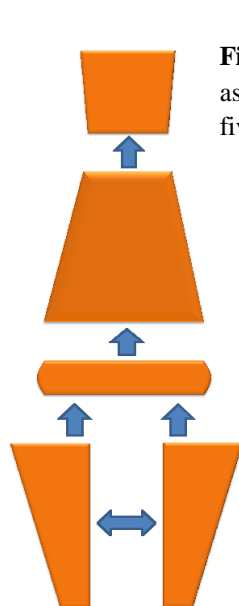


Figure 2.9: The assemblage of the five main parts.

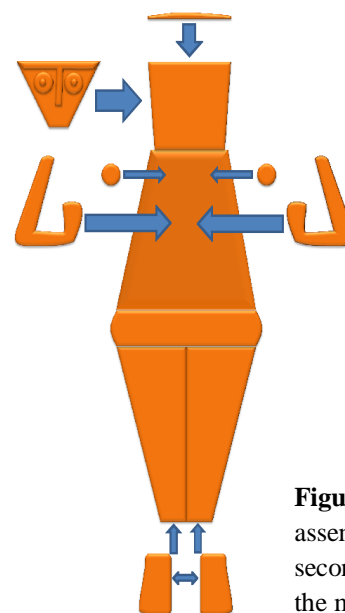


Figure 2.10: The assemblage of the secondary parts onto the main parts.

After the assemblage of the primary parts, the secondary parts are added. Through replication work, however, it became obvious that some of the secondary parts

might have been added before the assemblage of the main parts. For example, in the case that the feet were inserted into the hollow of the legs, it would have minimised the occurrence of breaks and fractures if it was done before the assemblage of the latter. The same could be said about the Type B face (**Fig. 2.14**), the noses of both types (**Fig. 2.15**) and the Type A ears; as it is the case with the solid examples.

However, features such as the arms, breasts, Type B ears and top of the head, items/infants held were most likely added after the assemblage of the main parts. Once the neck/head piece is assembled with the torso (**Fig. 2.16**), the Type B top of the head, a flattened piece of clay, is added covering the top of the brow (**Fig. 2.17**). Breasts are added similarly to the solid examples. The arms could be assembled through two different methods. On the majority of the figurines, the arms are socketed into small openings in the upper torso (**Fig. 2.18**). However, a number of them seem to have the arms attached directly onto the torso on the level of the shoulder which results in the creation of a weak connection. The assemblage of the infants held by the Type A follows the same procedure applied for the solid specimens.



Figure 2.11: Assembling the legs right after their formation (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.12: The insertion of the internal strap and rendering of the vulva (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.13: After the formation of the torso the assemblage with the pelvis follows (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.14: After the formation of the neck/head, the formation and assemblage of the face is conducted (photo: E. Alexandrou)



Figure 2.15: The facial features might have been added before the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.16: The neck/head is added onto the torso (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.17: A flattened oval piece of clay is added on top of the head (photo: E. Alexandrou).



Figure 2.18: The arms are socketed into the torso (photo: E Alexandrou).



Figure 2.19: The incised decoration is applied last (photo: E Alexandrou).

2.2.Secondary manufacturing methods

In this section the secondary manufacturing methods, i.e. paring and smoothing, are discussed. Paring took place in order to remove clay and create thinner walls. Smoothing was done in order to join the different parts and smooth surfaces where additional clay was applied. Karageorghis in his brief investigation of the production procedures of these figurines he notes that:

‘the legs [...] were burnished (‘shaved’) with a sharp tool or another piece of wood, at the same time removing surface clay in order to thin the walls of the figurine’ (Karageorghis 1993, 3).

On another occasion, when referring to the solid examples, he notes: ‘traces of knife trimming are clearly seen on the whole surface’ (Karageorghis 1993, 8). In order to investigate the validity of these statements, evidence from both the primary sources and the replication work are considered.

Firstly, it is important to refer to the evidence deriving from the primary material. It seems that paring took place while the different parts were formed and also after the assemblage since vertical lines are observed on assembly points. Paring marks (on both hollow and solid figurines) are quite distinct on the legs (**Fig. 2.20**), both on the back and front side while they are more rarely seen on the back and sides of the torso (**Fig. 2.21**) and back of the neck/head (**Fig. 2.22**). However, a number of solid specimens provide no evidence for paring at all.



Figure 2.20: Cyp.Mus._A45 provides evidence for paring marks on the legs.



Figure 2.21: Cyp.Mus._A43 provides evidence for paring marks on the back of the torso.



Figure 2.22: Enk._19.55 provides evidence for paring marks on the back of the neck/head.

Evidence for smoothing can be seen mostly on the joints between the secondary and primary parts. More precisely, traces of smoothing are observed on the arms–torso joint (**Fig. 2.23**), breasts–torso joint (**Fig. 2.24**), nose–neck/head (Type A) (**Fig. 2.25**) or face (Type B) joint (**Fig. 2.26**) and ears–neck/head joint (**Fig. 2.27**). These traces are usually seen through finger prints. Traces of smoothing on the assembly points between the primary parts are not clearly visible. This corresponds to both hollow and solid figurines.



Figure 2.23: Kat._A54 provides evidence for smoothing on the arms-torso joint (photo: through a USB microscope).



Figure 2.24: Enk._16.51 provides evidence for smoothing on the breasts-torso joint (photo: through a USB microscope).



Figure 2.25: Kat._A59 provides evidence for smoothing on the nose-neck/head joint (photo: through a USB microscope).



Figure 2.26: Enk._16.51 provides evidence for smoothing on the face-neck/head joint (photo: through a USB microscope).



Figure 2.27: Kat._A54 provides evidence for smoothing on the ears-neck/head joint (photo: through a USB microscope).

Karageorghis suggestions of being heavily shaved through the use of a sharp tool or even a knife might be questioned through the replication work results. Through replication it was observed that parallel paring lines could be achieved simply by smoothing the outer surface of the clay with a finger. Indeed, when produced in this way these lines bear a stronger similarity to those found on the archaeological remains (**Figs. 2.28, 2.29**). Nevertheless, the possible use of a paring tool has not been completely rejected.



Figure 2.28: Louvre_AM1173 provides evidence for paring on the legs.



Figure 2.29: Replica tube with vertical lines produced from being finger-pared.

2.3. Decoration and finishing

After the figurines are formed and assembled, the next step is to apply the incised and painted decoration (for Type B). On the majority of the figurines, considering both construction types, the incisions are deep and clear. There are only a handful of examples that seem to be characterised by very shallow incisions. The fact that the incisions are deep and clear means that the incised decoration was applied when the clay had the correct moisture content; most probably after the assemblage of the different parts. In the cases where the incisions are not deep, it seems that the incised decoration was applied when the clay was partially dry. The tools used for the rendering of the incised decoration were probably bladed tools. Nonetheless, no experiments were conducted in order to confirm this assumption. The finishing of the figurines is mostly confined to a further smoothing of the connections between secondary and primary parts.

Part of the finishing procedures, according to Karageorghis (1993, 4), was the application of slip which was conducted before the rendering of the incised decoration and the assemblage of secondary features such as the eyes and arms. Through an examination of the figurines it became obvious that no slip was applied on the figurines and the colour variations observed between the surface and the core were probably the result of differential firing atmospheres. Firstly, if slip was applied before the

application of secondary features such as the eyes or arms, the primary and secondary parts would have been characterised by different colours; this, however, is not seen on the BR female figurines which are characterised by homogeneous surfaces.

Secondly, if the slip was applied after the application of secondary features, there would have been pooling of slip material in and around these features. Furthermore, the application of slip would surely obscure any paring marks; nevertheless, the paring marks on the figurines are clearly defined. Thirdly, observations of the incised markings suggest that all were done when the clay was still wet and not etched into a dry form. If the slip was applied after the rendering of the incised decoration then it would have entered into the slots; this is not seen on the primary material. If the slipping preceded the rendering of this decoration, when the clay was still wet, then it would have been incredibly difficult to apply (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). Finally, finger prints are visible on the archaeological material which would not have been the case if a slip was applied.

2.4.Firing

After the figurines are formed, assembled and receive their incised and painted decoration, they are left to dry in order to be able to be fired. The drying procedure might take from one or two days to weeks according to the weather conditions. Replication was conducted in both Cyprus and Ireland during summer and winter and winter and spring, respectively. During summer in Cyprus, the drying procedure took one or two days while during winter it took two to three weeks. During winter in Ireland, the drying procedure took four to five weeks while during spring it took three weeks.

After the figurines were dried, they were ready to be fired. It should be noted, that no previous investigation has been undertaken regarding the firing procedure followed for this group of figurines. Only Vaughan (1987, 71-73) in her investigation of the BR pottery has referred to the possible ways of firing these vessels. However, her study was only concentrated on the BR pottery. Vaughan concludes that BR pottery was most probably fired in pits; she bases this on three arguments. Firstly, on the absence of kilns related to the manufacture of pottery found during the excavations of LBA settlements. Nevertheless, new investigations at the MBA site of *Ambellikou-Aletri*

have identified Area 2, Unit II as a pottery kiln possibly similar to the early Egyptian firing structures or ‘box ovens’ or the open kilns in recent use in Pakistan (Webb and Frankel 2013, 69, 213-216). Consequently, pottery kilns must have existed also in LBA. The second reason that led Vaughan to argue in favour of a pit firing was the occasionally uneven width of the cores within a sample, and the disappearance from time to time of the core due to the uneven distribution of fuel, heat and draught; and thirdly, the grey/black patches observed on the surfaces of the vessels. Nevertheless, nothing was mentioned about the firing method used for the BR figurines or *rhyta*.

The majority of the BR female figurines present uniform, pinky/orange/light reddish oxidised surfaces. A small number do possess some light grey patches, mostly on their back and sides (**Fig. 2.30**), which may indicate reduction. However, this patterning suggests a largely controlled firing atmosphere that tends towards an oxidised environment. Thus, since the evidence deriving from the artefacts and context was limited, some experimental work was necessary in order for this part to be investigated. The experiments focused on two different pit firings and a kiln firing. It should be noted that the goal of these experiments was to explore the methods that could lead us to achieve these uniform oxidised surfaces.



Figure 2.30: Cyp.Mus._A52 has black patches on the back of the torso and sides.

The first method of firing was a general pit firing (**Fig. 2.31**) that lasted approximately five hours and acted as a control through which the other firings could be assessed. Figurines and other pots were placed into the pit in no particular order while their positions were recorded. This fire reached temperatures +900°C turning clay to

ceramic. The figurines fired in the uncontrolled pit fire were characterised by red/black mottled patterning. None were totally reduced but all presented patches of black over their entire surface regardless of their position within the pit (**Fig. 2.32**). Owing to the difficulties in controlling reduction/oxidation, this method of firing appears to be a less likely candidate.



Figure 2.31: Uncontrolled pit fire before the insertion of figurines.



Figure 2.32: The fired figurines from the uncontrolled pit fire.

The second firing, which was again a pit fire lasting five hours, attempted to control the firing environment and increase the levels of oxygen. A wood fire was reduced to ash and charcoal to provide a bed on which the figurines could be placed raising them from the ground (**Fig. 2.33**) and allowing air to penetrate the lower sections. Then a light covering of hot ash was placed over the top of the figurines. Over this a small amount of wood was placed, spaced to again encourage airflow. The figurines were carefully positioned on their backs with sufficient distance between them so as to reduce reduction. This fire reached temperatures +800°C. Similar to the first pit fire these figurines also presented uncontrolled oxidation/reduction patterning (**Fig. 2.34**). One figurine was largely oxidised (**Fig. 2.35**), however, the inconsistency throughout the group compared with the largely uniform appearance of the archaeological material seems to call this method into question.



Figure 2.33: The replicas in the controlled pit fire before they were covered.



Figure 2.34: The fired figurines from the controlled pit fire.



Figure 2.35: A replica from the controlled pit fire that presented a largely oxidised surface.

For the kiln firing, a basic belly kiln with a raised base was constructed of clay with a high ratio of added sand temper (**Fig. 2.36**). The figurines were positioned within the firing chamber on raised clay coils so as to allow airflow, some lying down and some standing. The first firing conducted was unsuccessful, producing roasted clay figurines, which had only partially turned ceramic. This was most likely due to the construction of the flue and the position of the fire (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). Consequently, the experiment was repeated after modifications were made to the kiln (**Fig. 2.37**). Into this kiln four clay objects were placed, two replicated figurines and two hollow, handmade clay tubes. These tubes were simplified versions of the hollow figurines, capped at both ends and with two perforations along a single axis (**Fig. 2.38**).



Figure 2.36: The figurines inside the kiln.



Figure 2.37: The kiln after the modifications made on its flue and stonion. Holes were also opened on the sides for allowing larger amounts of oxygen to flow during firing.



Figure 2.38: Tubes used as simplified versions of hollow figurines.

This firing lasted almost six hours and reached temperatures of $>800^{\circ}\text{C}$. The results of this firing, across all four objects within it, were consistent with the observations from the archaeological material. Not only had the majority of the surface oxidised (**Fig. 2.39**) but patches on the backs of the objects, where they had been laying on clay spacers, had reduced to a dark grey or blackish colour (**Fig. 2.40**). These tests provide evidence to support the hypothesis that to produce surfaces similar to those found on the BR female figurines, it is necessary to have control of the firing environment to such an extent that a built kiln must have been used.



Figure 2.39: The front side of a fired figurine from the second kiln firing showing a totally oxidised surface.



Figure 2.40: The back side of a fired figurine from the second kiln firing showing reduction marks.

2.5. General Remarks

To sum up, the production procedures followed for these figurines could be characterised as more or less standardised. The variations observed in their manufacture must have been the result of their production by hand which did not have a significant impact on their general appearance. Moreover, these variations might have also been the result of the production of these figurines by different workshops/artisans – different workshops/artisans might have used different techniques. In addition, this section also confirmed or overruled previous assumptions regarding the figurines' production, while it added evidence concerning their firing method. As previously mentioned, evidence deriving from the examination of the typology and technologies of production may provide indications regarding the role and function of these figurines as meaningfully constituted objects, identifying at the same time characteristics possibly related with specific practices and different social groups. Some of these elements are discussed through the next section, investigating the choices of the artisans.

3. Understanding the choices of the artisans in their production and conception

This section attempts to investigate the choices of the artisans in the formation and conception of the BR female figurines. Such an examination could shed light on the figurines' character, role and use in the society. Elements that might complicate the manufacturing procedure, adding to the time consumed and levels of difficulty are considered to represent deliberate choices of the figurine-makers. Repeated, omitted or emphasised elements are also considered as 'choices of the artisans'. Recent studies have argued that the deliberate emphasis or omission of elements on figurines could activate the imagination of their handlers (Bailey 2005, 32; 2013, 249-250; Nakamura and Meskell 2009, 209-227), while these elements might have been used as indices for their role and character. Therefore, the omitted, emphasised or repeated elements on the BR figurines deserve further attention.

3.1. The choices of the artisans related to their production procedure

Gaining an impression of the timing, effort and energy invested for the manufacture of these figurines, through replication and experimentation, was important

for understanding their significance in LBA Cyprus. Elements that seem to complicate the manufacturing procedure, adding to the time consumed and levels of difficulty were identified through this investigation and were considered to represent deliberate choices of the figurine-makers.

Hollow figurines take approximately 45-60 minutes to be formed, assembled and receive their incised decoration while solid figurines take approximately 20-30 minutes. This, however, is dependent on weather conditions. For example, in warm and dry climates the time to work clay with the correct moisture content and make effective joins is reduced. Although much simpler techniques could have been used for the rendering of the different parts taking less time and effort to be applied, they insist on this mode of production. Nonetheless, it is the production of entirely hollow figurines, produced by hand and formed through the assembly of various pieces that complicates the manufacturing procedure the most. Therefore, these elements were identified as deliberate choices of the artisans.

It is important to mention that the production of hand-made hollow figurines is rare if compared against hollow mould-made traditions. Taking into account that these BR female figurines could be made as either hollow or solid, it is interesting that the artisans chose in most instances a production type that was more complicated and more time consuming. Through this construction, however, they create a unique product; a product that differs from the terracotta figurines produced in the Levant and Egypt during the same period through the open-mould technique (Badre 1980, 22; Pinch 1993, 204-208; Moorey 2003, 34-36; Petty 2006, 36; Waraksa 2008, 1; Colantoni and Paradiso 2010, 324).

From this research, two further questions are raised. Firstly, why do they not adopt an open-mould technique for the production of figurines, insisting instead on hand-made manufacture, especially of the hollow examples? It is known that during the LBA, Cyprus had established relationships with these areas through trade (Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004, 154-55, 169; Knapp 2008, 131-32). Consequently, it is highly likely that this technique was known to the Cypriots. Secondly, why did they produce both hollow and solid figurines? Why not simply produce solid figurines that are simpler to make and take significantly less time? There are a number of possible

reasons that could have influenced the LC figurine-makers to produce handmade hollow terracottas.

Through these types of terracottas, the artisans seem to continue a long Cypriot tradition of handmade figurines. Thus, the handmade manufacture could also be related with the skills of the figurine-makers. It should be noted that the pottery produced during this period on the island is also handmade. Although they could have used the wheel in order to produce their vessels they insist in the handmade manufacture. Similarly, they continue a tradition of hollow or partially hollow figurines that started during the end of MC–beginning of LC period (Karageorghis 1991, 176-80). During this period solid, hollow and partially hollow figurines are all produced which again could explain the continuation of the production and use of both solid and hollow examples during the LC II–IIIA periods.

Moreover, through the handmade production, the hollow figurines are produced in the round which results in creating the sensation of touching a realistic miniaturised body when handled. The use of the open-mould technique would have produced a flattened backed figurine and it would have been difficult to form the distinct appearance of these terracottas using this technique; an appearance that seems to have also been developed through the previous Cypriot figurine tradition (discussed further below).

Another reason behind the decision to produce both hollow and solid specimens might have been related to their size; hollow figurines appear to be larger (16-29 cm) in size than the solid (9-16 cm). Consequently, if they were solid, they would have been heavier to handle. Their production in hollow parts makes them lighter. Also, it is more difficult to fire larger solid figurines rendered in the round. Additionally, the sensation when handled might also provide an explanation for this choice. In contrast to the sensation of touching a realistic miniaturised body that is created by handling the hollow specimens, the solid figurines create the sensation of handling an almost two-dimensional object due to the flatness of their body. In other words, the solid figurines' flatness prevents the handlers from having the experience of touching a realistically rendered small-sized body. Another thing to keep in mind, which is directly related to the experience of their handlers, is that solid figurines fit perfectly in a person's palm which makes them easier to handle and carry. The possibility of a difference in their use

or in the social status of their users is approached through their archaeological context, discussed thoroughly in Chapter IV, Section 2.2.

Another element that appears to complicate the production procedure, adding to their fragility, is their production from various parts. Through an examination of the primary material it was observed that the technique used for the assemblage of the different parts produced weak connections. This observation was verified through replication and experimental work; it was observed that figurines formed by fewer pieces of clay produced structurally stronger examples (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). Thus, the fragile nature of these figurines provides evidence for their use. Being fragile would have prevented people from using them regularly; it would have precluded a repeated or prolonged usage, while it would have required a careful handling of the figurines. Their downward pointing feet lead us to the conclusion that they were made to be handled since they would not have been able to stand freely.

Studies examining the manufacture of terracotta figurines from other regions have shown that the production in various parts and their assemblage through weak connections might have been used in order to facilitate a breakage of the figurines in some stage of their lives (Talalay 1987, 163; Chapman 2000, 70; Georghiu 2010, 65). Due to the method of their production they can easily be broken when pressure is exerted. In only a few instances, and not in the framework of a well designed experiment, replicas of figurines were broken by hand after having fired. It should be noted though that experiments were not conducted to explore the fragmentation patterns in case of a figurine falling on different surfaces. Nonetheless, the work undertaken does not support the idea that the terracottas under study were produced in order to be broken; the time, attention and care dedicated to their manufacture as well as their detailed rendering suggest that these figurines had probably another function. This observation, however, led to a closer investigation of the fragmentation of the figurines from settlements, discussed in detail in Chapter IV, Section 1.4.

3.2.The emphasised, repeated or omitted elements

This section is focused on the areas of the figurines' body where elements seem to be emphasised, repeated or omitted. Their significance is explored further through

evidence deriving from the material culture of the island as well as from other figurine traditions.

Postures

Starting with their postures, both types have their feet pointed downwards (with the seated Type B being the exception). Therefore, they were not able to stand freely; thus, these figurines could have either been placed lying down on their backs (**Fig. 2.41**) or/and been handled (**Fig. 2.42**). An additional argument is provided by the lack of decoration on Type A and minimal decoration on Type B backs; it seems that these terracottas were not meant to be seen from the back.



Figure 2.41: Cyp.Mus._1947/VI-15/1 lying on its back.

Figure 2.42: Louvre_AM1 being handled.

Type B figurines appear also to be seated. The projections depicting probably the legs of a chair enable the figurine to stand freely on a horizontal surface. Typologically these seated examples do not differ significantly from the rest of the Type B figurines, apart from the 'kourotrophos' specimen. Their use, however, might have been different since the seated examples could be placed on a surface and viewed from there, without, of course, excluding the possibility of being handled. The rest of the BR figurines, if placed on a surface would have been laid down on their backs which would have limited the visibility of the frontal view.

It has been argued that Type B are seated on some kind of throne, again interpreting them as deities (Coldstream 1986, 11). Nevertheless, this interpretation is based on the figurine traditions of adjacent areas and traditional ideas surrounding seated figurines. For instance, seated female figures have been interpreted variously, from 'mother-goddesses' (Lesure 2011, 161) to just deities (Yasur-Landau 2001, 332-

335; Lesure 2011, 173), persons of dignity (Lesure 2011, 176) and 'deified matrons' (Lesure 2011, 182).

Another element related to the posture of the two main types which is consistently repeated or omitted, is the appearance of the infants/objects with the Type A and their absence in the Type B iconography. In general, Type A figurines seem to appear with infants and on two occasions with a stemmed cup and a disc. Figurines holding discs, usually interpreted as some kind of tambourine or musical instrument, occur in later periods in the coroplastic art of Cyprus (Karageorghis 1998, 30-32). Discs have also been interpreted as cakes or breads, cult objects or even as baetyls (Karageorghis 1998, 30-31; Hermary 2000, 22-23; J. Karageorghis 2005, 94-95). The figurine holding a stemmed cup, which seems to be also decorated, could be representing various activities; from drinking to pouring libations. Both of these rather unusual figurines might represent actions taking place during people's daily lives or they could have been connected with some kind of rituals involving music/food offerings or libations. Unfortunately, both of them are of an unknown provenance; thus, their archaeological context could not be investigated.

Type B specimens never appear holding any item or infant (with one exception), while their arms and hands are usually attached onto their body. In contrast, Type A arms are usually extended away from their body while only the hands touch the torso. The occurrence of the Type A with infants and, in rare occasions, with other items as well as the position of their arms make them appear less static than the Type B figurines since one could imagine the movement(s) taking place. Whether they are standing or seated, Type B's postures are quite rigid. Moreover, the iconography of the Type A specimens seem to be richer than the Type B's. Type B figurines do not appear to be directly related to motherhood or explicitly to any other action. If we take into consideration their iconography, then it seems that Type A could be involved in various activities while their character might have been characterised by multiple facets. Type B, however, probably lack this multiplicity in their character.

An additional element that is consistently repeated is the side in which the infants are held. The infants are always held on the left hand side. A study on the 'kourotrophoi' of the Mycenaean phi figurines has shown the same pattern. It was argued that they represent the way mothers were holding their infants for various

reasons. When the infant is on the left hand side and the head is touching the left breast, it can hear the heart beat; therefore, the infant can fall asleep through the rhythmic sound of the heart. Secondly, holding the infant on the left, the right arm and hand are free to proceed to other actions (Pilafidis-Williams 2009, 113). Thus, it is possible that the artisans were representing a habit of the society.

Pubic triangle and vulva

The next feature under investigation belongs to the group of elements that are being accentuated. The pubic triangle is emphasised through the rendering of incised lines while black paint is also used for Type B figurines. Smaller incisions are usually used for the filling of the triangle which probably denote hair; this assumption is confirmed through the rendering of similar incisions on the forehead of the BR bull figurines (**Fig. 2.43**). Although three incisions could



Figure 2.43: Cyprus Museum 1901 from Enkomi is characterised by the same pattern of incisions usually seen on the pubic triangle of the female figurines.

have been used to render the pubic triangle, one on the abdomen and one on each leg; Type A figurines usually have two incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg while Type B have two on the abdomen and two on each leg. It should be noted that this area could be maximum 6 cm and minimum 2.7 cm in width on the Type B hollow specimens and 3.5 cm–2.3 cm on the solid, whereas on the Type A hollow examples, the width of this feature could be between 7.5 cm–4.3 cm and 4.5 cm–3 cm on the solid. The width of this area could be from 1 cm–3 cm larger than the width of the rest of the parts on the Type B hollow specimens; 0 cm–1.5 cm on the Type B solid; 1 cm–4 cm on the Type A hollow; and 0 cm–3 cm on the Type A solid.⁵

The attention given to this area is also confirmed through the method used to render the vulva on the hollow specimens. It was noticed through replication work that rendering the vulva is a complicated process and yet the figurine-makers went to considerable trouble to build in this specific characteristic. The formation and assemblage of the legs, combined with the use of the internal strap, seems to have facilitated its formation. In fact, those examples that do not possess an open vulva are

⁵ The numbers given here are based on a sample of material and they could change if a larger sample is examined.

also lacking the internal strap, instead having their legs pressed tightly together, leaving no space between them (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). Consequently, the emphasis given to this area might provide evidence regarding the figurines' character.

For instance, in the Mesopotamian tradition the vulva or pubic triangle is an aspect of the body which becomes a major area of focus in both visual and literary sources (Bahrani 2001, 42). The vulva was emphatically exhibited and functioned as an index of femininity (Bahrani 2001, 89). The female figure is usually represented frontally while she often points to and offers with her hands her sexual attributes to the viewer (Bahrani 2001, 68; Graff 2014, 373). Thus, according to Bahrani (2001, 48) the main purpose of these images appears to be the display of the sexual attributes in a way that emphasises sexual allure and accessibility. This assumption can also be confirmed through the Akkadian and Sumerian erotic poetry and literature which describe the female genitals as well as the pubic hair as beautiful or attractive while they are often equated with sweet or good foods (Bahrani 2001, 45, 87). Also, female nudity is consistently referred to as seductive, alluring and irresistible (Bahrani 2001, 55). Consequently, the Mesopotamian figurine tradition presents an idealised female body which is the object of desire; 'an aestheticised body presented for the male viewer's pleasure' (Bahrani 2001, 89).

The reason that I am referring to the case of Mesopotamia is to show how the emphasis on the area of the pubic triangle was treated or interpreted in other regions. Mesopotamia was chosen specifically because the Akkadian and Sumerian erotic poetry and literature provide valuable evidence for the significance of this feature. Although we should be careful when transferring ideas from one area to the other, as it is argued later on, there are a few points that could be useful to the case of the BR female figurines. For example, as mentioned above, the vulva in Mesopotamian tradition seems to have served as an index of femininity; as 'a sign of difference that defined femininity as other than man' (Bahrani 2001, 89). This could also be applicable for the Cypriot figurines.

Another point of importance here is that these terracottas represent nude female figures. It should be noted that the use of the word 'nude' instead of 'naked' is intentional here. Scholars have described 'nude' as a body clothed through art. In other words, nudity acquires the power to signify. On the other hand, 'naked' is defined as the

body untransformed into this ideal state (for a discussion on this matter see Bahrani 2001, 42-47; Lagerroth 2002; Graff 2014, 373). As Bahrani (2001, 43) and Graff (2014, 373) have argued, in Mesopotamian culture the body was certainly transformed through art; the nude female body came to signify an idealised body carrying certain meanings. Therefore, this argument could also be applied to the case of the BR female figurines. The exaggeration and emphasis on the pubic area could confirm this assumption; it seems that the intention of the people who made them was not to be consistent in relation to reality but perhaps represent features that were important to them and probably acquired certain significance.

Ornamentation

Another element that seems to be repeated is the three bands or incisions on the neck. The three bands which appear on the vast majority of the examples of each type could be an element that became standardised or they could actually depict jewellery worn by women of LBA Cyprus. In addition, the diagonal bands on the chest are a recurring pattern appearing on a number of Type A figurines and also on two Type B specimens. It could depict again some kind of jewellery, body strapping or belts.

One of the most exaggerated characteristics on the Type A specimens are their ears. Through experimentation it was understood that the accentuation of their ears might have been connected with their need to render holes and hang earrings. Multiple holes can be rendered with enough space between them which facilitates the use of a number of earrings. The need to render holes and hang earrings could be explained through the appearance of multiple pairs of actual earrings in some burials (Goring 1983, 222). Thus, this element might represent the image of LBA Cypriot women. As it is discussed in the next part of this chapter, holes on the ears of terracotta figurines are observed since the end of the EBA in Cyprus which means that they continue a long Cypriot tradition. The fact that Type B figurines lack this kind of ears, apart from one example, might relate to the appearance of different social groups. Thus, the occurrence of Type A in tombs was investigated. It was observed that burials with large concentrations of earrings bore Type A specimens. Nonetheless, not all Type A figurines occurred in such burials. Some were found in tombs with no earrings while others were discovered along with a small number. It should be noted, however, that Type B never occurred in tombs with large concentrations of earrings but they occurred

in tombs with a restricted number or no earrings at all. Thus, it may tentatively be suggested that there is a significant correlation between Type A figurines and concentrations of multiple earrings in a number of tombs.

Facial Features

One of the most interesting and consistent omissions on Type A figurines is the omission of the mouth. Only on one example does the mouth seem to be indicated. The omission of the mouth has also been observed in other figurine traditions; for example, on the EBA–MBA Syrian figurines. Petty (2006, 28-32) interpreted this omission through the ‘mouth washing’ and ‘mouth opening’ rituals taking place in the ancient Near East during the 8th–5th centuries B.C. These rituals are related to the manufacture of the cult statue. The ritual of ‘mouth-washing’ had qualities of purification while ‘mouth-opening’ was used to transfer the deity from the spiritual world to the cult statue. Using these rituals as an analogy, Petty (2006, 32) proposed that the lack of a mouth may signify that the image is not animated or activated. She continues by saying:

‘...the fact that these objects were perceived as products of human agency may indeed be intrinsic to their meaning; they are to be understood as ‘representations of beings’ and not actual ‘beings’. If the opening and/or washing of the mouth serve(s) to remove the element of human agency, then the omission of the mouth may indicate that these objects were intended to remain understood by their users and viewers as made objects’ (Petty 2006, 32).

The omission of the mouth might also ensure ritual silence (Petty 2006, 28).

One could argue for a transmission of this element from the MBA Levantine figurine tradition since Cyprus and the Levant had developed relationships beyond trade. However, as it is discussed later, direct influences from the MBA Levantine tradition are considered improbable due to more than two hundred years dividing the two traditions. It should also be noted that their contemporary mould-made LBA figurines of the Levant do have their mouths indicated. Although other elements characterising the BR female figurines’ appearance can be found in the previous Cypriot figurine traditions, the omission of the mouth is not one of them. Also, Type B figurines have their mouths indicated which confirms that the omission on Type A is deliberate. Unfortunately, only speculations can be made regarding the omission of this element.

Another characteristic which might be related with the appearance of a particular group of people is the flattened tops of the head combined with protrusions on the back on the Type B figurines. These features appear consistently on both hollow and solid examples. For hollow figurines, the protrusion is created through the use of a larger lump of clay covering the upper part of the head. One could argue that it was formed naturally as part of the production procedure. Nevertheless, this protrusion appears also on the solid examples and it is achieved through pinching the back part of the head which is clearly done intentionally.



Figure 2.44: From left to right: The so-called ‘Bomford’ figurine standing on an oxhide ingot (photo: Catling 1971, 18) and Cyp.Mus._A58.

One interpretation for this feature could be that it represents a skull modification (Knox 2012, 185-186). Head shaping or cranial modification is practiced in Cyprus since the Neolithic period becoming more prolific during the LC II period (Lorentz 2005, 46; 2008, 297-302) which coincides with the period of the BR figurines production and use. Scholars have variously interpreted the presence or absence of this practice as a marker of gender, ethnicity or social status since it is never practiced by all groups (Lorentz 2003, 11; 2005, 50; 2008, 297-303; 2009, 94). More precisely, at the Neolithic site of Khirokitia in Cyprus, Lorentz has noticed that the visually extreme cases of head shaping are mostly female. However, not all female crania are characterised by extreme head shaping; there are those that show moderate or slight modification. There is also one possible male individual that could present an extreme case of skull modification. The male crania are usually characterised by a milder form of head shaping. Consequently, Lorentz concluded that:

‘...it is not the absence or presence of headshaping that differentiate genders, but the extend of headshaping performed’ (Lorentz 2008, 299).

Also, regarding the degrees of cranial modification characterising groups of the same sex she notes:

‘There might have been other, thus undefined, forms of sociocultural difference that were combined with gender to form the criteria for extreme headshaping, or gender may have been viewed as nonbinary at Khirokitia’ (Lorentz 2008, 299).

The anterior-posterior type of head-shaping, which was practiced during the Neolithic period, continues to be used in the earlier parts of the Bronze Age for both sexes (perhaps somewhat more for females). During the LBA more types of cranial modification are noted. The differences observed regarding gender and skull modifications during the LBA are mostly concentrated in the presence or absence of this practice. From the material available so far, a higher proportion of skeletal females seems to display head shaping than skeletal males. Also, the post-bregmatic type which is encountered on both males and females, seem to occur more often on females. By contrast, the circumferential type seems to be attested so far in males only. Although the small number of cases providing such evidence does not allow us to proceed to definite conclusions, it is possible that different types of head shaping were practiced according to the gender of the individual or even their socio-cultural status (Lorentz 2008, 299-301).

Thus, Type B figurines could have been related to and used by a specific social group. One way to confirm this assumption would be to check if Type B specimens appear in tombs with modified skulls. So far the extremely limited published studies on skeletal material from LBA Cyprus have not provided such supporting evidence. Nonetheless, this feature could also represent a particular hairstyle. The bronze representations of females of this period such as the so-called Bomford figurine seem to be characterised by braided hair which is arranged in such a way that creates a flattened top of the head and a protrusion on the back (**Fig. 2.44**). Consequently, it is also possible that the terracottas could be characterised by a schematic representation of this hairstyle.

3.3. General Remarks

To sum up, through the investigation of the typology and production procedures it was possible to identify those elements that complicate the manufacturing procedure as well as to examine the emphasised, omitted and repeated features on the BR female figurines; all these are considered as deliberate and conscious choices of the artisans. The choice of hand-made instead of mould-made production was explored while various reasons were proposed for the presence of both hollow and solid figurines. This will be explored further through their archaeological context in Chapter IV. Also, the identification of the weak assembly points characterising the BR female figurines as well as studies on the fragmentation of other figurine traditions led to the commencement of an investigation of the fragmentation of the terracottas under study found in settlements (see Chapter IV, Section 1.5). This examination aimed to understand if there are additional reasons that the artisans chose this mode of production. On the other hand, the recording of the exaggerated, omitted and repeated elements showed that specific features merit closer investigation as possible ways in which social status and identity might be expressed or communicated through them. Consequently, the choices made by the artisans during the construction of BR female figurines form a significant aspect one should take into consideration while studying and interpreting them.

4. Foreign influences or Cypriot heritage?

Using the results from the examination of the typology and manufacturing procedures, this section aims to contribute to the discussion regarding foreign influences attributed to the BR female figurines and at the same time to contextualise them by exploring the figurine traditions of the adjacent areas which are contemporary to the period of the BR figurines' production and use.

The figurine traditions of the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean are investigated from both a typological and technological perspective while at the same time they are compared with the BR tradition. Finally, the continuities and novelties observed through a comparison with the previous Cypriot figurine tradition (EC III–LC I) are recorded. In other words, this part explores how strong the foreign influences on the BR female

figurines are and if scholars have been right to interpret them according to the foreign examples. It also examines the level of continuities with the local figurine traditions of the past. Therefore, this investigation takes into consideration the Cypriot material culture and traditions.

4.1. The mould-made female figurines of the Levant and Egypt

While the Cypriot figurine-makers were producing hand-made solid and hollow figurines, the figurine-makers in the Levant and Egypt were using the open-mould technique to produce their terracotta figurines (Waraksa 2008, 1; Colantoni and Paradiso 2010, 324). Moulds for the production of terracottas, however, were in use in these areas long before the beginning of the production of the BR figurines. In Syria the open-mould technique was introduced gradually during the 18th to 17th centuries B.C. The same applies for Egypt where figurines made from mould started to be produced during the 18th century (Pinch 1993, 204-208; Moorey 2001, 34-36; Waraksa 2008, 1).

The mould-made manufacture method implies an economic development that encourages mass-production, with the introduction of a model, homogenous in form and pattern (Badre 1980, 22; Colantoni and Paradiso 2010, 324). While in the Levant and Egypt the figurines were mass-produced, in Cyprus they insisted on the hand-made manufacture which restricted the scale of production. The possible reasons behind this choice were discussed in the previous section.



Figure 2.45: Mould-made Syrian figurine holding her breasts (photo: Badre 1980, Pl. XI).



Figure 2.46: Mould-made Syrian figurine with arms falling along the sides (photo: Badre 1980, Pl. LX).



Figure 2.47: Mould-made Syrian figurine holding a disc (photo: Badre 1980, Pl. XXIX).

Although the techniques used for the production of terracotta figurines in these areas are totally different than those used in Cyprus during the LBA, some typological similarities could be noted. For this comparison, the Levantine and mostly Syrian figurine tradition is used since scholars have imputed influences on the BR figurines from this area (see Chapter I, Section 2 for a full discussion on this topic). Firstly, both traditions represent nude female figures with downward pointing feet. Some of the postures assumed by the arms/hands are also similar; for instance, the hands on breasts (**Fig. 2.45**), hands on stomach or abdomen or hands falling along the sides (**Fig. 2.46**). The Syrian examples are occasionally depicted with necklaces while the BR figurines always have horizontal lines around their necks. The genitalia and navel are also depicted in both figurine traditions (Prichard 1943, 5-18; Badre 1980, 100-119; Sparks 1994, 17; Moorey 2001, 34-35; Stuckey 2003, 136; Colantoni and Paradiso 2011, 324-325) while in rare cases they appear to hold discs (Badre 1980, 105 and Pl. XXIX; **Fig. 2.47**).

On the other hand, the number of differences between the two traditions far outweighs their similarities. The Levantine examples seem to assume a variety of additional postures such as the ‘hands covering or pointing to the pelvic area/pubic triangle’ and ‘one hand holding the breast and the other falling along the side of the torso’ (Badre 1980, 119). A number of examples are also depicted holding serpents or stalks of different kinds of plants (mostly papyrus and lotus) or a combination of both (Badre 1980, 119-120). Another difference is observed in the variety of jewellery worn; the Levantine examples often bear jewellery in the form of bracelets and anklets which are never (or are very rarely) present on the Cypriot figurines. In addition, the representation of their jewellery is done quite elaborately which is not the case with the BR examples.

Moreover, their hair is depicted in either a wavy, wig-like style or parted above the forehead, pushed behind the ears and falling over the shoulders or breasts in two spiral curls. Sometimes they wear some kind of a crown or headdress which is occasionally feathered (Pritchard 1943, 5-18; Badre 1980, 100-119; Sparks 1994, 17; Moorey 2001, 34-35; Stuckey 2003, 136; Petty 2006, 36-37). Hair on the BR figurines is only depicted on the Type B specimens through the use of black paint or more rarely through applied curls painted in black. No headdresses are indicated.

An important difference is observed on the way the pubic triangles are denoted; while the Cypriot examples have exaggerated pubic triangles, the Levantine figurines are not characterised by an accentuated pubic area; this area is usually modelled as a simpler triangle or through single lines on the legs. In general, the faces and bodies of the latter are quite naturalistically rendered with no specific features exaggerated. It could be argued, though, that on some examples this area is emphasised through pointing at it with their hands. Thus, the emphasis on this area on the Syrian specimens is conducted through different methods. Furthermore, they never appear to hold infants which comes in contrast to the 'kourotrophoi' Type A examples. Therefore, the two figurine traditions differ significantly not only in terms of the methods used for their production but also on a typological level. These differences undermine ideas of a transfer of Near Eastern elements into the BR tradition and suggest that we should not assume that the BR Cypriot material can be interpreted through the lens of the Near Eastern material when considering identity, character and roles.

4.2. The hand-made Middle Bronze Age Syrian figurines

Scholars have also argued that Cypriot figurines' form, and more precisely, the Type A form, was influenced by the MBA Syrian terracottas (**Fig. 2.48**). These figurines were produced until approximately the 17th century B.C. The two hundred and fifty years of gap that exists between the end of their production and the beginning of the BR female figurines' manufacture makes it difficult to see how there could be any mechanism for direct influence.



Figure 2.48: A MBA Syrian figurine (photo: Badre 1980, Pl. LXII).

What is the level of their similarities though? Firstly, it should be noted that there are no hollow examples of the MBA Syrian (or in general Levantine) figurine tradition, which constitutes the first difference between them. All the figurines are solid and hand-made.

According to Badre (1980, 18-19), it seems that the legs, torso, neck/head and arms are produced by a single lump of clay which is placed on a horizontal surface. Marchetti (2000, 840) seems to agree with this technological assessment of production on a flat surface. The nose and the chin are usually pinched while the navel, the breasts, the eyes, the headdresses and the necklaces are applied. This description might be applied for the smaller in size specimens of this group of figurines. However, looking at some of the larger examples through the galleries of museums I have observed that the legs, torso, neck/head and arms were probably made through various pieces assembled together. If this observation is correct it seems that at least some examples present a number of similarities in their manufacturing procedure with the BR solid figurines.

On a typological level, there are a lot of similarities but also differences between the two traditions. For example, they both represent nude female figures with wide hips. Although one of the similarities mentioned by the literature is their accentuated pubic triangles, the use of different techniques and lesser lines to indicate it on the Syrian specimens, make this feature less exaggerated. More precisely, the Syrian examples have their pubic triangle formed through lines produced with very small punctures and only rarely with incisions; it can be depicted with two or three lines on the lower abdomen and with one line on each leg or with just two lines on the abdomen. In the cases where there is a triangle depicted, it is filled with small punctures. These figurines lack the vulva (for examples and descriptions see Pritchard 1943, 18-19; Badre 1980, Pl. I-III, IX-X, XIII-XIV, XVII-XVIII, XXII-XXIV, LXII-LXIII; Marchetti 2000, 841-847; Petty 2006, 32-33).

In addition, similarly to the Type A specimens, their mouth is consistently omitted. Moreover, both the Syrian examples and Type A have pierced ears. The former have one, two or more rarely three holes on each ear but they never bear earrings (Badre 1980). Their ears in comparison with the Type A's are quite small while sometimes they are produced by two or three separate lumps of clay (i.e. Mari figurines; see Badre 1980, Pl. XXVII). Both Type A figurines and the Syrian examples have beaky noses

while their eyes are rendered through pellets. Nevertheless, the eyes of the Cypriot figurines are indicated through double pellets whereas the eyes of the Syrian specimens are formed through a single pellet with a deep impression in the middle (Petty 2006, 32-33). Additionally, the latter are usually characterised by elaborated headdresses which appear pierced (Petty 2006, 32-33).

Both figurine traditions have some kind of ornamentation depicted on their necks; the method used for their illustration though, is quite different. An applied strip or strips of clay with incisions or punctures are used for the jewellery depicted on the necks of the Syrian figurines. They are also characterised by diagonal lines made through small punctures that cover the whole torso until the pelvis (Petty 2006, 33; **Fig. 2.49**). Only a very small group has two incised diagonals covering only the chest (Badre 1980, Pl. XI). Moreover, they sometimes have horizontal punctured lines on the stomach/abdomen (Badre 1980, Pl. XIII). Applied strips or punctured lines are never used for the indication of jewellery on the Cypriot specimens; nevertheless, both traditions have jewellery depicted on approximately the same places.



Figure 2.49: Ornamentation depicted on the Syrian MBA figurines (photo: Badre 1980, Pl. XI).

The majority of the Syrian examples do not have their breasts denoted (Badre 1980, Pl. I-II, IV, IX-XI, XV, XVII, XXII, XXIV, XXXVI, LXII-LXIII) which comes totally in contrast with the Cypriot figurines. When their breasts are depicted they are formed as two circular pellets with rarely small holes in the middle (Badre 1980, Pl. I-IV, X-XIV, XVIII, XXII, XXIV, LXII-LXIII). Their bodies are usually flattened as is the case for the solid BR figurines while their backs are usually left plain; although some examples seem to have crossed bands and impressed points indicating dimples on the buttocks (Petty 2006, 33).

One of their greatest differences is the lack of hands and lower arms on the Syrian figurines; only the upper arms are usually denoted. These are shown stretched away from the body (Badre 1980, I-II, IX-XI, XIV, XVII-XVIII, XXIV, LXII-LXIII). Due to the lack of hands and lower arms they do not assume any postures in contrast to the BR tradition. In the rare occasion that the entire arms and hands are depicted they might have also incisions for the rendering of the fingers. Those that have their hands and lower arms indicated they are either placed on the area of the breasts or on the chest (Badre 1980, Pl. I, XII-XIV, XVII-XVIV, LXIII). No infants are held nor any other items.

Consequently, one could say that these two figurine traditions do have a lot of elements in common, but when they are examined closely significant differences are also noted; differences that are considered to be fundamental when proceeding to interpretations regarding their character and role. As already mentioned, these figurine traditions belong and are used in different periods and areas; thus, it is reasonable to assume that they carry ideas and worldviews of the culture or society they were produced in. Consequently, interpretations of the BR females based on typological similarities with the MBA Syrian figurines could be misleading.

4.3. The figurine traditions of the Late Bronze Age Aegean

During the LBA in the Aegean and more precisely, the Late Minoan IIIA or Post-Palatial Crete (1370-1070 B.C.), the so-called ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are produced (**Fig. 2.50**). These figures⁶ are characterised by both wheel-made hollow elements and hand-made solid features. They are also made from various parts assembled together (Gesell and Saupe 1997, 123-126; Lupack 2010, 259-260; Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 212-213; Chlouveraki *et al.* 2010, 3). While they are characterised by some hand-made hollow elements that recall the production of the BR hollow figurines, the pieces constituting the frame of the Cretan examples were produced through the use of a slow wheel. The introduction of the wheel for the manufacture of figurines does not occur in Cyprus until the LC IIIB–CG I when the so-called Cypriot ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are produced. It is significant to note that apart from the different

⁶ For a discussion about the differentiation between figurines and figures see articles in Schallin and Pakkanen (eds.), 2008 and Morris *in press*.

techniques applied in the production of the Cretan ‘goddesses’ and the BR female figurines, the former are also much larger in size than the latter; their size ranges from approximately 33–80 cm (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 320).

Around the same period when the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are produced and used and more precisely, during the LH IIIA–IIIB (1420/10–1200/1190), the Phi, Psi and Tau shaped figurines and figures are produced in Mainland Greece (**Fig. 2.51**). Most of them are of a handmade solid construction with secondary features (such as the breasts) applied. The contour of the figurines is made by various parts assembled together. Some figurines that belong to the Psi and all Tau types seem to be characterised by a hollow stem which sometimes continues until the waist (French 1971, 108-126). In general, these figurines’ construction is simple even if we take into consideration that some of them are characterised by a hollow stem. The production sequences followed for the BR hollow figurines are far more complicated while the rendering of their bodily and facial features are far more detailed. Although larger hollow Mycenaean figurines—or more correctly figures—are also produced, their manufacture is conducted through the use of the slow wheel (French 1985, 215-216; Morris *in press*).



23b HM 15111 - Gortys.

Figure 2.50: An example of the ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ from Gortys (photo: Rethemiotakis 2001, 20).



Figure 2.51: Examples of the Mycenaean Phi, Psi and Tau figurines (photo: courtesy of the British Museum).

As already mentioned, a group of scholars has argued that there are similarities between the Phi, Psi and Tau figurines and the BR Type B examples with regards to the rendering of their head and facial features (Åström and Åström 1972, 584; J. Karageorghis 1977, 84-85; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272; Bolger 2003, 92; Budin 2011, 267). As we have already seen the Type B are characterised by a detailed rendering of their head and facial features which comes in contrast to the illustration of these elements on the Mycenaean figurines. The latter usually have only their nose and eyes denoted; the former is produced through pinching, the latter through painted circles.

Another element that has been identified as a similarity between the Type B and Mycenaean figurines is the flattened top of the head. The Mycenaean figurines either have a flattened top of the head or they wear a *polos*. From a technological point of view, the top of the head of the Mycenaean specimens is pressed in order to be flattened. Type B solid figurines' head is pressed and pinched at the same time creating not only a flattened top but also a protrusion on the back of the head. As discussed later, the flat top of the head is a characteristic that already exists in the previous Cypriot figurine tradition which reduces the likelihood of them having been influenced by these Mycenaean examples.

4.4. Early Cypriot III – Late Cypriot I figurine tradition

During the end of the EC–MC, the so-called 'plank-shaped' figurines and figures were produced. Although the figurines and figures produced during this period are traditionally grouped under the same category (i.e. plank-shaped), differences are observable in the rendering of many of their facial and bodily features and decoration. These terracottas are manufactured in both Red Polished (RP) and White Painted (WP) ware (see Karageorghis 1991 for a catalogue) and they are all of a solid construction. During the transitional period to the LBA (MC III–LC I) more variations can be observed in the rendering of anthropomorphic terracottas. Specimens in the round are starting to be produced while others are characterised by hollow features. The typology of these terracottas has been recorded mainly through secondary bibliographic sources; however, a small number of examples were examined personally in order to record both elements of their typology and manufacturing procedures. It should be noted that no

studies have been conducted yet for the production sequences followed for these figurines.

Similarly to the BR females, the ‘plank-shaped’ terracottas as well as the figurines of the transitional period are produced in various pieces assembled together. For the ‘plank-shaped’ specimens, however, it is possible that the main features (torso and head) were produced from a single flat slab (Webb 2015, 242). Another element that started during this period and reached perfection with the BR specimens is the production of hollow parts. Figurines with hollow heads are known; importantly, these are characterised by an open top of the head (Fig. 2.53). It was suggested by Karageorghis (1991, 175) that it was most probably left open for better firing or for the insertion of a crown in a different material. This period produced also two totally hollow specimens manufactured in parts (legs, torso, neck/head and arms); the top of their heads was also left open. According to Karageorghis the specimen deriving from the Metropolitan Museum is datable to MC III or later (Karageorghis 1991, 180; Fig. 2.52) whilst the example from the Pitt-Rivers is datable to MC II–III (Karageorghis 2009, 69). Through these examples, we can see, for the first time, the efforts of the figurine-makers to produce hollow figurines or at least hollow parts. What is important to note here is that this appears as a technological variant within an existing tradition.



Figure 2.52: 74.51.1544 of the Metropolitan Museum is entirely hollow made in various parts.



Figure 2.53: CS.2028 from the Cyprus Archaeological Museum has a partially hollow head.

Moreover, another method that continues to be used from the end of the EC period is the procedure of flattening the body. The ‘plank-shaped’ figurines, as it is suggested by their name, were characterised by flat bodies. This procedure is also evident on both the Type A and B solid figurines. However, the BR solid figurines have ‘flattened’ bodily features rather than flat which is the case with the ‘plank-shaped’ specimens.



Figure 2.54: MC examples with conical lumps of clay on top of their heads (photo: Karageorghis 1991, Pl. CXL).

On a typological level, there are a number of different elements characterising both types of BR figurines that could be identified as continuation from the previous tradition (**Table 2.1**). For Type A, these are their beaky noses; incised decoration; their appearance as ‘kourotrophi’ and their pierced flappy ears. The RP ‘plank-shaped’ figurines have incised decoration on their bodies and faces that has been interpreted to represent dress and ornamentation.⁷ They also appear as ‘kourotrophi’ holding infants in a cradle (Karageorghis 1991; a Campo 1994, 150, 166; Knapp and Meskell 1997, 196; Talalay and Cullen 2002, 183-184; Falconer and Fall 2014, 181; Webb *forthcoming*). Their noses are usually beaky and they are formed through the same methods used for the formation of the Type A noses. Moreover, a great number of the figurines of the previous tradition is characterised by applied ears in the form of flattened pieces of clay attached onto the head. Some of them appear to be pierced but no specimens have been discovered so far wearing earrings (Karageorghis 1991, Pl. XXV-XXXVI, XL-XLIII, XLV-LI, LIV, CXXXVI, CXXXVIII-CXLI). Furthermore, two Type A examples (see Chapter II, Section 1.1) have small conical lumps of clay on top of their heads which is also seen on a small number of MC examples (Karageorghis 1991, Pl. LIV, CXXXIX, CXL; **Fig. 2.54**). Finally, regarding their postures, there is a

⁷ Although the patterns observed on the ‘plank-shaped’ figures are similar to those seen on the RP pottery and one could argue that they are just decorative motifs shared by both pottery and figurines; it is also possible that the shapes seen on the pottery were copied from the motifs seen on clothing or ornamentation worn during daily life.

group of ‘plank-shaped’ figurines on modelled compositions that are represented as being involved in various activities (Karageorghis 1991, 117-163, 170-171) while another group, mostly of WP ware, has the arms extended away from their bodies (Karageorghis 1991, 171,174-176). As already mentioned in the previous section, Type A specimens could be represented in various activities from holding infants to holding discs or cups while they almost always have their arms kept away from their bodies.

CONTINUITIES	Type A BR figurines	‘Plank-shaped’ figurines
Nose	They can be characterised as beaky. They were formed through a small lump of clay pinched and added on the head.	They can be characterised as beaky. They were formed through a small lump of clay pinched and added on the head.
Ears	Large flappy ears pierced; produced from flattened lumps of clay added on the head. Earrings are sometimes present.	Smaller and narrower flappy ears pierced; produced from small flattened lumps of clay added on the head. Earrings are never present.
Incised decoration	Incised decoration on their necks, pubic triangle and sometimes on their chests and stomach; probably denoting ornamentation and bodily features.	Incised decoration on their bodies and faces; probably denoting ornamentation and/or clothing.
Postures	Active postures: a) arms do not usually touch the body b) they sometimes appear to hold infants, cups or discs.	A group of RP figurines appear to be involved in various activities including holding infants while a group of mostly WP specimens has the hands extended away from the body.
Top of the head	Two examples have conical lumps of clay added on top of their heads.	A group of MC examples has a conical lump of clay added on top of their heads.

Table 2.1: This table summarises the features that continue from the previous local figurine tradition to the Type A figurines.

For the Type B figurines, the elements that seem to constitute continuities from the previous figurine tradition are: the flat top of the head; the noses rendered with incised nostrils or punctures; the mouths rendered with incisions; the use of painted decoration; the small flattened pieces denoting the ears without holes and their static postures (**Table 2.2**). Regarding the flattened top of the head, examples of the transitional period seem to be characterised by this feature (**Fig. 2.55**). There are some solid specimens that had their top of the head pressed in order to create this characteristic (Karageorghis 1991, XLVII, LI, LII). Nevertheless, they do not seem to have a protrusion on the back of the head. Continuity is observed also in the use of painted decoration; WP figurines are characterised by painted patterns (Karageorghis 1991, CXXXVI-CXLI) as it is the case with the Type B specimens. In addition, their postures deserve further discussion. As already noted, examples of the previous figurine tradition are represented as being involved in various domestic activities on modelled compositions (Karageorghis 1991, 117-163, 170-171) or hold infants; however, a great number of specimens belonging to this figurine tradition assume very static postures, a characteristic also of the Type B figurines (see Chapter II, Section 3.2).



Figure 2.55: 1938/II-14/1 from the Cyprus Archaeological Museum is characterised by a flattened top of the head.

CONTINUITIES	Type B BR figurines	'Plank-shaped' figurines
Top of the head	Flat top of the head created either from pressing the top of the head in order to be flattened (solid specimens) or adding a flat piece of clay on top of the head (hollow specimens).	Some specimens have a flat top of the head probably formed similarly to the solid Type B specimens' top of the head.

Nose	They were formed through a small lump of clay pinched and added onto the head; incisions were applied in order for the nostrils to be rendered.	They were formed through a small lump of clay pinched and added onto the head; incisions or punctures were applied in order for the nostrils to be rendered.
Mouth	They usually have the mouths incised and painted with red colour.	They usually have the mouths incised.
Ears	Small flattened pieces denoting the ears without holes.	Small flattened pieces denoting the ears without holes.
Painted decoration	Painted decoration on their head, neck and pubic triangle: denoting facial features, hair and probably ornamentation.	Painted decoration on their bodies and faces; probably denoting ornamentation and/or clothing. ⁸
Postures	Static postures: hands and arms attached onto the body while they almost never appear holding infants or other items.	A large number of 'plank-shaped' figurines either lack the arms and feet or they have them attached onto their bodies which make them appear very static.

Table 2.2: This table summarises the features that continue from the previous local figurine tradition to the Type B figurines.

Not all features, however, appear to be a continuation from the previous figurine tradition. For example, the formation of the eyes as double pellets is an element that is not seen on the figurines of the previous figurine tradition; their eyes are usually incised, formed through punctures or a pellet with a hole in the middle. Also, the lack of the mouth on Type A figurines does not constitute a continuation of the previous tradition. Furthermore, the protrusion on the back of the Type B figurines' head is also an element that appears for the first time. The incised and painted patterns followed for the ornamentation of the body or rendering of bodily features are totally different from

⁸ Also, here, one could argue that the patterns on the figurines could only be decorative since they are shared by the WP pottery. However, similar suggestions with the patterns observed on the RP pottery and figurines can be made.

the patterns seen within the EC III–LC I tradition. In addition, the incised or painted decoration always covers the back of the body of the latter, contrary to the plain or almost plain backs of the Type A and B figurines. Their decorated backs suggest that they were meant to be seen from the back as well. This might also have been connected with the difference in their use and the way they might have been handled (discussed in Chapter V, Section 1.4).

The indication of the pubic triangle and the vulva could also be considered as a novelty; there are, however, a few examples dated in the MC, that have punctures in the place of the pubic triangle (Karageorghis 1991, CXL) or two diagonal lines on the legs creating the shape of a reverted cone (Karageorghis 2006, 69). They are, however, never accentuated. Another novelty of the LBA is the occurrence of nude female figurines. As it is argued above, their nudity and accentuation of the pubic triangle indicate that these elements had certain significance. Also, from figurines and figures characterised by a flattened body illustrated schematically we move to figurines characterised by a body rendered in the round and in detail. Finally, the BR tradition no longer has the infants held in a cradle (for a more detailed discussion on their differences see Chapter V, Section 1.4).

Apart from the aforementioned typological novelties, it is apparent that the production procedure followed for the formation of the hollow and solid Type A and B figurines constitutes a continuation or/and development of the manufacturing procedures used during the EC III–LC I periods. A great number of features characterising the appearance of the BR female figurines have also their roots in the previous figurine tradition. The new elements appearing during the LBA are probably connected with the change in the character, role and use of the figurines which needs to be examined in the context of the major social changes in LC II (discussed further in Chapter V, Section 1).

4.5. General Remarks

To sum up, through the combined lens of experimental and typological studies, this section has shown that the BR figurines have a strong Cypriot character from the time of their manufacture which should not be dismissed when proceeding to

interpretations. Although similarities have been noted with the figurine traditions of the areas adjacent to Cyprus, the differences far outweigh them. Differences have been recorded in features that are considered to be crucial for the interpretation of the BR female figurines' role and character.

Attaching to the figurines roles and identities deriving from traditions outside their space or even time of production and use, without taking into consideration the local traditions and material culture, entails significant dangers. Firstly, it creates the picture of a society that is passively accepting external influences. People, however, are never passive especially when it comes to accepting new elements. In order for a society to embrace foreign features, they adapt them according to their own beliefs and needs. Therefore, they take on different meanings and dimensions. Identifying external influences might be useful in recording contacts between various regions but when it comes to transferring ideas and worldviews, their investigation becomes rather complex. Consequently, interpreting items such as figurines solely through typological comparisons with traditions outside their place of production and use could only provide superficial (and probably misleading) interpretations. In other words, I am not rejecting the possibility that the iconography of the BR females was influenced, at least in some degree, by the iconography of females from the adjacent areas to Cyprus, especially when it comes to elements that did not exist in the previous local figurine tradition. What I am arguing here is that such foreign features could have taken a different meaning on the island (discussed further in Chapter V).

5. The representations of females in bronze vs Type B figurines.

Scholars have attached a divine character to the Type B figurines due to their typological resemblance with a group of bronze representations of females; the so-called 'Bomford' figurine of an unknown provenance (Catling 1971, 15-32; **Fig. 2.56**); the Palaepaphos-*Teratsoudhia* example found in a tomb (Karageorghis 1990, 29, 59-60; **Fig. 2.58**); the Nicosia-*Bairaktar* figurine found accidentally (Dikaios 1936, 109-110; Catling 1964, 257; **Fig. 2.59**); and the four-sided stand from Tomb 97 of Enkomi depicting the busts of female figures (Catling 1964, 204-205; Catling 1971, 21-23; **Fig. 2.57**). The 13th century was suggested by scholars as their production period, taking mostly into account the dates provided by the *Teratsoudhia* example (Catling 1971, 20-

23; Webb 1999, 232). However, according to the evidence presented in Chapter I Type B figurines' production and use seem to have started before the 13th century. Therefore, the production of the Type B figurines seems to have preceded the manufacture of the bronze examples.



Figure 2.56: The 'Bomford' figurine standing on an oxhide ingot (photo: Catling 1971, 18).



Figure 2.57: The busts of female figures depicted on a stand found in Tomb 97 of Enkomi, now in the British Museum (photo: courtesy of the British Museum).



Figure 2.58: The Palaepaphos-Teratsoudhia figurine found in Tomb 104 (photo: Catling 1964, Pl. XXI).



Figure 2.59: The Nicosia-Bairaktar figurine with lower legs and right arm missing, now in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus (photo: Catling 1971, 21).

These bronze figurines were mostly interpreted as goddesses due to their resemblance with the 'Bomford' figurine. The base on which the latter is standing, although damaged, has been interpreted as an oxhide ingot by analogy with the so-

called 'Ingot God' (Catling 1971, 20-23; Webb 1999, 232-235; Papasavvas 2009, 100). The 'Bomford' figurine is considered to be the female counterpart of the 'Ingot God' (**Fig. 2.60**) discovered in a structure of Enkomi which was interpreted as a sanctuary. The 'Ingot God' represents a male figure standing on an oxhide ingot holding a spear on one hand and a shield on the other. In contrast to the small size of the female figurines (10-13 cm), he is 35 cm tall (Catling 1971, 15). Although the 'Bomford' figurine is characterised by a small size which raised objections regarding her divine character, scholars tend to identify her as a goddess that either provides the fertility of the copper mines or/and protects the latter (Catling 1971, 29-32; Karageorghis 1976a, 204; J. Karageorghis 1977, 104-105; Bolger 2003, 97-99). They tend to identify her as an already established local goddess who assumed an additional quality, that of the protection of copper mines and metalworking (Catling 1971, 31-32; J. Karageorghis 1977, 104-105). Unfortunately, the lower legs of the rest of the bronze female figurines do not survive or are not depicted so that we cannot know whether they also stood on an ingot. Lastly, these bronze female representations were also interpreted as goddesses due to their material of construction (Catling 1971, 20-23; Webb 1999, 232-235; Papasavvas 2009, 100).



Figure 2.60: The 'Ingot God' standing on an oxhide ingot, holding a spear and a shield, now in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus (photo: courtesy of the Cyprus Archaeological Museum).

It would be unreasonable to deny that there are no typological similarities between the bronze representations of females and the Type B figurines. In his study of the 'Bomford' figurine, Catling (1971, 24-27) catalogues a number of similarities but also differences between the former and the Type B specimens. Firstly, he notes that they are both characterised by flattened top of the heads, similar rendering of the breasts and prominent ears and nose. They have also incisions to mark their fingers,

accentuated pubic triangles through the use of incisions and bands on the neck. He mentions that Type B eyes resemble more the eyes seen on the Nicosia-*Bairaktar* example while both bronzes have a posture similar to Type A rather than the Type B figurines with arms extended away from the body. Moreover, none of the terracottas seems to be characterised by plaited tresses and none has a necklace resembling the one worn by the bronzes.

Catling was right in more or less all his observations. Nevertheless, more similarities and more differences are noted when one compares the metal examples and the Type B figurines more closely. In the following two tables (**Tables 2.3, 2.4**), the similarities and differences between the bronzes and the terracottas are summarised:

<i>SIMILARITIES</i>	<i>Bomford</i>	<i>Bairaktar</i>	<i>Teratsouthia</i>	<i>Stand figurines</i>
<i>Flattened top of the head</i>	√			
<i>Double pellets for the eyes</i>		√		
<i>Realistically rendered noses</i>	√	√	√	√
<i>Incision for the mouth</i>	√	√	√	√
<i>Ears as small flattened lumps</i>	√	√	√	√

<i>Bands on the neck</i>	√		√
<i>Hands on the abdomen</i>	√		
<i>Hands falling along the sides</i>		√	
<i>Incisions for the fingers</i>	√	√	√
<i>Indication of the breasts</i>	√	√	√
<i>Indication of the pubic triangle through incisions</i>	√	√	
<i>No accentuation of hips</i>	√	√	√
<i>Incisions for the toes</i>	√		

Table 2.3: This table presents the similarities observed between the Type B terracotta figurines and the bronze representations of females.

<i>DIFFERENCES</i>	<i>Bomford</i>	<i>Bairaktar</i>	<i>Teratsouthkia</i>	<i>Stand figurines</i>
<i>Plaited tresses flanking the head</i>	√	√	√	√
<i>Plaited tresses for the sideburns</i>	√			
<i>Relief hair depicted on top of the head</i>		√	√	√
<i>Almond-shaped eyes through incisions</i>	√		√	
<i>Circular lumps for the eyes</i>				√
<i>No indication of nostrils</i>	√	√	√	√
<i>Applied necklaces</i>	√		√	

<i>Necklaces that reach the abdomen with a knot in the middle</i>	√	√	√
<i>Hands on breasts</i>			√
<i>Arms do not touch the body</i>	√	√	√
<i>Less accentuated pubic triangles</i>	√	√	√
<i>Pubic hair rendered through circles in relief</i>			√
<i>Pointed breasts</i>	√	√	
<i>Feet not pointed downwards</i>	√		√
<i>Standing on an oxhide ingot</i>	√		

Table 2.4: This table presents the differences observed between the Type B terracotta figurines and the bronze representations of females.

In conclusion, their major similarities are located in the realistically rendered facial features, the incised toes and fingers while they often assume similar postures. They all represent nude females with their breasts and pubic areas denoted. Each representation in bronze might bear other minor similarities with the terracottas. The major differences are mostly detected in the rendering of the hair, and the depiction of jewellery. In addition, the bronzes are characterised with rather less accentuated pubic areas and at least one example stands on an oxhide ingot.

The elements in grey signify a grey area which requires further discussion. For example, Type B figurines are only sometimes characterised by arms extended away from their bodies; on the other hand, the arms of the bronzes are always kept away from their torsos. As mentioned above, the rendering of the arms away from the body is usually seen on the Type A specimens. Furthermore, one of the features that characterise all bronzes is the plaited tresses. The 'Bomford' figurine has plaited sideburns as well. No plaited tresses are observed on the terracotta examples, although, a very small group of Type B hollow specimens have two or three relief curls/strips on the back of their head for the rendering of hair (see Chapter II, Section 1.2). Generally, hair on Type B is denoted through the use of black paint which covers the upper and partially back part of the head. It was suggested in this chapter that the flattening of the top and protrusion on the back of the head might be a schematic representation of the hairstyle seen on the bronzes.

In addition, although Type B figurines have their sideburns rendered either through painted strips or painted and relief curls, no specimen has plaited tresses for the indication of this feature as is the case with one of the bronzes. Of course, plaited tresses on the terracottas might have been difficult to achieve. Another feature that is seen on almost all the bronzes is the long necklace, which reaches the level of the abdomen and has a knot in the middle. Type B necklaces are usually rendered with three painted bands on the neck, nevertheless, there are two examples that have diagonal bands beginning from their neck reaching their chest. Nonetheless, no knot is illustrated.

Recording the typological similarities and differences of the two types of figurines, one concludes that the coroplasts and the manufacturers of the bronze female figurines (those who made the wax cartoons from which the bronzes were cast) must have had a close relationship; if they were not the same people. Indeed, in his article

Catling (1971, 27-28) refers to P.R.S Moorey who also supported the above argument. Apart from this apparent connection between the artisans of the two figurine groups, nothing else can be assumed with certainty. A connection between the artisans would explain the similarities seen on the bronzes and terracottas. Thus, the interpretation of the Type B figurines as goddesses based only on their typological similarities with the bronzes is not as strong if their producers were in close terms (if they were not the same people).

It is only natural that people forming the female figure through these methods transferred some of the elements characterising the terracottas on the bronzes; even if these were not depicting the same thing. In other words, it is not safe to proceed to interpretations with regards to the character of these figurines through only typological comparisons. The terracotta figurines might have represented a totally different entity than the bronze specimens. Therefore, typological comparisons with female figurines represented on other materials or figurines from the adjacent areas should only be considered as secondary evidence in the investigation of the BR female terracottas. The results from the examination of the typology, technologies of production, archaeological and social context, concentrated specifically on this group of terracotta figurines, are used here as primary evidence for their role and character.

CHAPTER III:

FROM WORKSHOPS TO FIGURINE-MAKERS

Following on from the investigation of the typology and technologies of production in the previous chapter, questions were raised regarding the workshops and figurine-makers producing the BR female figurines. This chapter investigates first the potential for identifying individual hands/workshops through certain features of the typology and manufacturing procedures. The methodology followed for this examination resulted in the identification of different groups of terracottas that could have been manufactured by the same individual or workshop. The results of this investigation could be confirmed through the application of an analytical technique in the future. Although the material from Enkomi stored in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus was examined through portable X-Ray Fluorescence, it was not possible to proceed to its application on all the material from Cyprus due to time constraints. The results of the application of this technique on the material from Enkomi are also discussed here.

Another aspect explored is the identity of the figurine-makers; primary and secondary sources on the BR female and zoomorphic figurines and pottery, as well as the evidence from replication and experimental work are used for this discussion. Finally, the last section of this chapter argues that the production of anthropomorphic figurines in ancient societies could be a more complex process which was experienced differently by the figurine-makers. This section draws from secondary literature and, in particular, from case-studies using ethno-archaeological and anthropological approaches regarding the manufacture of figurines in other regions. The aim of this section is not to transfer the evidence deriving from these areas to the case of Cyprus, but to show that the making of a figurine which is of certain significance for the society, could have a different impact on the figurine-makers. Since this work aims to investigate the BR female figurines from multiple aspects, the experience of the figurine-makers should not be neglected.

1. Identifying individual hands/workshops: a preliminary study

In general, the typological approach has been used in previous studies as a tool for exploring the chronological and stylistic development of various categories of objects. Nevertheless, as argued by Morris (1993, 43), the potentials of stylistic analysis in the study of the material culture can be much greater than this. For instance, the identification of ‘motor habits’ or ‘motor performances’ which are idiosyncratic for every individual could facilitate us in identifying objects deriving from the same hand (Hill and Gunn 1977; Hill 1978; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Morris 1993). This theory is based on Giovanni Morelli’s, Sir John Beazley’s (1922, 75-90) and Berenson’s (1902, 122-148) works on Renaissance and Classical art. According to the latter, the small and insignificant details (‘motor habits’) are the key in recognising an individual’s work since they are often repeated and they cannot be shared or copied by another artist due to the fact that they are partially subconscious (Hill 1977, 100; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 141; Morris 1993, 42-43). Consequently, through this approach it is possible to distinguish works belonging to a certain individual and goes beyond the traditional typological classification of objects.

Nonetheless, there are certain difficulties in this approach since the work of an individual artist could be characterised by variations; the latter could be the result of a different working surface to a natural variation of his/her style (Berenson 1932, 145-146; Morris 1993, 45). Thus, it is not easy to proceed to an identification of the variants done by different hands and those done by the same hand (Morris 1993, 45). However, the term of an ‘analytical individual’ could be useful in this case. According to Morris (1993, 47), by recognising groups belonging to an ‘analytical individual’, we agree that the objects belonging to these groups are similar enough in order for one person to have produced them. Such work on prehistoric material has been undertaken on a limited scale (for examples see: Benson 1961, 337-347 on Mycenaean vase-painting; Morris 1993, 47-56 on Mycenaean pictorial pottery and Minoan peak sanctuary figurines). Thus, this investigation could also be used as a more in depth case-study in order to note the advantages and disadvantages of this method, especially, in the study of terracotta figurines.

Therefore, the aim of this section is to identify groups of figurines that could belong to an ‘analytical individual’. It is important to note that the skill of attribution is

based on close familiarity with the whole body of material and close study of the individual pieces. The methodology followed for this investigation contains different stages. Firstly, the elements that could provide evidence for the 'analytical individuals' were selected. They were elements mostly related to the structure and variability in execution of the elements. Then, these were divided in primary and subsidiary features. The former were those that had a greater possibility in being repeated and remaining consistent throughout an artisan's work, while it was more possible for the subsidiary elements to have been altered from one figurine to the other, or through time.

More precisely, primary elements are the variations observed in features such as: the shape, depth, direction and traces made by the tool that produced the incised or punctured decoration; shape and size of the hole denoting the vulva; shape/formation and size of the breasts; shape/formation and size of the noses, eyes and ears; shape/formation of heads; formation of the face and especially the chin on the Type B figurines, shape of the pelvis, torso and feet and fabric. Through replication work it was observed that the formation of these elements differed from one individual to the other, while figurines made by the same person showed striking similarities in the rendering of these features.⁹ Any other similarities are considered to be secondary elements.

This leads us to the third stage of the methodology. Each figurine was assigned to different groups according to the aforementioned elements. This constituted the first grouping of the figurines. Then a second grouping took place which had as a goal to divide the figurines according to the number of elements they had in common. Thus, groups of figurines with six, five, four, three and two elements in common were created. The greater the number of elements in common, the better the chance to have been manufactured by the same person. However, the work did not end here, since, as I have already mentioned, terracottas with a small number of elements in common or with one or two elements different could be products either of a wider workshop or of the same person characterised by minor variations. Consequently, the groups with five elements in common, for example, were also grouped with figurines with four, three and two elements; of course, the latter's features had to be compatible with some of the

⁹ Part of the replication and experimental work conducted for the study of the manufacture of the BR female figurines, was their reproduction by a number of people. This work showed us that specimens produced by the same hand tend to be characterised by similarities in the rendering of certain features.

former's. Nonetheless, figurines that were matched only through subsidiary elements were not included in the final grouping.

It should be noted, though, that not all figurines could be taken into consideration since elements such as the above could only be recorded through personal examination and fine quality pictures found in either secondary bibliography or through the web pages of the various museums. A number of figurines were also left ungrouped since their characteristics could not be matched by any of the groups created or they presented only a generalised stylistic similarity with other figurines. In addition, a number of fragmentary figurines had the same fate since they could not provide enough information in order to be grouped. This section will, therefore, present, in detail, only the figurines that were matched through a large number of primary and subsidiary features. It should also be noted that Type A and Type B figurines were grouped separately and are, thus, presented separately. Six Type A and eight Type B groups have been created. Type A groups comprise from four to nine figurines each, while the Type B groups have from two to five figurines each.

Finally, this investigation not only provides evidence regarding the figurines being crafted by the same person through the observation of 'motor habits', but it also approaches questions related to the distribution of each individual's work through the figurines of known provenance. The aim of this research is to show that a close investigation of the small details characterising the style and, more generally, the formation and production of the figurines, is an effective tool for identifying groups connected to individual hands and workshops.

1.1. Type A Groups

Group 1

This group consists of six hollow figurines: Ay.Par._74.51.1547, Cyp.Mus._A57, Kat._A54, Kat._A59, Low.Mus._83281 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 (**Fig.3.1**). Their striking similarities on a typological and technological level could argue that they are products of the same 'analytical individual'/workshop. Distinctive shared features are the posture of their arms, method of rendering the vulva, pubic triangle and breasts. Other unique features are shared by two or three figurines of the group.



Figure 3.1: From left to right: Ay.Par._74.51.1547 (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum), Cyp.Mus._A57, Kat._A54, Kat._A59, Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 (photo: courtesy of the Pitt-Rivers Museum), Low.Mus._83281 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. II).

This group is characterised by hands on the waist and arms extended away from the body creating big loops; it is important to note here that this is a particularly distinctive feature, as this exact posture is not seen on any other Type A figurine. The method used for the rendering of their vulvas is another element that characterises all the specimens of this group; they all have vulvas indicated through incisions rather than holes. Specimens Ay.Par._74.51.1547 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 have identical marks left by the tool forming the vulva which looks like a fracture while the incision continues until the middle of their pubic triangles. The pubic triangles of Ay.Par._74.51.1547, Cyp.Mus._A57 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 are filled with punctures instead of incisions; this pattern is not seen on any other Type A specimen. Moreover, Kat._A54, Kat._A59 and Low.Mus._8.3281 have their pubic triangles filled with diagonal light incisions; they are small in size and they have the same direction. Moreover, the traces left by the tool are identical; they have pointed ends while they get wider in the middle.

Another important similarity between Ay.Par._74.51.1547 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 is the conical lump of clay observed on top of their heads; these are the only Type A specimens that have this kind of characteristic. All the figurines of this group have small, conical and pointed breasts (apart from Cyp.Mus._A57 that has rounded breasts). Regarding their fabric, the colour of the surface is similar; however, only three of the four specimens that were personally examined are broken in the area of the ears (Cyp.Mus._A57, Kat._A54, Kat._A59), therefore, I could only record the fabric of these specimens. They are all characterised by a fine fabric that has a light reddish colour with a light grey core.

With regards to the subsidiary elements, Cyp.Mus._A57 and Low.Mus._8.3281 have their navels rendered with a single pellet, while Kat._A54 and Kat._A59 have it formed through double pellets. It should be noted that the rendering of the navels on the Type A is not common. Indeed, only three examples have it denoted through a double pellet and two through a single pellet; four out of the five belong to this group. In addition, Kat._A54 and Kat._A59 have single pellets rendering their knees. Only six Type A figurines are known to have their knees indicated; two with double pellets, one with a light relief and three with a single pellet. Moreover, all figurines of this group have the same number of incisions forming the triangle; two on the abdomen and two on each leg.

From this investigation, I would suggest that these figurines were made by the same workshop due to the unique elements characterising only this group of terracottas. However, on the basis of the striking similarities between Ay.Par._74.51.1547 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 one could argue that these are products of the same ‘analytical individual’. The same could be argued for Kat._A54 and Kat._A59, since they share a lot of primary and subsidiary features. Significantly, they also derive from the same site. Cyp.Mus._A57 shows greater resemblance to the Ay.Par._74.51.1547 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.22 and therefore could be products of the same ‘analytical individual’ while Low.Mus._8.3281 could have been manufactured by the same person as the Katydhata figurines.

Group 2



Figure 3.2: From left to right: Cyp.Mus._A49, Enk._29, Hadj.Col._352 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. V), Mar._A36, Nat.Arch.Ath._11935 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. V), Antikensam._TC6684.33 (photo: Brehme *et al.* 2001), Ch.Bor._2536 (photo: Decaudin 1987, Pl. LX).

Group 2 consists of seven solid figurines: Cyp.Mus._A49, Enk._29, Hadj.Col._352, Mar._A36, Nat.Arch.Ath._11935, Antikensam._TC6684.33 and Ch.Bor._2536 (**Fig. 3.2**). This group is characterised by a number of common primary features which distinguish them from the other Type A solid figurines. For instance, their pelvic area is quite accentuated in comparison with the rest of the parts of their body; a reverted triangle is created between the pelvis and the legs while the edges of the former could be characterised as relatively pointed (with Hadj.Col._352 to be the exception). The incisions filling the triangles are also identical. They not only have the same diagonal direction but they also have the same depth. The tool used for their rendering produced straight lines with pointed edges which are similar in all the examples.

They all have an incision reaching the middle of their triangles which is a natural continuation of the line separating their legs (only the line on Hadj.Col._352 reaches the incisions on the abdomen). The tool used for the creation of this line left identical marks on the figurines while on the Cyp.Mus._A49, Enk._29 and Ch.Bor._2536 it has an inclination towards the left hand side. Their feet are also formed similarly; they are flattened, pointed downwards with rounded edges. Regarding the fabric, only two specimens are partially broken in the area of the ears and were personally examined (Enk._29 and Mar._A36), therefore only these could be observed. They are characterised by light pinkish clay with grey cores.

Secondary elements that could argue that these figurines are products of the same 'analytical individual' are the number of lines creating the pubic triangles. All specimens have two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg apart from Hadj.Col._352 that has only one on the abdomen. Moreover, Cyp.Mus._A49, Enk._29, Ch.Bor._2536 and Mar._A36 have one or two horizontal incisions under their breasts. The latter along with Antikensam._TC6684.33 have their hands on their breasts, a feature which is not seen on other Type A solid examples. Finally, all specimens have three horizontal incisions on their necks apart from Antikensam._TC6684.33 that has four and Nat.Arch.Ath._11935 that has two on its chest.

Group 3



Figure 3.3: From left to right: Ay.Par._74.51.1545 (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum), Cyp.Mus._1964.IX.8.9, Glafk.Kl.Col._Unknown (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. VI), Louvre_AM.1175, Nich.Mus._NM.347 (photo: <http://sydney.edu.au/>), Ph.V._71, Pit.Riv._1884.39.44 (photo: courtesy of the Pitt-Rivers Museum), Pier._LB83/MIII 490, Yial._1937/VI-8/4 (photo: Dikaios 1937-1939, Pl. XLIV).

Group 3 contains nine solid figurines: Cyp.Mus._1964.IX.8.9, Glafk.Kl.Col._Unknown, Louvre._AM.1175, Nich.Mus._NM.347, Pit.Riv._1884.39.44, Ay.Par._74.51.1545, Ph.V._71, Pier._LB83/MIII 490 and Yial._1937/VI-8/4 (**Fig. 3.3**). This group is characterised by a number of common primary elements which distinguish them from the other Type A solid figurines. For example, they all have a slightly accentuated pelvis, but, in contrast to the previous group, the sides of the pelvis are rounded. One of their biggest similarities is observed in the shape, depth and size of the incisions filling the pubic triangles; they are superficial and relatively wide while they have a triangular shape. This kind of mark is only observed on this group of figurines. In addition, they all have two rows of incisions filling the triangle which are angled in the same direction. Their triangles are formed by two incisions on the

abdomen and three on each leg. The traces left by the tool forming the incisions on the other parts of their bodies are also similar.

They all have two incisions below the breasts (with Ph.V._71 to be the exception since it is broken); the upper incisions are partially covered by the breasts since they seem to have been assembled after the rendering of the incised decoration which is not repeated on any other Type A solid figurines. In addition, the formation of their breasts is identical; they are large, conical and quite pointed and protruding. They could be characterised as exaggerated for this size of terracottas. They all hold infants in an upright position with one hand between the breasts and the other around their mother's neck. Glafk.Kl.Col._Unknown and Ay.Par._74.51.1545 are the exceptions. The former has the infant held horizontally while it is schematically rendered. Ay.Par._74.51.1545 infant has its hands connected like clapping. Apart from the latter, the rest of the infants have two incisions on each hand denoting the fingers. The specimens that have been personally examined seem to have the infants formed in five pieces; these are the neck/head, the two arms and the torso/legs as two pieces.

Another significant similarity is observed in the formation of their ears; the lower edge of the ears creates some kind of a lobe which is not connected immediately to the head. The assemblage with the head is conducted in an upper level of the ear. This feature is unique for this group. Although the shape of the ears of the Ay.Par._74.51.1545 and Pier._LB83/MIII490 resembles that of the rest of the specimens' belonging to this group; they have double pellets instead of holes. Nevertheless, this element does not minimise the possibility of having been made by the same analytical individual. Moreover, they all have quite beaky noses with eyes characterised by flattened outer and inner pellets with relatively large space left between them. Finally, an additional subsidiary feature is seen on the number of incisions decorating their necks. They all have three incisions with Ay.Par._74.51.1545 to have four.

Group 4

Group 4 contains four hollow figurines: Cyp.Mus._1933.XII.13.2, Cyp.Mus._1934.IV.27.12, Cyp.Mus._A61 and Enk._1818 (**Fig. 3.4**). These terracottas are characterised by the absence of the hole denoting the vulva which is not usual for this construction type; only a tiny vertical incision indicates this feature. Furthermore,

all the examples have tear-shaped incisions filling their pubic triangles (only Enk._1818 presents a slightly different picture). The incisions are also angled in the same direction. In addition, there is an irregular placement of the lower levels of the incisions (after the two upper levels) on all specimens which is only evident on this group. Identical also are the traces left by the tool forming the incisions on the hands; the right hand that survives on all figurines has four incisions straight, clear and deep.



Figure 3.4: From left to right: Cyp.Mus._1933.XII.13.2, Cyp.Mus._1934.IV.27.12 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. III), Cyp.Mus._A61, Enk._1818.

Their breasts can be characterised as narrow pointed cones; such formation is only observed on this group of figurines. They all hold infants in a horizontal position. While Cyp.Mus._1933.XII.13.2 lacks many parts of the infant, Cyp.Mus._A61 and Enk._1818 have the infants rendered in a similar posture with their left hands between their mother's breasts and their heads touching their mother's left breast; their right hand is placed either below their mother's left breast or left underarm. Cyp.Mus._1934.IV.27.12 has its head on the level of his mother's chest but it does not touch it; its left hand is placed under her right breast (partially touching it) and its right hand under her left underarm. A primary element they all have in common comes from the area of the head; the assemblage of the nose and ears creates a small triangle on the top of the head. The nose is assembled onto the upper edge of the forehead, while the upper edges of the ears cover partially the top of the head.

Staying in the area of the head, similarities are observed in the rendering of the eyes, noses and eyebrows. Moreover, a secondary feature is seen on the number of incisions decorating the necks of this group. These terracottas have flattened eyes with the inner pellet to be quite large resulting to the reduction of the space separating the

two pellets. They also have their eyebrows rendered with incisions on the forehead which is only rarely seen on Type A figurines; apart from Enk._1818 which lacks the head, Cyp.Mus._1934.IV.27.12 and Cyp.Mus._1933.XII.13.2 have an applied strap on their forehead with diagonal incisions while Cyp.Mus._A61 has the incised diagonal lines applied directly on its forehead. Finally, they all have three incisions on their necks apart Cyp.Mus._A61 that has two.

Group 5

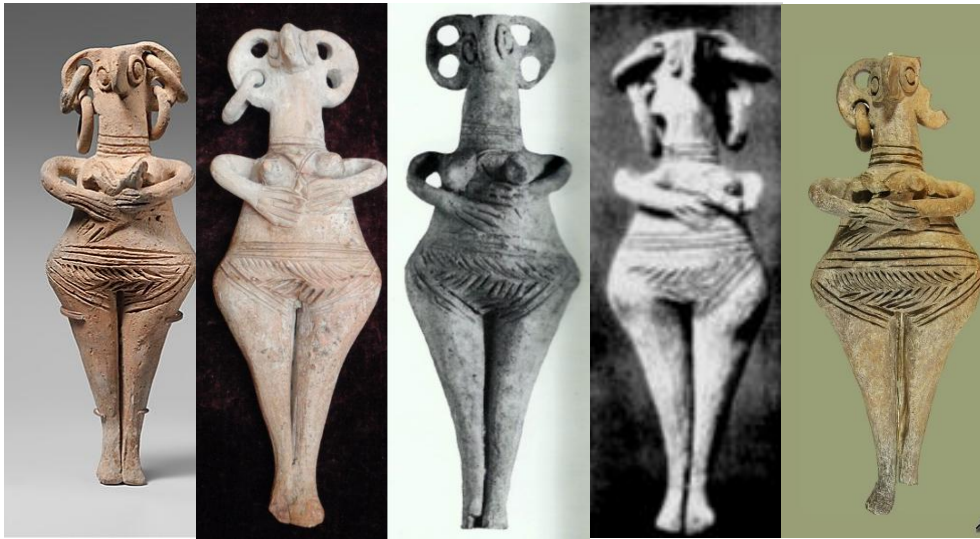


Figure 3.5: From left to right: Ay.Par._74.51.1542 (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum), Brit.Mus._1871-0708-3, Egypt_NMS.1906 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. II), Idal._109 (photo: Bossert 1951, 41), Nat.Arch.Ath._1464 (photo: courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens).

Group 5 includes five hollow figurines: Ay.Par._74.51.1542, Brit.Mus._1871-0708-3, Egypt_NMS.1906, Idal._109 and Nat.Arch.Ath._1464 (**Fig. 3.5**). Starting from the feet, these specimens have quite narrow and flattened feet which remain distinguishable from each other. These figurines have also the same shape and size of the vulva; the tool used had probably a circular edge since the holes have a semi-circular shape. The pubic triangles of Ay.Par._74.51.1542 and Idal._109 are formed by three incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg. Brit.Mus._1871-0708-3, Egypt_NMS.1906 and Nat.Arch.Ath._1464 have three on the abdomen, two on the right and three on the left leg. The inner incision on the right leg is almost always partially covered by the second level of smaller incisions that fill the triangle. This very tiny detail suggests that these patterns were made by the same hand. Also, the incisions filling the triangle are identical. The first levels of incisions have this direction

which is not repeated on other groups of terracottas. The second level has a diagonal direction towards the right hand side with no curves. Regarding their breasts, they all have large, conical and pointed breasts. Concluding with the primary elements, they all have their right shoulder lifted slightly more than the left.

In addition, subsidiary elements can be noted on the formation of the incised lines below and between the breasts and on their necks. Furthermore, Brit.Mus._1871-0708-3, Nat.Arch.Ath._1464 and Ay.Par._74.51.1542 have two horizontal incisions below their breasts. The other specimens were examined through pictures therefore, it was not clear if they also have this feature. Also, Brit.Mus._1871-0708-3, Egypt_NMS.1906, Nat.Arch.Ath._1464 and Idal._109 have diagonal incisions on their chest. Finally, they all have three incisions on their necks. Although the primary motifs are mainly concentrated on the area of the pubic triangle, the details shown here along with the secondary features offer sufficient evidence that these figurines are products of an ‘analytical individual’.

An additional example characterised by a small number of features in common with this group is: Kuns.Mus._ANSA_V_1342 which presents similarities in the rendering of the incisions of the pubic triangle, number of incisions on the neck, formation of the feet and has the right shoulder slightly more lifted than the left.

Group 6



Figure 3.6: From left to right: Dh.Kafk._AN1953 (photo: courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum), Enk._A13, Enk._A14, Hadj.Col._353 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. V), Hal.S._A52, Pier._LB36/MIPI 441, Enk._4509.

This group contains seven solid figurines: Dh.Kafk._AN1953, Enk._4509, Enk._A13, Enk._A14, Hadj.Col._353, Hal.S._A52 and Pier._LB36/MIII441 (**Fig. 3.6**). These terracottas are characterised by feet turned slightly on the left and right hand side a feature observed only on this group. They also have feet with relatively pointed rather than rounded edges. Furthermore, they all have the line separating the two legs reaching the point where the vulva would have been; there it gets wider, possibly to indicate this feature. The marks left by the tool indicating the vulva are identical; the tool must have had a circular edge. However, Hal.S._A52 has a vertical incision with pointed edges indicating the vulva while Enk._4509 lacks the legs. In addition, the incisions filling the triangles are tear-shaped apart from Hal.S.A52's that have pointed edges. These small incisions have also the same depth and direction apart from Enk._A13 that has them applied in the opposite direction and Pier._LB36/MIII441 that has the upper level of incisions facing the same side as the rest of the examples and the lower facing the opposite direction. Moreover, the hands of these figurines cover the incision(s) on the abdomen. There are three incisions on each leg creating the triangle.

The breasts have an irregular shape and size but they are quite pointed with Hal.S._A52 to be the exception with rounded breasts. All figurines hold infants rendered schematically with their heads on their mothers' left breasts. In all cases, the infant is not clearly visible. This schematic representation of the infants is only observed on this group of Type A solid figurines. Exception to this are specimens Hal.S._A52 and Hadj.Col._353 that do not hold infants. In addition, the marks left by the tool producing the incisions on the hands are identical; they are deep and long with curved edges. They also have two incisions on each hand.

Furthermore, they all have two incisions on their necks apart from Dh.Kafk._AN1953 that has three. Their eyes are large and flattened with Hal.S._A52 to be the exception. They are partially if not totally added on the sides of their noses. Their noses are quite thick and have a particularly beaky edge, not seen on other specimens of this type (they usually have rounded edges). Finally, this group has a particularly narrow torso.

The primary and subsidiary motifs observed on this group of figurines make the possibility of them having been made by the same individual quite probable. It should also be noted that three out of the eight terracottas derive from the site of Enkomi, while

two derive from totally different sites; Hala Sultan Tekke and Dhenia-*Kafkalla*. Although six out of the seven figurines show strong possibilities of having been made by the same person, the figurine from Hala Sultan Tekke presents a number of differences.

1.2.Type B Groups

Group 1



Figure 3.7: From left to right: Ay.Par._74.51.1543 (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum), Cyp.Mus._A45, Cyp.Mus._A52, Pit.Riv._1884.39.20 (photo: courtesy of the Pitt-Rivers Museum), Enk._A21.

Group 1 contains five hollow figurines: Ay.Par._74.51.1543, Cyp.Mus._A45, Cyp.Mus._A52, Enk._A21 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.20 (**Fig. 3.7**). Although these figurines share many unique typological elements, a close examination reveals that it is less likely that they were made by a single individual. However, the fact that they share all these unique elements could argue that they are products of at least the same workshop. The elements that make them distinguishable from other groups of figurines are their very thin legs, arms falling along the sides of the legs without touching the torso, hands on the sides of the legs, sideburns presented as relief curls, hair rendered on the back of their heads as relief curls and rounded top of the heads.

Only two figurines offer convincing evidence of having been made by the same ‘analytical individual’; Ay.Par._74.51.1543 and Pit.Riv._1884.39.20. These examples

have identical marks produced by the tool that formed the incisions filling the pubic triangles; they have a combination of tear-shaped incisions and incisions with two rounded edges. They are small and deep while they have the same direction. They are also densely organised. The tool used for the production of the hole denoting the vulva left similar traces; it must have had a pointed edge. Moreover, the shape of their breasts is the same; they are conical and pointed while one is slightly larger than the other and attached on slightly different levels. They also have rounded chins while the lump forming the face is quite thick. The noses have a particularly beaky peak. Finally, the incisions rendering the nostrils have also the same shape; a pointed upper edge with a rounded lower edge.

As already mentioned, due to some of their unique features these figurines could have been products of the same workshop. The fact that the formation of primary features differs significantly from one specimen to the other weakens the possibility to have been made by the same hand. The only two figurines that offer stronger evidence for their production by the same hand are the Metropolitan and Pitt-Rivers specimens.

Group 2



Figure 3.8: From left to right:
Cyp.Mus._A43, Drom.Tr._1009.

This group comprises only two hollow specimens: Cyp.Mus._A43 and Drom.Tr._1009 (**Fig. 3.8**). These figurines have many primary and subsidiary features in common which suggest that they were manufactured by the same person. Beginning

with the vulvas; they both have holes with pointed edges. The incisions filling the triangles are also identical; they are straight with pointed edges. Moreover, they have the same direction while paint and incisions are concentrated on the upper and middle level of the pubic triangle; the lower level is empty. This feature is restricted to these examples.

Another element they have in common is the application of a great number of incisions on both the hands and feet; these are straight lines retaining the same width from top to bottom. An additional similarity between the hands and the feet is their flatness. They are flattened in a great degree creating wide surfaces. Their hands are smoothed in such degree that are almost becoming one with the body which is only rarely seen on this group of figurines. Furthermore, the upper part of the arms does not touch the body in both cases. Their breasts are rounded but not protruding; they are rendered in almost a light relief which is not usual for the hollow examples. Therefore, this motif is unique to this group. Regarding their face and facial features, they both have the lump of clay forming the face smoothed on the head in a great degree while their chin is rounded and not pronounced. Their nose is quite beaky while their nostrils are awkwardly incised. The incisions for the nostrils become one, like a horizontal line.

The secondary elements are concentrated in the area of the pubic triangle, navel and necks. Both of the specimens' pubic triangles are created by two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg. Lastly, their navel is denoted through a hole while the bands on their necks follow the black-red-black motif.

Group 3



Figure 3.9: From left to right: Ay.Par._47, Ay.Par._48, Hadj.Col._1334 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, VIII), Antik._LA660 (photo: Nys and Åström 2005, Pl. 7).

Group 3 contains four hollow figurines: Ay.Par._47, Ay.Par._48, Hadj.Col._1334 and Antik._LA660 (**Fig. 3.9**). These figurines have a number of primary and secondary elements in common which could suggest that they were made by the same ‘analytical individual’. It should also be noted that two out of the four figurines derive from the site of Aya Paraskevi and were found in the same tomb.

Firstly, the shape and direction of the incisions filling the triangles are similar; they have pointed edges while they get wider in the middle. Although all four examples have shallow incisions, Ay.Par._48 is characterised by slightly deeper incisions on the upper level. Furthermore, the two specimens have semi-circular holes rendering the vulvas apart from Ay.Par._47 and Antik._LA660 that do not have their vulva indicated at all. The breasts are all rounded with slightly pointed peaks. Regarding their face and facial features, Ay.Par._47, Antik._LA660 and Hadj.Col._1334 have a slightly pointed chin with oval-shaped faces while Ay.Par._48 has a rounded chin with a circular face. In addition, they are all characterised by a big forehead while they seem to have a thick piece of clay attached on top of their heads. Moreover, the eyes are flattened and therefore, the space between the two pellets is reduced.

Concerning the subsidiary motifs, they all have two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg apart from Ay.Par._48 that has three on the abdomen, three on the left and two on the right leg. All have the same motif of bands on their necks: red-black-red. Finally, the eyebrows are rendered similarly since they unite in the middle of the forehead.

Group 4

This group includes four hollow figurines: Hadj.Col._1333, Louvre_AM1173, Mus.Gen._P0283 and Pier._LB63/MIII107 (**Fig. 3.10**). Again, these figurines have a number of primary and secondary features in common but they are also characterised by differences. Firstly, the rendering of the feet in such a way is quite unique for this group since they are flattened but have rounded edges and small sizes which resulted in the reduction of space for the application of incisions. Indeed, they have two or three incisions (with Louvre_AM1175 to be the exception since it lacks the feet). Secondly, the area of the pelvis is slightly swollen due to the production procedure followed. Thirdly, their vulvas are semi-circular and tiny with Louvre_AM1173 to be the

exception. Its vulva was made with a pointed tool and it looks more like a deep incision instead of a hole.



Figure 3.10: From left to right: Hadj.Col._1333 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. VIII), Louvre_AM1173, Mus.Gen._P0283 (photo: courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva), Pier._LB63/MIII107.

Moreover, they all have two incisions on their abdomen and two on each leg rendering the pubic triangle. The incisions filling the latter have the same shape and direction; they have pointed edges which get only slightly wider in the middle. Although all the figurines have deep well defined incisions, Pier._LB63/MIII107 has very shallow incisions. Furthermore, they all have holes denoting the navel while their breasts are slightly pointed with Pier._LB63/MIII107 to be the exception. The bands on their neck follow the same motif: red-black-red. Mus.Gen._P0283 and Pier._LB63/MIII107 have identical ear-shape; the frame of the ears was slightly folded towards the inner side creating the illusion that there is depth in the ear. In addition, they all have slightly rounded top of the heads and large foreheads (apart maybe from Mus.Gen._P0283). Finally, the piece covering the top of the head is quite thick.

Group 5

Group 5 includes three hollow figurines: Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3, Cyp.Mus._1947.IV.15.1 and Mar._A37 (**Fig. 3.11**). These terracottas were grouped together because of their similarities in the rendering of the hole denoting the vulva, the shape, depth and direction of the incisions filling the pubic triangle, the shape and size of their breasts, formation of their eyes and noses/nostrils as well as the rendering of the top of the head and forehead. More precisely, their vulvas are rendered through incisions rather than holes. The incisions filling the triangle are not densely applied. The latter are characterised by pointed edges getting wider in the middle; they are also quite

deep and have the exact same direction. In addition, their breasts are conical and pointed, placed with some distance between them.



Figure 3.11: From left to right:
Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3,
Cyp.Mus._1947.IV.15.1,
Mar._A37.

When looking at the facial features more closely, one realises that Cyp.Mus._1947.IV.15.1 and Mar._A37 are much closer in the details than Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3. The eyes of the former are identical; the outer pellets are large and flattened while the inner pellets are smaller with straight walls. In contrast to these specimens, Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3 has both pellets flattened. In addition, their noses are quite thin and beaky while their upper part reaches the forehead. The incisions for the nostrils were applied from the sides as a result to have a diagonal inclination. The top of the head, in all three examples, covers a very small part of the forehead where the nose is attached. The lump of clay used to cover the top of the head is relatively thick. Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3 has a less pronounced forehead while the lump covering the top of the head seems to have been thinner than the other examples.

Cyp.Mus._1947.IV.15.1 and Mar._A37 have their navels rendered through a hole while they have three incisions on each hand (Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3 has two incisions and no indication of the navel). All three specimens have their triangles rendered with two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg. However, regarding the bands on their necks Mar._A37 and Cyp.Mus._1934.IX.9.3 follow the same motif (red-black-red) while Cyp.Mus.1947.IV.15.1 has the opposite pattern.

Group 6

Group 6 consists of two Type B fragmentary hollow figurines from the site of Enkomi: Enk._19.55 and Enk._A19 (**Fig. 3.12**). The first example has only its head preserved while the second specimen has only its head and torso. Therefore, only features concerning the face and facial features were recorded. Their faces have an oval shape and their chins are well defined. Their noses get wider towards the mouth while their nostrils have pointed edges and get slightly wider in the middle; they have a diagonal, slightly irregular form.



Figure 3.12: From left to right: Enk._19.55, Enk._A19.

Moreover, the eyes consist of a thin outer circle and a larger thicker inner circle. The shape of their ears is similar, although Enk._A19 has its ears folded slightly more. Also, this group has a slightly rounded top of the head and a pronounced forehead.

Group 7

This is another group consisting only by hollow figurines deriving from the site of Enkomi. Group 7 contains: Enk._10.19, Enk._A16 and Enk._A17 (**Fig. 3.13**). These terracottas have a number of similar primary and subsidiary features, though, some details are not the same. The feet of Enk._10.19 and Enk._A17 are small with rounded edges. They are not flattened which is rarely seen on Type B hollow figurines; they resemble more the Type A feet. Due to the restricted space, the first example has one incision on each foot while the second specimen has no incisions. However, Enk._A16's feet are flattened creating a wider surface than that seen on the previous examples; it has three incisions on each foot.



Figure 3.13: From left to right: Enk._10.19, Enk._A16, Enk._A17.

The tool used for the creation of the Enk._10.19 and Enk._A16 vulvas had a circular edge leaving similar traces on the two specimens. Nevertheless, Enk._A17 does not seem to have this feature indicated probably because it was broken and then mended after it was unearthed by the excavators. Moreover, the space occupied by the triangles of all three examples is restricted in comparison with other groups; the triangles are formed by two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg. The incisions are also very shallow. Enk._A16 has no incisions filling the triangle. The other two examples have similar shallow incisions organised in two levels; the upper levels have the same direction but the lower have different directions. The incisions have rounded edges, getting only slightly wider in the middle. They are also not densely applied.

Furthermore, they all have holes for their navels; nonetheless, Enk._A16 has a smaller hole than the other examples. Enk._A16 and Enk._10.19 have similar postures; hands on the stomach. In addition, Enk._A16 and Enk._10.19 have black-red-black bands on their necks whereas the third specimen probably has red-black-red bands since the only visible band is the one in the middle and it is black.

Proceeding to the facial features, the ears are similarly formed; they are slightly pointed on the edges while their upper part is folded. Enk._10.19 and Enk._A17 have quite narrow noses which probably prevents the indication of nostrils. The nose of the remaining specimen has a slightly different shape and incisions denoting the nostrils. Finally, the eyes are also formed similarly with both pellets flattened. The outer pellet is reduced to a thin circle while there is only a very narrow circular line separating the two pellets. They all have flattened top of the heads with light protrusion on the back. Thus,

these figurines are likely not only to be the products of the same ‘analytical individual’ or workshop, but they also seem to have ended up in the same site all deposited in burials.

Group 8



Figure 3.14: From left to right: Hadj.Col._351 (Karageorghis 1993, Pl. X), Kat._A39, Mar._A41.

This group contains three solid seated specimens: Hadj.Col._351, Kat._A39 and Mar._A41 (**Fig. 3.14**). Their first similarity is located in the area of the pubic triangle. The triangles are created by two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; the depth and form of the marks left by the tool are similar. Kat._A39 and Mar._A41 have paint in the triangle which in both cases covers the incisions on the abdomen. The colour of the paint is brownish on both examples. Hadj.Col._351’s painted decoration is largely worn off.

The next similarity is connected with the incised decoration again. The incisions on the hands on all examples might not have the exact same depth but they have the same shape; the edges are pointed while they are getting wider in the middle. They all have three incisions on each hand. Moreover, they all have rounded breasts rendered in a very light relief. In addition, Kat._A39 and Mar._A41 have red-black-red bands on their necks; the red lower bands cover the area on the level of the shoulders while the black band is larger than the other two.

Concerning the facial features, their noses get wider towards the mouth while they were pressed on that point in order to be flattened. When attached onto the face they were not smoothed. They also lack any incisions indicating the nostrils. Their eyes are not flattened while the inner pellet is slightly protruding and has straight walls. Moreover, the ears are folded in the middle while they are directed downwards; they

also have pointed edges. Lastly, they have flattened top of the heads and the protrusion on the back is not as pronounced as on other solid specimens.

1.3.General Remarks

This investigation has shown that through the recording of ‘motor habits’, individual hands could be identified. Moreover, through the recording of unique and/or common elements, both typological and technological, figurines possibly deriving from the same workshop could also be identified. In addition, from this examination, it was observed that terracottas from different sites are grouped together as products of the same individual/workshop. Therefore, it seems that specimens produced in the same workshop could end up in different settlements. Others, however, seem to derive from the same site which might mean that the workshop producing them was part of that settlement.

However, in order to confirm these observations as well as add to the evidence regarding the different workshops and areas producing the BR female figurines, a petrographical and/or chemical analysis should be conducted. This kind of work could prove to be useful when an analytical method is intended to be used. If the technique is destructive and only few samples can be taken, then this method, which identifies similarities in the rendering and formation of the figurines, might be useful in selecting from which specimens one can take samples. This could also be applied in the case that the technique is non-destructive but there are time constrains.

Although the purpose of the next section was not to confirm or overrule the observations made above, a chemical analysis was conducted through the application of a pXRF on the material from Enkomi. Through this investigation, it became obvious that the application of this technique on the rest of the BR female figurines could be profitable.

2. The application of pXRF on the figurines from Enkomi: preliminary results

This section uses Enkomi’s figurines as a case-study for the application of the portable X-Ray Fluorescence (pXRF). The aim of the application of this analytical

technique on the sample deriving from Enkomi was firstly to identify any possible imports and most importantly to explore the possibility of the different types or construction types to have been produced in different workshops and thus, different workshops to have been specialised in one of the two types or construction types. Moreover, it explores the use of different techniques undertaken for the preparation of the clay for the two construction types. The analysis is based on the identification of variations characterising the chemical composition of the clay used for the production of the figurines. It should be noted that the purpose of the application of this technique was not to identify the provenance of the clay sources since the abilities of the pXRF are limited (Ownby 2012; Shackley 2011, 2012).

The material analysed derives from Enkomi's settlement and tombs, stored in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus. A pilot case-study was undertaken due to time restrictions. Enkomi was selected due to the number of terracottas found during excavations; among the LC settlements excavated, Enkomi was the one that produced the largest amount of this group of terracottas. Thus, twenty figurines were analysed; five Type A, two hollow and three solid, thirteen Type B, nine hollow and four solid and two unidentified, one hollow and one solid. The application of the method and the statistical analysis were conducted in collaboration with Dr Andreas Charalambous (University of Cyprus). The statistical analysis was done through the use of the SPSS statistical programme.

The results from this investigation showed that the clay used for the majority of the figurines was characterised by a more or less chemically homogeneous composition with only two being the exception. The results from the macroscopical analysis of the clay used for the production of the figurines presented the same picture with only Enk._4533 (unidentifiable, solid) being the exception. All the figurines deriving from Enkomi analysed by the pXRF were characterised by grey cores and pinkish or light reddish surfaces with small amount of inclusions. Enk._4533 was characterised by the same colour of core and surface; a light pinkish colour.¹⁰ Enk._A55 (Type A, hollow) was the second example differing from the rest; macroscopically, however, the picture presented was the same with the majority of the figurines. Enk._4533 was characterised

¹⁰ Although Karageorghis (2011, 13) includes this specimen in the BR ware family, it should be noted that it presents a number of differences in its production and appearance with the BR females.

by higher levels of CaO (Calcium Oxide) and Fe₂O₃ (Iron Oxide) while Enk._A55 was characterised by a higher level of SiO₂ (Silicon Dioxide).

The clay used for the majority of the figurines probably derived from the same area. The two figurines mentioned above might have been manufactured from clay deriving from different sources and/or be products of other settlements. Also, different preparation techniques might have been applied. A chemical analysis of figurines from different sites would have been helpful in order to note differences in the clay used in the various sites and maybe observe imports. However, the abilities of this method are restricted due to the fact that it cannot characterise small components; it is restricted to the elements from titanium (Ti) to niobium (Nb), excluding important elements that could have produced more accurate results (Shackley 2012, 9-10). Thus, a second analytical technique has to be used in order to confirm the results provided by the former.

Through a statistical analysis of the results of the application of pXRF on the Enkomi material, we can see that the majority of the figurines create a single big group. However, through some minor variations this group can be divided into two sub-groups (**Fig. 3.15**). If a different more accurate analytical technique was used, this picture might have been clearer. Group A includes seven figurines; one hollow and two solid Type A, three hollow and one solid Type B. Group B includes eleven figurines; one unidentified hollow, one solid Type A, six hollow and three solid Type B.

Consequently, the majority of the Type A figurines belongs to the same group while the majority of the figurines constituting the second group consists of Type B. This could be interpreted as suggesting the existence of two different workshops, each specialising more on one type instead of the other. However, the number of the Type A figurines analysed is too small to be able to proceed to further conclusions. A larger sample needs to be analysed while the application of other techniques together with the pXRF might provide a more accurate picture. It should be noted that both groups include examples from both construction types which indicates that similar preparation techniques were undertaken for their formation.

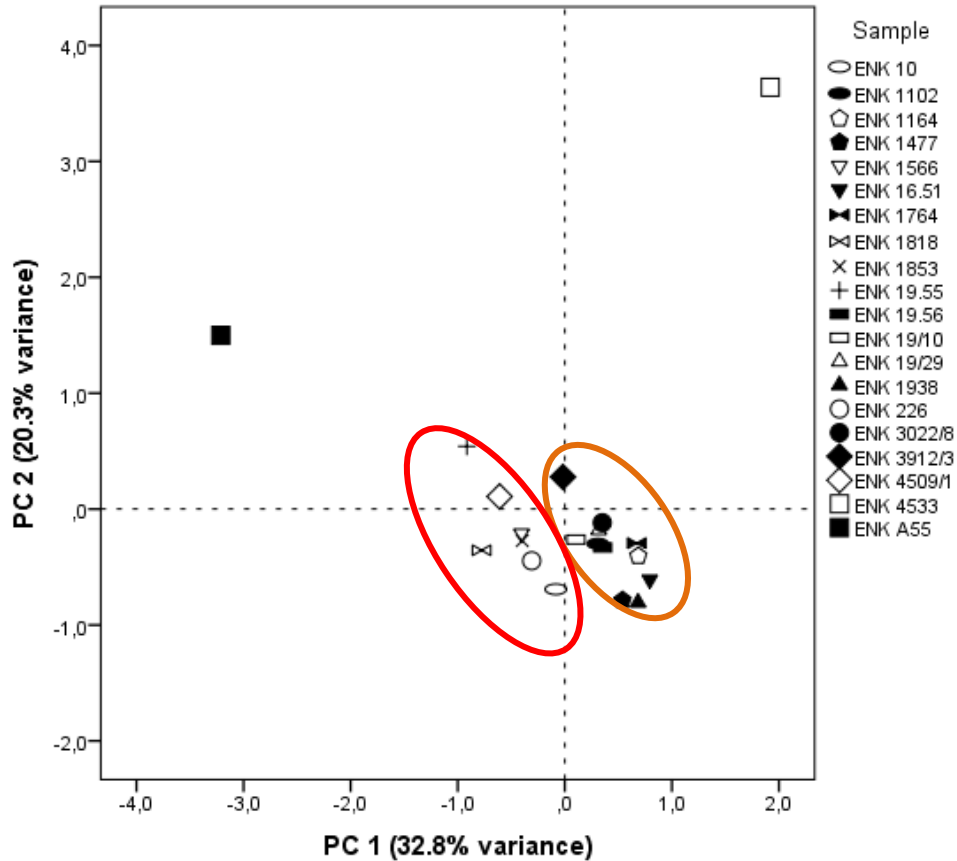


Figure 3.15: This chart shows the results from the statistical analysis conducted on the terracotta figurines from Enkomi. Two sub-groups could be distinguished (prepared by A. Charalambous).

3. Identifying the figurine-makers

From the identification of workshops and ‘analytical individuals’ through different approaches and methods, we move to the investigation of the identity of the artisans manufacturing the BR female figurines. The manufacturers of these terracottas could have been either potters, producing both pottery and figurines; a single workshop specialising in the production of these figurines distributing them all over Cyprus; or individuals with no previous or little experience in producing clay objects. The examination of this question draws on an array of sources; primary and secondary sources, experimental and replication work. Through the latter, it became obvious that some of the categories mentioned above were less likely to be candidates while only one of the categories corresponded to all the evidence. Therefore, only this option will be presented in detail here.

Gaining an impression of the difficulties encountered by the artisans during the manufacture of the terracottas (through experimentation) as well as of the level of expertise needed to produce them shed light on the figurine-makers identity. The results from the experimental work were further confirmed and complemented by other kinds of evidence. Firstly, it is highly likely that both technical ability and experience are required in order to produce them, as well as knowledge of the production procedure. Replication of especially the hollow figurines (see Introduction and Chapter II, Section 2-3 for more details on the methodology and results from the replication and experimental work) was conducted by people with no previous experience in working with clay and by people with some experience. Both groups were guided through the stages of manufacture. The former were not able to produce the figurines while the latter were more successful, indicating that a certain level of familiarity in working with clay was necessary (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*).

Additional evidence was gained through the investigation of the difficulties encountered during the figurines' manufacture. These are largely confined to fractures and breakages, the repair of which may add to the overall production time. Fractures and breaks generally appeared on joints as the clay dried or from pressure exercised on elements during assemblage. Therefore, in order to avoid the occurrence of fractures or breaks, it is important to be familiar in working with clay. It is also essential to have a good knowledge of the correct sequence of actions in joining the various parts (Alexandrou and O'Neill 2016, *in press*). Moreover, through the firing experiments, it was proven that these figurines were most probably fired in kilns. Firing ceramics in kilns requires a level of expertise and skill. Data from other sources also supported this experimentally derived evidence. For instance, the fine-grained clay used for their manufacture as well as the careful finishing of the figurines could only be done by people whose occupation was related to the manufacture of clay objects. In other words, it is improbable that the figurines could have been produced by individuals without well developed skills in working with clay.

Another important aspect in the examination of the identity of the figurine-makers is the fact that these figurines belong to an already established ceramic tradition, the BR family. As already mentioned, BR zoomorphic figurines (including: bulls and horses), bull-*rhyta*, other anthropomorphic figurines (including: miscellaneous isolated

human figures and male figures depicted together with horses and bulls) (Karageorghis 1993, 14-21) and of course pottery were produced. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that pottery and figurines were produced by the same people who were already familiar with processing and working this type of clay.

In order to confirm this assumption, a number of whole and fragmentary BR zoomorphic figurines (occasionally depicted with riders) were examined. Through this examination, the production sequences were recorded and similarities between the production procedures of the female and zoomorphic figurines and *rhyta* were noted. Secondary literature (Vaughan 1987) on BR pottery was used to note similarities between the production sequences followed for the figurines and pottery.



Figure 3.16: The handle of Enkomi 1550 bull-*rhyton* socketed into the torso.

Both zoomorphic and female figurines are produced in various parts while in the case of the hollow examples of both types, the inner side remains relatively unsmoothed during assemblage, creating weak connections. Furthermore, the legs of the hollow zoomorphic figurines, the horns of the bulls and handles of the bull-*rhyta* have one edge (or both edges in the case of the latter) socketed into the torso (**Fig. 3.16**) or head; similarly to the female figurines' arms. All groups of terracottas have two double pellets for their eyes (**Fig. 3.17**). An important similarity in the production sequences is detected in the methods used for paring. The paring marks observed on both types of figurines are identical (**Fig. 3.19**). In addition, the incised decoration seen usually on the top of the heads of the bull figurines or *rhyta* (**Fig. 3.18**) is similar to the decoration used to fill the pubic triangle; small incised lines creating some kind of 'arrow-heads' which probably denote hair.



Figure 3.17: Maroni A1269 has double pellets for the eyes.



Figure 3.18: Enkomi 1903 has incisions on the forehead forming 'arrow-heads' which probably denote hair.

Figure 3.19: Maroni A1269 has paring marking on its torso which resembles the ones seen on the female specimens.



Another significant element that seems to constitute a similarity between the hollow zoomorphic and female types is the perforations rendered on their bodies. Usually, the female hollow types have a perforation to denote the vulva and occasionally a perforation indicating the navel. The bull figurines (and not the *rhyta*) and horses are sometimes characterised by perforations on the mouth, back of the trunk where the tail is added and below the trunk (**Fig. 3.20**). One of the functions of these holes must have been related to the firing procedure. Gases would have been released through the holes during firing which would have minimised the possibility of breakage.



Figure 3.20: Maroni A1266 has a perforation on the lower part of its trunk.

Finally, the argument of the manufacture of the female and zoomorphic figurines by the same people is confirmed through the presence of human figures in association with the BR bulls and horses; these figures are extremely similar on a typological and technological level with the female terracotta figurines. Some of them are clearly identified as males from the depiction of the genitals but others are unidentifiable. A number of examples are identical to the Type B solid figurines,

produced exactly like the latter with variations in the incised and painted decoration since they usually depict a male rider (**Fig. 3.21**). Other examples seem to bear a resemblance with the infants held by the Type A figurines; the former are characterised by a pinched nose, a single pellet for the eyes while the body is formed through various pieces (**Fig. 3.22**). These elements also characterise the production of the Type A infants.



Figure 3.21: Cyprus Archaeological Museum 1979/XII-8/2 representing a horse and a male rider.



Figure 3.22: Cyprus Archaeological Museum 1935/III-1/8 representing a horse and a rider typologically similar to the Type A infants.

The formation of the BR pottery follows a number of characteristics described above for the manufacture of the figurines. For example, the formation of BR vessels is conducted through various pieces assembled together (Vaughan 1987, 58). In addition, the edges of the handles penetrate the surface reaching the inner side exactly like the method used for the assemblage of the arms of the hollow females and the legs, horns and handles of the zoomorphic figurines and *rhyta*. However, BR vessels according to Vaughan (1987, 59-65) are burnished and sometimes slipped; smoothing and scraping is done through the use of tools. Apart from the finishing techniques characterising the production of vessels, the methods used for their formation seem to follow the same principles with those used for the formation of the BR terracottas. Consequently, the list of processes taking place for the formation of the zoomorphic figurines and vessels described above also lead us to the clear conclusion that all BR ware products were manufactured by the same people; the potters.

4. The experience and role of the artisan in the figurine-making process

Through the use of comparative case-studies, this section explores the role and experience of the figurine-makers in the production of anthropomorphic figurines. Archaeological evidence deriving from first millennium Mesopotamia, Hittite Anatolia and ethnographic data from Africa is used for the investigation of this aspect. The first two areas were selected because they are geographically and chronologically closer to Cyprus and to the period under study. The evidence deriving from Africa was recorded in detail by anthropologists/ethnographers, and it provides a huge amount of information regarding the role of the figurine-makers and the rituals taking place before and during the manufacture of anthropomorphic figurines. The aim of this section is not to transfer or translate the evidence deriving from these areas directly onto the case of Cyprus but, through the careful use of analogy, to show that the making of a figurine can be a more complex procedure which might be experienced differently by the figurine-makers.

It is important to refer first to the 18th century Babylonian epic of Atrahasis (Dalley 1989, 3), where the creation of mankind is described; this bears many similarities with the rituals undertaken in Mesopotamia during the first millennium for the production of clay figurines and mainly the cult statue. According to the myth, the womb goddess after purifying herself by water, mixed the blood and flesh of the slaughtered god with clay in order to create humanity. After reciting incantations, she pinched off fourteen pieces of clay and set seven pieces on the right and seven on the left from which seven men and seven women were created (Heidel 1942, 66-67; Dalley 1989, 4, 15-17).

The processes followed for the formation of figurines and particularly the cult statue in Mesopotamia remind us those followed for the genesis of the human kind described in the Atrahasis myth. According to the texts, before clay could be used to make a figurine, the source pit had to be purified. Offerings of precious metals, stones and/or flour were put into the pit. These offerings were considered the purchase price for the clay. The clay was sometimes mixed with other ingredients such as tallow, wax, ox, blood, flour, straw mixed with excrement and urine (Petty 2006, 47-48). In the case of the formation of a representation of the cult image, human artisans were believed to act on behalf of the gods in fashioning the statues and any skill displayed was ultimately

that of specific craft deities (Lewis 2005, 88). More precisely, the approval for the very existence of the cult statue in relation to its appearance rested with the god.

Rituals for the making of the cult statue included the swearing of the craftsmen that the latter was not a product made by them but by the craft-god; the cult image is ritually established as *acheiropoietos*, ‘unmade by (human) hands’ (Dick 2005, 58-59). The artisans who worked on the statue were carefully chosen by the gods and had to be purified through rituals before they started working on its manufacture (Dick 2005, 61). The artisans appear to be guided by the divine through the whole procedure while they had to go through several rituals in order to be ready to create the cult statue which probably led to an intense experience.

In Hittite Anatolia, the artisans were also guided by the gods; nevertheless, there is no intention of disguising the fact that they were made by humans or of attributing it to the gods as was the case in Mesopotamia. The priest of the god or goddess was the one assigning the artisans (Collins 2005, 32). However, all these processes concern only the production of the cultic image. There is no reference to the procedures (if any) followed for the production of figurines that represented something different. This, though, does not exclude the possibility of a smaller scale ritual undertaken for the creation of representations of deities, spirits or ancestors or other figures used in different aspects of people’s lives, as can be illustrated through looking at ethnographically documented examples from Africa.

More precisely, the artists in Benin, Africa are believed to work closely with their divinities or ancestors when creating ritual figures. The artists must be in a state of ritual purity; this may involve sexual abstinence, bathing, or changing clothes after sexual contact. Periods of incubation and quietude alternate with intense activity (Hackett 1996, 40). In the tribe of Yoruba, carvers and other artists who make use of iron implements, had to make invocations and sacrifices to *Ogun*, the god of iron, before commencing their work. The artisans offer prayers and sacrifices to *Ogun* to ensure appeasement, safety and completion. They pour the blood of a cock as liquor and palm oil onto the shrine and on their tools. Thus, even the tools used for the formation of the figures had to be purified and blessed by the god. Anang artisans and, more precisely, carvers have a guardian spirit known as *obot uso*, a male spirit who inhabits a shrine placed in the corner of the house in which they work (Hackett 1996, 41). The

presence of the shrine in the artisan's workshop denotes the need of the artisan for divine guidance or blessing through the whole procedure.

In some tribes, it seems that the spirits dictate through dreams to the diviners (that are often the artists), artists or clients, their preferences for the choice of material, form, posture, and decoration such as wearing a beard or carrying a baby (Hackett 1996, 57). Here, as in Mesopotamia of the first millennium B.C., the form of the figurines is dictated by the deities or spirits. Furthermore, the image of the figurines connected with death, which usually represented the deceased, was revealed to the female potters through praying over a bowl of water (Hackett 1996, 171). In addition, terracotta figurines were also produced during women's rituals in the Nyau tribe. When the last day of the ceremony arrives, the girls are expected to make clay figurines. What is of particular interest here is that dances and songs were performed to each of the figurines by both the instructor and the initiate during manufacture (Hackett 1996, 110-111). Thus, through these examples it is observed that when figurines are produced, even when they are not representations of the divine, some kind of ritual or spiritual preparation on behalf of the artisan or maker was necessary.

Consequently, as the examples summarised above illustrate, the production of anthropomorphic figurines can be understood to be a more complex procedure for the artisans since they had to be spiritually prepared; they had to purify themselves and this is an element that all three case-studies appear to have in common. Another common element characterising all the case-studies is the direct or indirect way that deities, spirits or ancestors communicate the form of the figurines to the artisans. In addition, in all cases the figurine-makers (either directly or indirectly) ask for the guidance or blessing of the deities, spirits or ancestors. Moreover, in Mesopotamia the source of clay had to be purified, while in the African rituals the tools that were going to be used were blessed by the divine.

The evidence presented here derive from the texts of the first millennium Mesopotamia, Hittite Anatolia and anthropological research conducted on traditional societies in Africa. If the texts did not exist regarding the first two examples, we would have had no evidence regarding these practices. This could be the case for LBA Cyprus; the absence of written sources would have made such practices totally invisible to us. Therefore, figurine-making in LBA Cyprus might have been a more complex procedure

for the artisan, especially if the female figurines had a special meaning in the society. The purpose of this section was to show that there could be more complex stages within the production process than are archaeologically visible to us now and that if such elements were present in the case of the BR figurines, and especially the anthropomorphic forms, the whole procedure could have had a more powerful impact on the figurine-makers. This aspect was mainly explored in order to show that the experience of the figurine-makers is worth looking into. Since this thesis aims to propose a methodology for the study of figurines, the experience of the figurine-makers could not be neglected. This examination might also be fruitful for people studying figurines in other areas and/or periods of time and who have evidence concerning this matter. We tend to concentrate our research on the experience of the users and how they were using or interacting with them, forgetting that the people who made them could have had a different experience or could have interacted with them differently.

CHAPTER IV:

CONTEXTUALISING THE BASE-RING FEMALE FIGURINES

Chapter II and III were structured around the study of the life-cycle/object biography of the figurines; following this approach it was possible to explore matters related to the beginning of their existence. Chapter IV aims to follow their lives after their production; it aims to explore how they were used in people's daily lives, and finally, how they were treated towards the end of their use-life. In other words, this chapter investigates the next phase of the figurines' 'biography' or 'life-cycle'.

BR female figurines have been found all over Cyprus in three contexts: settlement, burial and ritual spaces. The context of the terracottas deriving from excavations was carefully recorded, enabling the observation of patterns regarding their exact place of discovery, assemblages, state of preservation/fragmentation and frequency of appearance of the two main types and construction types in the different contexts. Through this examination, I was also able to approach the question concerning the figurines' main context of use which seems to have 'tormented' scholars through the years.

The difficulties of studying the archaeological context of the figurines were highlighted in Chapter I. Briefly, while a few LBA settlements have been excavated none of them was excavated in their entirety. Therefore, the amount of information deriving from settlements is quite restricted. With regards to the burials containing figurines, the majority was excavated in the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century which led to the loss of important information regarding the stratigraphy, items, skeletal material etc. Only a few tombs containing this type of terracottas were excavated and recorded thoroughly. Evidence suggests that a number of them were looted or disturbed and thus, the figurines were not recovered from their original position. Lastly, only a dozen of the terracottas under study have been found in ritual spaces; of these, however, seven have been discovered in features belonging to a later period or along with material dated in later periods; two were surface finds; one lacked

stratigraphic context while the information given by the publication for the last two figurines is minimal.

In order to cope with the limited amount of data available and get the maximum of information, a methodology combining different approaches had to be employed. This methodology focuses on observing patterns regarding their use/uses in the different contexts and also on modes of discard/deposition.

1. Figurines from settlement structures (Appendix IV, Table 1)

The data collected for each of the figurines found in settlements are the following: their position in the settlement plan; whether they are located in interior or outdoor spaces; character of the room they were found; exact place/feature of discovery; associated assemblages; state of preservation at the time of their deposition and frequency of appearance of certain types in settlement structures.

Through this investigation it was possible to note concentrations of figurines in certain buildings and observe if their use was mostly connected to interior or outdoor spaces. The rest of the data regarding the figurines' context and assemblages provided information essential for the reconstruction of the different stages of their use-life and mainly their discard or the point at which the fragments entered the archaeological record. Consequently, the aim here is not only to obtain data concerning their use or function(s) but also their wider life-cycle which includes their discard/deposition. Their state of preservation was also investigated aiming to record possible fragmentation patterns and see if the method used for their assemblage had an additional purpose (see Chapter II, Section 2.1 and 3.1). The recording of the frequency of appearance of particular types in settlement structures led again to the observation of patterns.

1.1. Spatial distribution of figurines at Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios

The sites of Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios are used here as case-studies since they are the two settlements that produced the largest concentrations of figurines so far. They are also the only LC settlements that have been extensively excavated. This section examines two aspects related to the figurines' archaeological context; their position in the settlement plan and whether they occur mostly in interior

or outdoor spaces. However, it should be noted that the complete layout of these sites has not yet been revealed; consequently, evidence for concentration of figurines in other parts of the sites might come to light during future excavations.



Figure 4.1: The distribution of the BR female figurines on the site of Enkomi, excluding Area III (after Courtois *et al.* 1986, 240, Pl. XXV).

The majority of the terracottas from the site of Enkomi were discovered inside the different rooms of a single building. They were, thus, mostly found in interior rather than outdoor spaces. More precisely, 10 out of the 16 figurines recovered from this settlement were found in Area III (**Fig. 4.2**) excavated by Dikaios (1969-1971). The rest of the specimens were discovered isolated, each in a different structure (**Fig. 4.1**); two

in Quartier 3W (Courtois 1984, 76; Courtois 1984, 78), one in 3E (Courtois 1984, 77), one in 4E (Courtois 1984, 78), one in 4W or Area I (Dikaios 1969–1971, 651) and one in Quartier 5E (Courtois 1984, 77).

The building in Area III is located on the northern part of the site. From a building of defensive character, it was transformed into a building of domestic character with residential and storage facilities, copper working and cylinder seal workshops (Dikaios 1969–1971, 501–506). From this building comes the most extensive evidence for copper working and smelting on the site (Dikaios 1969–1971, 509–514). Since Enkomi was a key centre engaging in trade activities with the adjacent areas and, more precisely, exportation of copper, this building, providing the most extensive evidence for copper processing, must have been important at least for the economic life of the site.

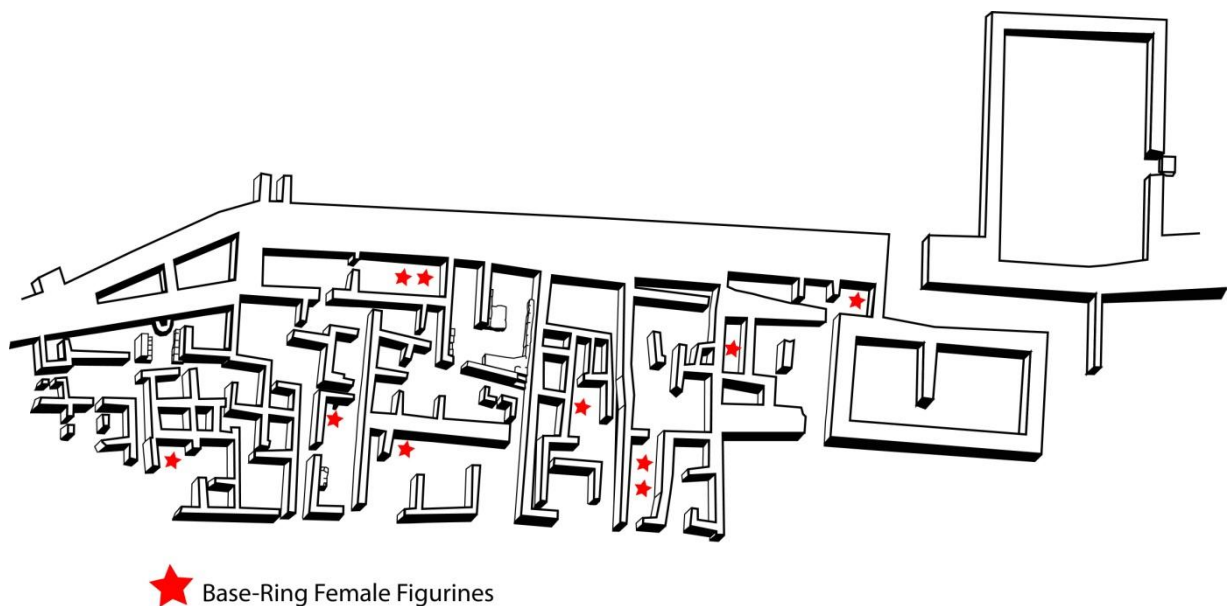


Figure 4.2: The distribution of the BR female figurines in the building of Area III of Enkomi (after Dikaios 1969-1971, Pl. 255).

Similarly to Enkomi, Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* settlement produced in total eleven figurines, the majority of which were found in or around the so-called Building X (Figs. 4.3, 4.4). More precisely, they were discovered in streets or yards surrounding Building X while one was found in the vestibule of the latter located on the south side (South 2014, pers. comm.). This structure provided little evidence for its use for residential purposes. Instead, it seems to have been used for formal or administrative purposes and it is considered to be the most important structure of the site (South 1984,

15–16). Five documents in Cypro-Minoan script have been found which strengthens the argument of an administrative function. It included also storage facilities of great capacity. In terms of the architecture it differs significantly from the other buildings excavated. For example, it uses ashlar masonry for the exterior and most important interior walls, while the latter are also thicker than those in other buildings (South 1984, 15-16). Moreover, three specimens derive from the South-East area and one from the

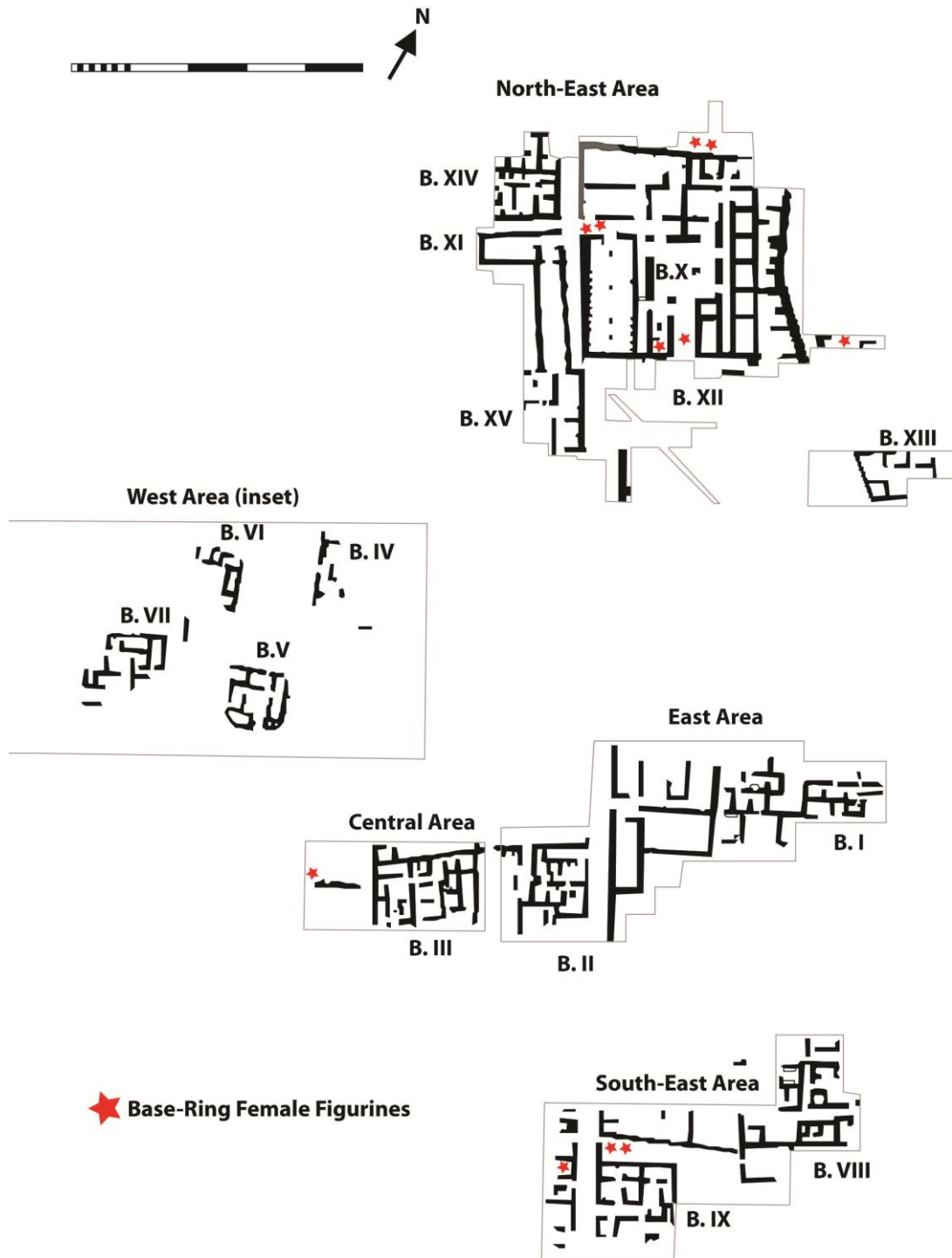


Figure 4.3: The distribution of the BR female figurines at Kalavasos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* (after South 2012, 36).

Central (South 2014, pers. comm.; **Fig. 4.3**). No figurine was found in the West area; however, it is one of the parts of the site that was not extensively excavated (South 1984, 12).

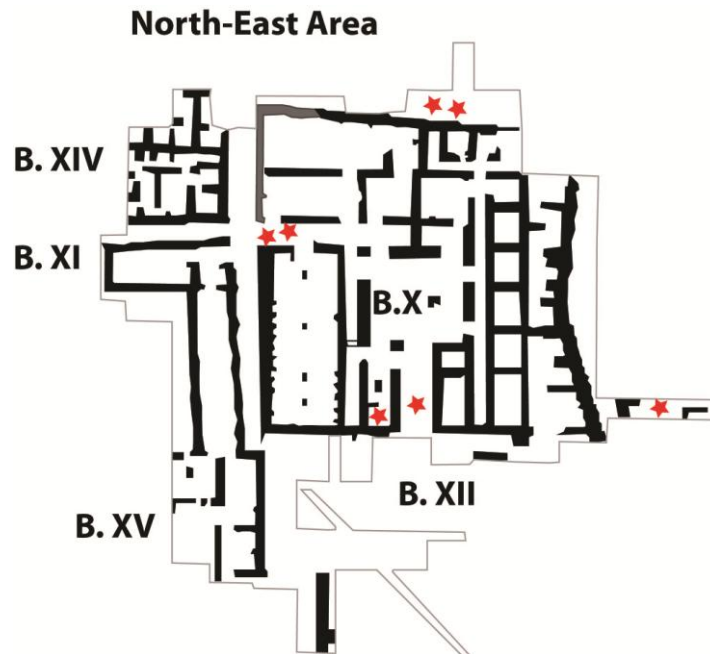


Figure 4.4: A closer look to the distribution of the BR female figurines in Building X of Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* (after South 2012, 36).

It seems that at both Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios*, the majority of the figurines are concentrated around or in buildings of key importance for the community. Although we may have concentrations of figurines in other areas of these two sites that await excavation, the appearance of significant numbers of terracottas associated with these two buildings is unlikely to be coincidental. In addition, there are no similar or comparable concentrations associated with other excavated buildings on either site. Therefore, this is strongly suggestive of a significant relationship between the figurines and the aforementioned structures and/or the users of these buildings.

The second question concerns the frequency of appearance of the figurines in outdoor or interior spaces. As we have already seen, the majority of the figurines from Enkomi were found in the interior of buildings rather than in outdoor features. On the other hand, at Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* terracottas have been discovered in mainly streets or courtyards. Regarding the rest of the settlements, almost all the figurines from Kition derive from outdoor spaces and more precisely, courtyards. The two figurines

found at the site of *Maa-Palaekastro* both derive from courtyards, while all of the *Apliki-Karamallos* figurine fragments were found in a single room within a house. The majority of the *Episkopi-Bamboula* figurines are found indoors, while it is uncertain if the *Toumba tou Skourou* specimen derives from a structure located in a courtyard or from a room. Therefore, if one takes into account the evidence deriving from all the LC settlements that produced these figurines, it seems that they occur equally in interior and outdoors spaces. However, we should always keep in mind that their find contexts might not have been their use contexts, as it will be argued further on.

1.2. Recording the context of the figurines from settlements

Nine terracotta fragments have been found on floors or almost on floors, five in debris overlying floors and 25 in features such as pits, drains, between and in fillings of floors. Unfortunately, apart from the *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* specimen (PK15 421), which was almost found complete in a settlement that has been abandoned abruptly, none of the other examples (even those found on floors) could yield certain evidence for their use as whole figurines in the contexts they have been found. However, evidence could be gained regarding their final discard or the moment the fragments entered the archaeological record and possibly for the potential use of the fragments even after they were separated from the rest of their bodies. As Tzonou-Herbst (2009, 11) noted in her study of the Mycenaean terracottas: ‘even when figurines are found in trash and away from their scenes of use, they are incarnations of the intentions of their users’. Therefore, these stages in a figurine’s use-life are considered important in the life-cycle approach since they can reveal something about the beliefs, ideas and attitudes of the society that produced and used them.

Enkomi

Starting from Enkomi, two figurines have been recovered from floors, two from debris overlying floors while nine were found in pits, between and in fillings of floors (**Table 4.1**). The context of two of the Enkomi specimens is problematic to interpret. The stratigraphic evidence in Enk._1102’s room of discovery ‘shows confusion’ according to the excavator (Dikaios 1969–1971, 140). On the other hand, Enk._3022 was found between floors III and I (Dikaios 1969–1971: 746) in room 71 which had a

domestic character. The latter was recovered along with a sling bullet, a terracotta loom-weight and a terracotta spindle-whorl (Dikaios 1969–1971, 142).

Enk._4509/1 was discovered in Area III almost on the floor of a room (77) connected with copper working and smelting (Dikaios 1969-1971, 39, 636). The only item found on the same floor was a terracotta loom-weight (Dikaios 1969-1971, 635). The second figurine was again discovered in Area III (Dikaios 1969-1971, 687), on the floor of a room (49) probably connected with domestic activities; Enk._1566 was recovered along with sherds and a stone bead (Dikaios 1969-1971, 101, 686).

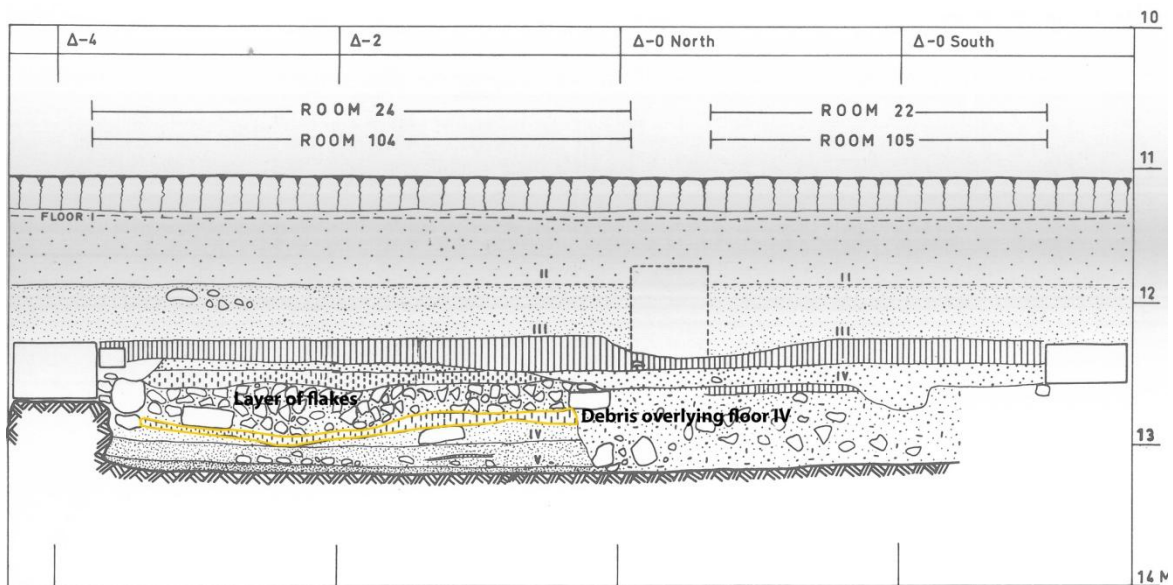


Figure 4.5: Section showing the stratigraphy of room 104, Area I of Enkomi where Enk._1938 was found (Dikaios 1969-1971, Pl. 281).

Enk._1938 was found in Area I (room 104) in the debris overlying a floor (Dikaios 1969-1971, 651); above the debris there was a layer of flakes of stones for the creation of the so-called Ashlar Building (**Fig. 4.5**). The debris consisted of a terracotta spindle-whorl (Dikaios 1969-1971, 651), a hematite weight (Dikaios 1969-1971, 655), a fragment of an alabaster vessel (Dikaios 1969-1971, 670) and a Plain hand-made sherd with a relief pattern (Dikaios 1969-1971, 563). On the floor of the room, pottery, loom-weights and spindle-whorls were found; thus, this room had probably a domestic character (Dikaios 1969-1971, 108).

In addition, Enk._1164 came from the debris overlying the floor (Dikaios 1969-1971, 678) of a room (55) connected with metalworking since a crucible with slag was

found on the floor (Dikaios 1969-1971, 118). The terracotta was recovered with no associated assemblages.

Two specimens from the French excavations of Enkomi were recovered from pits. It should be noted that the field-notes of the French Mission were studied personally since no information was given concerning the terracottas' exact context in the publication. Nevertheless, due to the state of the field-notes, I was able to record the exact context of only two figurines;¹¹ Enk._10 (Quartier 3E) and Enk._16.51 (Quartier 5E) which as mentioned, they were discovered in pits. The excavator comments that there is no apparent stratification in the pit in which the former was found. The pit contained pottery of both the LBA but 'mostly Iron Age I' (field notes of the French Mission, Collège de France). The finds associated with the second specimen are not known. It seems, however, that these two figurines were discarded in pits towards the end of their lives without receiving any special treatment.

There are some examples, however, that could present a different picture and possibly a different attitude towards the end of the figurines' use-life. Enk._1818 was recovered from a deposit immediately below floor IV of room 13a that contained at least two pits and probably a cistern. In the exact place of the figurine's discovery nothing else was found. However, just across the room, in the opposite corner, a cooking pot filled with earth and bones was discovered at the same level (Dikaios 1969–1971, 38). The pot was recovered mostly complete (Dikaios 1969–1971, Pl. 60. no.31). Another item found on the same level was a spindle-whorl (Dikaios 1969–1971, 633).

The figurine seems to have been deposited there by the people who constructed floor IV since it constituted part of its make-up. During this period, the building of Area III underwent significant changes in its architecture and function (Dikaios 1969–1971, 501–506). There are reasons, however, to believe that this figurine was not used as construction material. The placement of the terracotta and the pot filled with bones in such a way was previously interpreted by the scholars as part of a foundation ritual (Dikaios 1969–1971, 38; Begg 1991, 21). The absence of fragments of pottery, stone tools or any other broken objects that could have constituted part of the construction

¹¹ The archaeological context of the remaining three figurines found by the French mission remains unknown.

material was used to support this argument (Begg 1991, 21). Moreover, the fact that the figurine is preserved almost in its entirety lacking only its head could also be indicative of a more purposeful deposition.

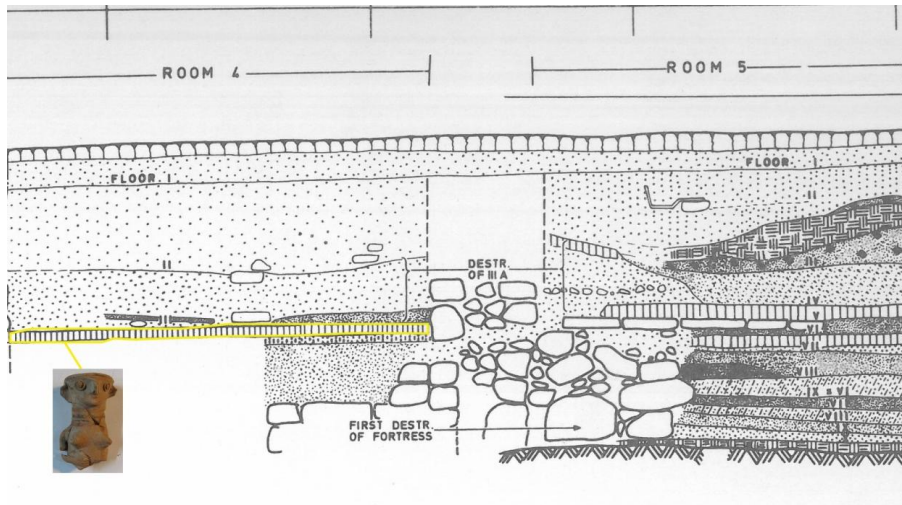


Figure 4.6: Section showing the stratigraphy of Room 4. The place of Enk._1764's discovery is noted (Dikaios 1969-1971, Pl. 259).

Another specimen that presents similarities in its mode of deposition with the aforementioned example is Enk._1764, which was found in the fill above the floor of a courtyard in Area III (Dikaios 1969–1971, 648; **Fig. 4.6**). The courtyard was replaced by room 4 which contained grinding equipment, pits and a hearth (Dikaios 1969–1971, 104–105). Similarly to Enk._1818, this figurine was found isolated from any other material while it was deposited below a floor. However, in contrast to Enk._1818 this specimen lacks its pelvis and legs (the state of preservation of the figurines is discussed further below).

A slightly different case is presented by Enk._1853 which was found directly on the bedrock of an open space (Dikaios 1969–1971, 650) without any associated material. The bedrock was covered by a thick layer of slag which was discarded there from the workshops of the building in Area III. Above this layer, Casemate 65 was erected in a later stage (Dikaios 1969–1971, 124). Nevertheless, the fact that this figurine was found alone on the bedrock with no building activities taking place immediately after its disposal might be indicative of slightly different picture from the figurines above.

This site produced two additional figurines (Enk._1477 and Enk._3912/3-4) that might point to a more ritualised burial deposition. Interestingly, both figurines were found in the same room (42, Area III), between floors. The room had a domestic

character and it seems to have retained this character throughout the different reconstruction stages (Dikaios 1969–1971, 120, 138). Enk._1477 was found between floors III and II while Enk._3912/3-4 was discovered between floors II and I. Enk._1477 was recovered from the layer between the two floors; directly on this layer the new floor was laid (Dikaios 1969–1971, 684). Along with the figurine, two beads were discovered (Dikaios 1969–1971, 688).

Similarly, Enk._3912/3-4 was recovered from the layer between the two floors along with a LH IIIB cup, a stone grinder and a terracotta loom-weight; all surviving almost whole. The LH IIIB cup is considered to have been an heirloom by the time of its disposal (Dikaios 1969–1971, 138, 743, 751). According to the excavator, these items were found in Level IIIB which dates back to LC IIIA:2–IIIB (1190-1100 B.C.) (Dikaios 1969–1971, 496). The fact that the cup was deposited almost whole and was not broken strongly suggests that these items were not used as construction material. While it is not possible to reconstruct the exact circumstances and intent behind this deposit, one could speculate that the deposition of an heirloom might have come as a consequence of its owner's death. The fact that it was not thrown as waste or broken shows respect towards the item and possibly towards its user. The figurine found with this heirloom might have belonged to the same owner. Nonetheless, the terracotta was found in a very fragmentary state.

Inv.No.	Type	State of preservation	Area/Level	Date	Room/Feature of discovery	Assemblages
Enk._4509	Type A, solid	Only torso survives.	Area III, Level IIA	LCIIA – IIB	Room 77, almost on floor VIII: connected with metalworking.	Terracotta loom-weight.
Enk._1566	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Area III, Level IIIA	LCIIIA:1	Room 49, floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	Various sherds and a stone bead.

Chapter IV: Contextualising the Base-Ring Female Figurines

Enk._1938	Type B, solid	Only legs survive.	Area I, Level IIB	LCIIC	Room 104, in the debris overlying floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	Terracotta spindle-whorl, fragments of an alabaster vessel, plain hand-made sherd.
Enk._1164	Type B, hollow	Only head survives.	Area III, Level IIIA	LCIIIA:1	Room 55, in debris overlying floor III: connected with metalworking.	No associated assemblages.
Enk._1102	Type B, solid	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Area III, Level IIIB	LCIIIA–IIIB	Room 4: confusion of stratigraphy.	No clear assemblages.
Enk._3022	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower legs survive.	Area III, Level IIIB	LCIIIA:2–LCIIIB	Room 71, between floors III and I.	Sling bullet; terracotta loom-weight; terracotta spindle-whorl.
Enk._10	Type A, solid	Only neck/head and upper torso survive.	Quartier 3E	Unknown	Locus I, in a pit.	LC but mostly Iron Age sherds.
Enk._16.51	Type B, solid	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Quartier 5E	Unknown	Locus 14, in the 'eastern pit'.	Unknown
Enk._1818	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the head.	Area III, Level IIA	LCIIA–IIB	Room 13a, in a deposit immediately below floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	A bowl filled with earth and bones was found in the opposite corner and a spindle-whorl.
Enk._1764	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Area III, Level IIB	LCIIC–IIIA:1	In the fill above the floor of a courtyard (Level IIB) which was	No associated assemblages.

					turned into Room 4/floor III (Level IIIA): connected with domestic activities.	
Enk._1853	Type B, solid	Only lower torso and upper legs survive.	Area III, Early Level IIB	LCIIC	On the bedrock of an open space covered by a layer of slag.	No associated assemblages.
Enk._1477	Type B, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the head.	Area III, Level IIIA	LCIIIA:1	Room 42, between floors III and II: connected with domestic activities.	Two beads.
Enk._3912/ 3-4	Type B, hollow	Only two pieces of the legs/pelvis survive.	Area III, Level IIB	LCIIIA:2– IIB	Room 42, between floors II and I: connected with domestic activities.	LH IIIB cup; stone grinder; terracotta loom-weight.

Table 4.1: This table summarises the evidence regarding the archaeological context of the figurines from Enkomi.

Pyla-Kokkinokremos

PK15 421 could be the only example that yields evidence regarding the character of the room in which a whole figurine might have been used since it survives almost in its entirety (its state of preservation is discussed fully below). The fact that *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* was abandoned suddenly has left the site frozen at a particular time. This might also be the reason that the BR female figurine was found almost whole since its life-cycle was probably cut short.

Sherds of this figurine were unearthed in Room 3 and Room 8 which are connected with a door opening. Most of the figurine was found in Room 3, Layer 00122 (on top of the bedrock/floor 00128) during the 2015 campaign of the Greek-Belgian mission. This room yielded five vases, a weight, fragments of two alabaster vases and a lead object. According to the excavator, the figurine was discovered underneath the

sherds of other vases together with the fragments of one of the alabaster vases. Some additional sherds of the figurine were unearthed in Room 8, just to the south of Room 3, in Layer 00127 (on top of Floor 00131). Other objects and ceramics assigned to Room 8 are a large black vase, some stone objects, a krater in Pictorial style and a small pithos. Room 3 and Room 8 (more precisely, locus 00074) could, however, be disturbed since the area had to be dug up in order for an electricity cable to be installed (Bretschneider 2016, pers.comm.). According to the excavator, the British who installed the cable dug up the area with a bulldozer and then covered it with the soil that had been removed. Some of the pieces of the terracotta, however, seem to have been found *in situ* (Bretschneider 2016, pers.comm.). The exact character of Room 3 and 8 is unknown yet but it seems that they were surrounded by storage spaces and spaces dedicated to settlement activities such as small scale processing of copper (Bretschneider 2016, pers.comm.).

Kition

In addition, two figurines from Kition (Kit._365 and Kit._312) were found on floors of most probably courtyards. Kit._365 was discovered in room 44. This room was interpreted as having a close relationship with its adjacent room; room 41. The latter presented evidence for copper working and smelting. The argument of a connection between the two rooms is strengthened by the existence of a well located on the western side of room 44 which could have been used for the work undertaken in room 41 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 7-8).

However, the character of the assemblages does not seem to be compatible with room 41's function. Of course, we should keep in mind that the place of their discovery might not have been their place of use. The figurine was found along with the head and part of the neck of a LH terracotta horned quadruped; imported and local pottery, among them fragments of LH IIIA:2-LH IIIB kraters (some were parts of amphoroid or bell kraters) with painted decoration; a cylinder seal of grey steatite; a bronze pendant, a fragment of glazed ware; a rubber of dark grey, very highly vesicular lava; and a fragment of a faience bowl with blue enamelled surface inside and out and with the interior decorated in matt black paint with parallel chevrons (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 5-6). It should be noted that the figurine was found close to the zoomorphic terracotta (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, Pl. 8; **Fig. 4.7**). All these objects could be

characterised as exotic. According to the excavators, the building in Area I, floor IV of Kition was the residence of a metalworker which combined both copper workshops and residential spaces. The transition to floor IIIA saw the abandonment of the workshops (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 10). The state of preservation of the female and zoomorphic figurine and their close proximity could argue that even though fragmentary, these heads might have served a specific purpose after they became detached from the rest of their bodies.

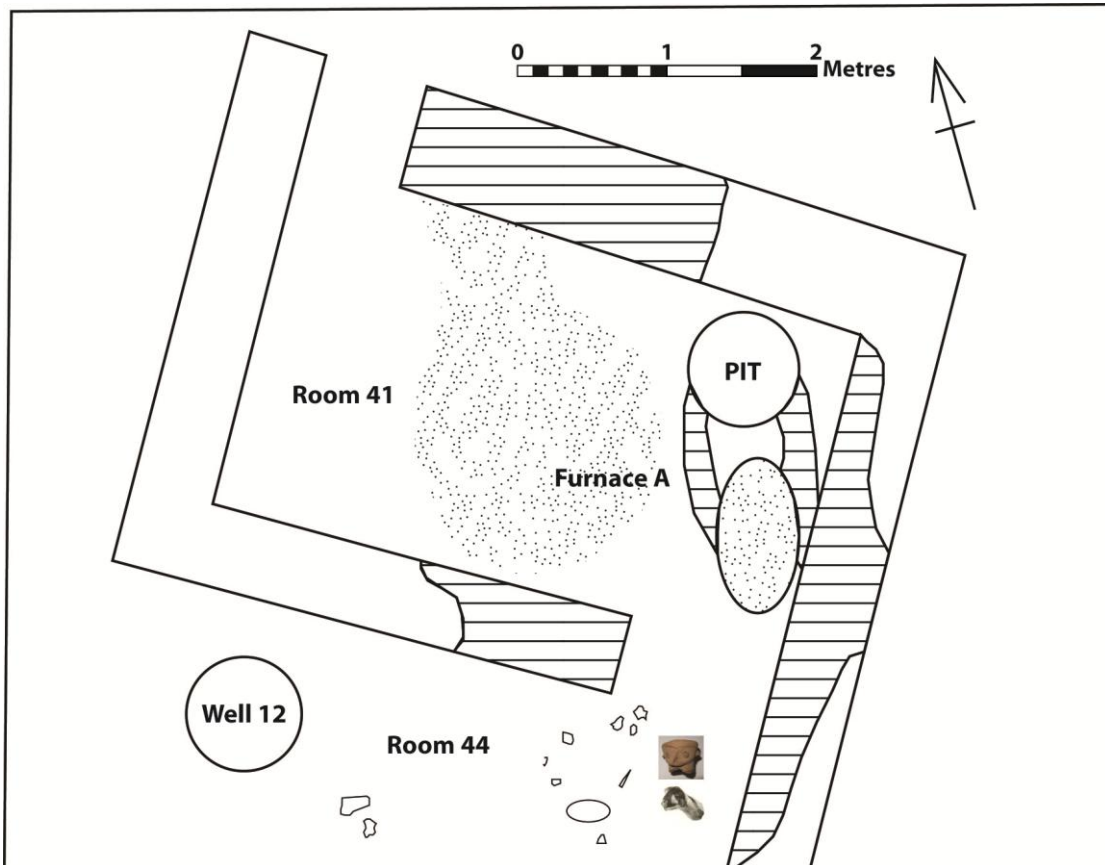


Figure 4.7: A plan of room 41 and 44 of Area I of Kition. The position of the BR female figurine and the LH quadruped is noted along with the rest of the small finds (after Karageorghis and Demas 1985, Pl. 8).

Kit._312 is the second example from Kition that was found on the floor of a courtyard (room 43a). Although its adjacent room (43) was interpreted as having a direct relationship with room 39, where a furnace for the smelting of copper was discovered (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 8), room 43a's location makes it unlikely to have been connected with the latter since it is further away without any access to the room. Room 43 is located on the eastern side of room 39 while room 43a is located on the southern side of room 43 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, Pl. 5). Room 43's and 43a's assemblages were published together without distinguishing the items belonging

to each room. From the description of the architectural remains, the excavators note that among the objects found with the figurine, there were three terracotta loom-weights (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 4). From the plan, where the small finds are noted, a fragment of a Plain White Wheel-made ware with a Cypro-Minoan sign inscribed after firing, a fragment of a BR jug and sherds of LH IIIB, Plain White Wheel-made and Coarse ware are added to the list of items found in room 43a. The figurine is located very close to one of the loom-weights and the inscribed handle while the other items are located further to the south of the room (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, Pl. 5).

Kit._552 was found between the two floors of a room that changed character during the transition from one floor to the other. From a room connected with metallurgical activities, it was turned into a domestic space that had no connection with copper processing. The new floor was built immediately after the abandonment of the previous floor (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 6-7, 11); between the two floors, there were a number of sherds and the legs of a seated Type B figurine (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 12-13). Kit._742/1 was also found between the floors of a room of an unknown function that was turned into a courtyard (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 18-19). The figurine was discovered with sherds and a bead of fine grained grey steatite (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 52). It seems that both specimens were discarded and along with the sherds were used as preparation material for the construction of the new floor (**Table 4.2**).

Inv.No.	Type	State of preservation	Area/Level	Date	Room/Feature of discovery	Assemblages
Kit._365	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Area I/ Floor IV	LCIIC-III A	Room 44, on floor: possibly connected with metalworking.	A head and part of the neck of a LH terracotta bovine; imported and local pottery; a cylinder seal; a bronze pendant; a fragment of glazed ware; a rubber; and a fragment of a faience bowl.

Kit._312	Type A, solid	Survives almost in its entirety-lacks only the neck/head.	Area I/ Floor IV	LCIIC-III A	Room 43a, on floor: connected with domestic activities.	Loom-weights and sherds.
Kit._552	Type B, solid	Only legs survive.	Area I, Floor IV-III A	LCIIC-III A	Room 40, between floors IV and IIIA: the former was connected with copper processing while the latter was related to domestic activities.	Sherds.
Kit._742 /1	Type B, hollow	Only front part of the face survives.	Area I, Floor II-I	LCIIIA-III B	Room 15, between floors II and I: the former was a room of an unknown function while the latter was a courtyard.	Sherds.

Table 4.2: This table summarises the evidence regarding the archaeological context of the figurines found in Area I of Kition.

Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios

This site produced 11 specimens in total (**Table 4.3**). One was a surface find (K-AD 524) while another example was probably found in a level belonging to a later period (K-AD 2226) (South 2014, pers.comm.). The context of K-AD 561, 562 and 1465 is more problematic to interpret. K-AD 561 was found below the bulldozed surface and above the uppermost floor in the western extent of a yard/street/garden close to the threshold. Its assemblages comprised a huge quantity of sherds, small stones, slag lumps, a bronze pin and a scrap of metal sheet. In the western edge of the aforementioned yard another figurine was discovered (K-AD 562). However, it is unclear if it was recovered from a floor; its assemblages comprised a large amount of sherds, a bronze fragment and a nearly complete LH stirrup jar with an incised sign (South 2014, pers. comm.). It should be mentioned that these figurines were discovered in a feature of a building (B.IX) possibly related with metallurgical activities (South

1984, 14). Lastly, K-AD 1465 was found in the collapse material of a building above the level of the street's floor. Twenty-three sherds comprised its associated assemblages (South 2014, pers. comm.). Consequently, this figurine was not deposited, used or discarded in the place where it was found.

K-AD 2093 from Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* was found in a rectangular pit located in a street of Building X; the pit was filled with a pierced cooking ware sherd, a LH stirrup jar and other various sherds. K-AD 2266 was found in a feature that was interpreted as a pottery dump while K-AD 2264 was recovered from the fill of a drain along with a large number of sherds. K-AD 202 was discovered in the fill of the floor of a room of an unknown function; its assemblages comprised a stone spindle-whorl, a stone with depression, a wall-bracket and a significant number of sherds (South 2014, pers. comm.).

K-AD 2096 was not discovered in a fill or in a dump, but it seems to have had the same treatment as the rest of the Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* figurines towards the end of its use-life. This example was found in the material from the removal of 'floor' level belonging to the vestibule of Building X. It was recovered along with 24 sherds (South 2014, pers. comm.). It seems that this figurine was discarded or removed along with the rest of the floor's material without receiving any special treatment.

Inv.No.	Type	State of preservation	Area/ Level	Date	Room/ Feature of discovery	Assemblages
K-AD 524	Type A, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Central Area	Unknown	Surface find.	Unknown.
K-AD 2226	Type B, hollow	Only part of the back of the head survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIII– Archaic (?)	In a level belonging to a later period (?).	LC sherds.
K-AD 1145	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower leg survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIIC	In a trial trench, north of Building X.	Sherds and a metal sample.

K-AD 2266	Type B, hollow	Only upper legs survive.	North-East Area (Building X)	Probably LCIIC	Pottery dump.	Sherds.
K-AD 2264	Unidentified, hollow	Only upper part of the torso survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIIB–IIC	In the fill of a drain.	Sherds.
K-AD 202	Type B, hollow	Only upper right part of the torso survives.	South-East Area (West Complex)	LCIIC	In the fill of the floor of a room of an unknown function.	Stone spindle-whorl; stone with depression; wall bracket; sherds.
K-AD 2093	Type A, hollow	Only upper left part of the torso survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIIB into LCIIC	In the fill of a pit located in a street.	Sherds.
K-AD 2096	Type B, hollow	Only back part of the head survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIIB into LCIIC	In the material of ‘floor’ removal of the vestibule.	Sherds.
K-AD 561	Type B, hollow	Only lower part of the legs survives.	South-East Area (Between Building IX and North Complex)	LCIIC	Below the bulldozed surface and above the uppermost floor in the western extend of a yard/street.	Sherds; slag lumps; bronze pin; scrap of metal sheet.
K-AD 562	Type B, solid	Only head survives.	South-East Area (Between Building IX and North Complex)	LCIIC	Western edge of the yard/street; unclear if it was found on floor.	Sherds and a bronze fragment.

K-AD 1465	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower leg survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LCIIC	Building collapse above a street.	Sherds.
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Table 4.3: This table summarises the evidence regarding the archaeological context of the figurines found at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*.

Episkopi-Bamboula

Two figurines (Episk.Bamb._B1565 and Episk.Bamb._B1566) were discovered in the so-called ‘cellar’ (Trench 16) at *Episkopi-Bamboula*; the excavator, however, mentions that ‘plunderers preceded them to the cellar but there was no indication that much was removed and no intrusive material was found’ (Benson 1969, 20-21). On the floor of the room there were bowls, jugs, amphoriskoi, cooking pots, pithoi of both local and imported ware, the head of a BR bull figurine, the left leg and neck fragment of a LH bovine figurine, two fragments of bronze, a faience fragment with yellow design, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, fragments of a bath larnax, a tripod bowl, a stone bowl and a crucible fragment (Weinberg 1983, 34-35). The publication does not clarify where exactly these figurines were found on the floor of the ‘cellar’.

Episkopi-Bamboula B1567 (Area A, Stratum F1) was probably found on a floor but nothing is mentioned about its exact location in the publication (Benson 1972, 136; Weinberg 1983, 26-27). The remaining figurine from this site (B1562) was discovered in the fill of a floor with a lot of sherds, a pestle, a bronze needle and many other items that are not specified in the publication (Weinberg 1983, 32).

Maa-Palaekastro

One specimen (unidentified, solid: preserves only its torso) from *Maa-Palaekastro* was discovered in the debris overlying floor II of Courtyard B, Area I (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 243). The debris contained a fragment of Canaanite jar with Cypro-Minoan sign engraved after firing, a second handle of a Canaanite jar with two transversal lines engraved after firing and a number of sherds (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 164).

The second specimen coming from Maa was discovered in the fill of a pit in Courtyard A, Area I. However, its associated assemblages are not known since the

excavators do not specify from which pit it was recovered (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 233-234).

Apliki-Karamallos

The *Apliki-Karamallos* figurine fragments (Apl.Kar._12.8: two solid Type B heads and two body parts) were discovered swept on the floor of Room 8 in House A. Room 8 seems to have had a domestic character, while processing of bronze items might also have taken place there. Interestingly, these figurines were discovered together with fragments of BR zoomorphic figurines (legs and horns), slag, a polisher and maybe a steatite cylinder and a stone rubber (Du Plat Taylor 1952, 142). The latter, according to the new investigations of the material deriving from this site, might not have belonged to this floor (Kling and Muhly 2007, 36-37, 310).

Toumba tou Skourou

Finally, the figurine found at Toumba tou Skourou (TC99) presents an interesting picture. The head of a female figurine and the upper part of a bull's head were found between the row of curbstones which constituted the first phase of House D and the walls of the second phase. According to the excavator, it is not clear if the row of curbstones was simply a boundary line or marked the edge of a road. The walls of the later phase of the house were erected on these squared well-cut curbstones (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 143–144). The deposition of the heads of the two figurines between the level of curbstones and the later walls of House D might again offer evidence for a more ritualised deposition. It should be mentioned that the figurines seem to have belonged to the second phase of the house rather than the first since the first phase predates the production and use of this terracotta type.

1.3.Assemblages

The assemblages of the terracottas merit closer examination since they can reveal patterns. The figurines seem to appear with an array of objects. Nonetheless, we should keep in mind that the figurine assemblages as recovered archaeologically may not represent their assemblages while in their main stages of use.

Although loom-weights and spindle-whorls are two of the commonest assemblages of the BR female figurines, their number is still too small to interpret this as a pattern. In addition, it should be kept in mind that the loom-weights at least are one of the commonest finds in settlement structures since they could be used in various activities.

Nonetheless, the appearance of the female figurines along with zoomorphic terracottas was explored more closely. In five cases the female figurines had as one of their associated assemblages a zoomorphic terracotta; Kit._365, Apl.Kar._A12.8, TC99, Episk.Bamb._B1565 and B1566 (as one case) and Hal.S._N215. These specimens were not only found along with the zoomorphic figurines but in four cases (Kition, Apliki-*Karamallos*, Toumba tou Skourou and Hala Sultan Tekke) they were also discovered in close proximity with them.

The close proximity of the two groups of figurines is not the only characteristic they have in common. Although from the Apliki-*Karamallos* zoomorphic figurine survive only the legs and horns, from Kition and Toumba tou Skourou we have only the necks/heads of the zoomorphic figurines, as it is the case with their female counterparts. An additional specimen was recovered recently from a trial trench (14B) at Hala Sultan Tekke; the head of a female figurine was discovered along with the neck/head of a LH IIIA–IIIB horse (Fischer and Bürge 2014, 77). Another pattern observed through this investigation is that all female figurines discovered along with zoomorphic specimens are of Type B. Could the Type B figurines' character be more suitable for their use/deposition with the zoomorphic figurines? Thus, these five examples of female figurines appearing with zoomorphic specimens might provide evidence for a connection between the two types of terracottas and maybe a common use. Nevertheless, a common use cannot be suggested, so far, from the time these specimens were whole.

In addition, the two examples from Apliki-*Karamallos* and Kition have been found in a room connected to metalworking. One could argue that the appearance of horned quadrupeds with the BR female figurines in rooms related to copper processing might be suggestive of a connection with the cult of Hathor. It was previously argued

that the rendering of the Type B figurines' ears similarly to those of the bulls¹² and the appearance of the female figurines in rooms connected with metalworking showed possibly elements associated with the cult of Hathor (Knox 2012, 180). One of Hathor's qualities was indeed that of the protectress of copper mining and copper processing, thus, the name 'Lady of Turquoise' (Peltenburg 2007, 383). Peltenburg (2007, 386) argues for an equation of Egyptian faience bowls, copper and the cult of Hathor. He concludes that the popularity of faience bowls in Cyprus might have shown

'an awareness on behalf of the people engaged in copper industry of the benefits of invoking Hathor for the prosperity of copper mining operations' (Peltenburg 2007, 386).

As already mentioned, the appearance of the female figurines in some instances in or in close proximity to rooms associated with copper processing led people to connect these terracottas with an 'Hathor-like' cult (Knox 2012, 180). The presence of terracotta bovines with them might provide additional support to this argument. However, the occurrence of zoomorphic and female terracotta heads in rooms associated with other settlement activities could argue for a significant connection between the two types of figurines and not only a connection between them and copper processing. Also, the presence of the female figurine with the horse at Hala Sultan Tekke shows that their appearance with zoomorphic figurines is not restricted to bovines. In other words, the argument in favour of a connection between these figurines and an 'Hathor-like' cult becomes weaker if we take into consideration that these terracottas occur also in spaces that are not related to metallurgical activities; that female and bull figurines appear together in rooms related to various domestic activities and that female specimens could occur with other types of zoomorphic terracottas such as horses.

1.4.State of preservation/Fragmentation patterns

The investigation conducted in Chapter II led to the observation that their method of construction (i.e. in various parts assembled together) added to the fragility of these terracottas. Also, the method used for the assemblage of the different parts

¹² As already mentioned the rendering of the Type B ears is quite simple – they are flattened pieces of clay folded in the middle. We should not be surprised that the two types of figurines have the same shape of ears since they were most probably made by the same people, as argued in Chapter III, Section 3. Also, horses have the same shape of ears. This shape is not restricted to bulls.

constituting the figurines produced weak connections, especially with regards to the hollow specimens. Studies examining the manufacture of terracotta figurines from other regions have shown that the production in various parts and their assemblage through weak connections might have been used in order to facilitate breakage of the figurines in some stage of their lives (Talalay 1987, 163; Chapman 2000, 70; Georghiu 2010, 65; Naumov 2014). This section aims to record possible patterns in the fragmentation of the terracottas, deriving mainly from settlements, and thus, observe if there could be additional motivations behind this mode of construction.

Twenty out of the 51 figurines (the state of preservation of four examples is not known) recovered from settlements preserve only their necks/heads; seven have their heads/necks with parts of their torso. Seven figurines preserve only their torso while two preserve their torso and parts of their pelvis and legs. Three specimens survive almost in their entirety, lacking only their necks/heads. One survives almost whole lacking only parts of the head/face. Ten have only their legs and sometimes their legs and parts of the pelvis while only the infant of one specimen survives (**Fig. 4.8**). These results could suggest that a certain part of the figurines' body received a different treatment or followed a different life-cycle which might also be suggestive of a deliberate breakage. It seems that the majority of the fragments come from the area of the neck/head. However, I acknowledge that the number of figurines providing such evidence is quite restricted and more definite conclusions should be drawn after the collection of additional data deriving from future excavations.

One explanation for the fragmentary state of the figurines found in settlements might be connected with post-depositional processes and activities. In this case, however, we would have expected to find the rest of the parts of the terracottas. Only the parts of one example were recovered in a very fragmentary state at the same level lacking the head (Enk._1477). The absence of the missing parts as well as the dominance of the necks/heads constituting more than half of the material might call this theory into question.

Where are the missing parts though? This question puzzles scholars engaged with the fragmentation of items. Chapman (2000, 54) provides a number of reasons why the missing parts have not been traced in well excavated and documented sites. Firstly, they might have been recycled for grog temper or in manure; they might have been

incorporated in unexcavated parts of the settlement or they might have been removed deliberately off-site. Since none of the LC settlements have been excavated in their entirety, we cannot exclude the possibility of the missing parts having been deposited elsewhere in the settlements. If we, however, use as case-studies the sites of Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, it seems that the missing parts have not been deposited in the same building or in the wider area excavated; no refitting between fragments could be made. If the first two options, involving recycling, took place, then, it is interesting to see that they are keeping mostly the necks/heads. Regarding the last option, no refitting study has been conducted between the different sites.

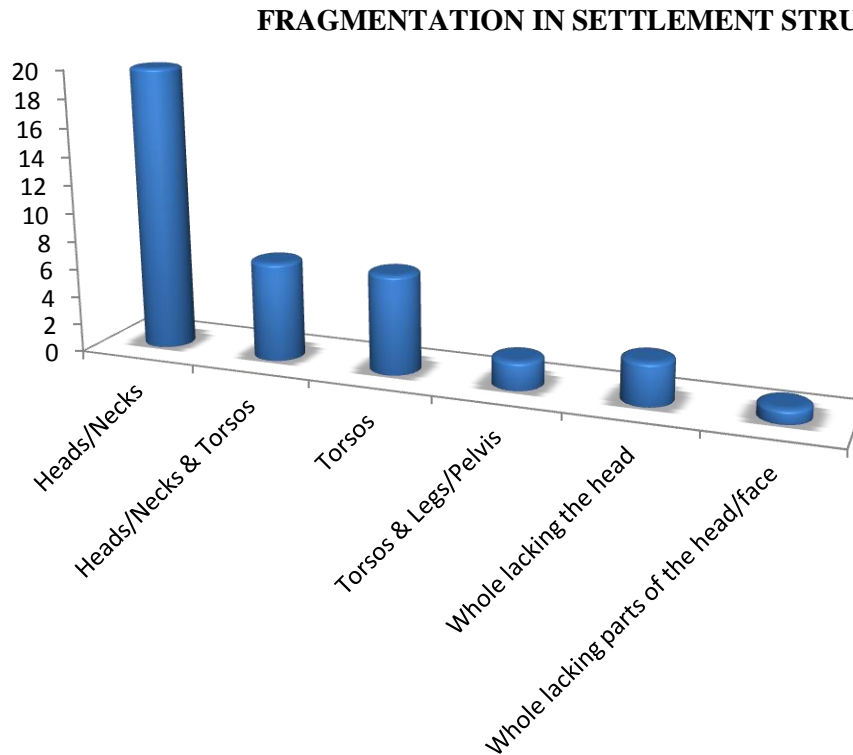


Figure 4.8: This chart presents the fragmentation of figurines deriving from domestic structures all around the island.

What is the evidence, though, that could possibly indicate that heads followed a different life-cycle or received a different treatment? Firstly, it seems to be rare for figurines to preserve their heads and other parts of their body. Secondly, the fact that the heads were rarely broken in further parts as is sometimes the case with the legs and torsos might also be suggestive of a deliberate choice (Chapman and Gaydarska 2006,

136). Also, when they survive almost in their entirety, they mostly lack the head. The only specimen that was found almost whole with pieces of the head surviving was the *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* example (PK15 421). As already mentioned, this site was abruptly abandoned and could give us the best evidence for the use and life-cycle of these figurines. This specimen was found very fragmented which might be due to the excavations of the British for the installation of an electricity cable. The fact, however, that most of its pieces were found is significant. The life-cycle of the figurine seems to have been cut short. It seems that its use-period was not so long in order to have become fragmented. This, however, does not overrule the possibility that this figurine did not also reach the point of its life-cycle where the head might have received a different treatment (which could have happened after it was broken).

One could also argue that the percentage of recognition, during excavations, is higher when it comes to fragments of the head. Nonetheless, we should keep in mind that these numbers do not derive from a single settlement but from the excavations conducted all around the island. Also, people tend to be very careful during excavations when it comes to items such as figurines. It is possible that some pieces might have been identified as pottery but the percentages should not be high since fragments of this group of terracottas can be easily recognised.

Although there is no significant difference in the final deposition of the heads and the other parts, there are some examples that could argue in favour of a different life-cycle for the head. As already mentioned, at Kition, Toumba tou Skourou and Hala Sultan Tekke, the heads of the female figurines were discovered in close proximity with parts of the heads of zoomorphic terracottas. The appearance of female and zoomorphic heads in all four cases and their exact context could argue that the preservation of this part of the terracottas is not coincidental.

The picture provided by the figurines mentioned above led to an examination of the fragmentation of the zoomorphic figurines in settlement structures. This investigation was conducted through four case-studies; Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985), Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971), Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (South *et al.* 1989) and Maa-*Palaekastro* (Karageorghis and Demas 1988). The majority of the fragments derive from the area of the neck/head while several survive in their entirety lacking only the head. A similar pattern observed for both female and zoomorphic

terracottas could be used to argue for a different life-cycle of the heads of the figurines in general.

This different treatment might have been related with the importance of the head in the society. For example, in Mayan thought the head is a signifier of the identity and essence of a person; the head serves as the *pars pro toto* in communicating sound and meaning (Houston and Stuart 1998, 85). The focus on the head is universal and that might be due to the fact that our senses reside therein. It is the body part that is connected with an array of human capacities such as sight, hearing, smell, taste and speech; it is through these senses that we experience the world (Talalay 2004, 157).

Bodily dismemberment, and more particularly human decapitation, is considered as a powerful statement when seen in the iconography, mortuary practices and political agendas of many cultures. Hoards of skulls, images of decapitated individuals, and depictions of disembodied heads occur along a broad spectrum of ancient contexts taking on different meanings (Talalay 2004, 139-140). According to Talalay:

‘The symbolic intent of these disembodied images – be they crania, wall paintings, or transposable figurine heads – certainly had social ramifications. It is not given, however, that all manifestations of headlessness and disembodied heads were monolithic in meaning’ (Talalay 2004, 152).

Through ethnographic and historical sources, it seems that ancestor skulls or shaman skulls are often kept in houses (public, private or semi-private) or in visible loci for consultation during important periods for the settlement or used during ceremonies. In Hacilar (south-west Turkey), two skulls were placed on virgin soil, and were probably visible to those who were visiting the settlement (Talalay 2004, 154). Also, in the Levant and Anatolia, skulls were receiving a special treatment as early as ca. 10 000 B.C. Skulls were buried separately from the rest of the skeleton while in some cases during Pre-Pottery Neolithic B they received plastered features (for a full discussion on the evidence and interpretations see Bienert 1991; Goren *et al.* 2001; Verhoeven 2002; Bonogofsky 2003; Kuijt 2008; Marchand 2011-2012). Although we are not dealing with skulls but with figurine heads, we might take into consideration that heads might have continued to be used after their detachment from the torso if they had a certain meaning for the society. According to Keswani, skulls received a special treatment at a number

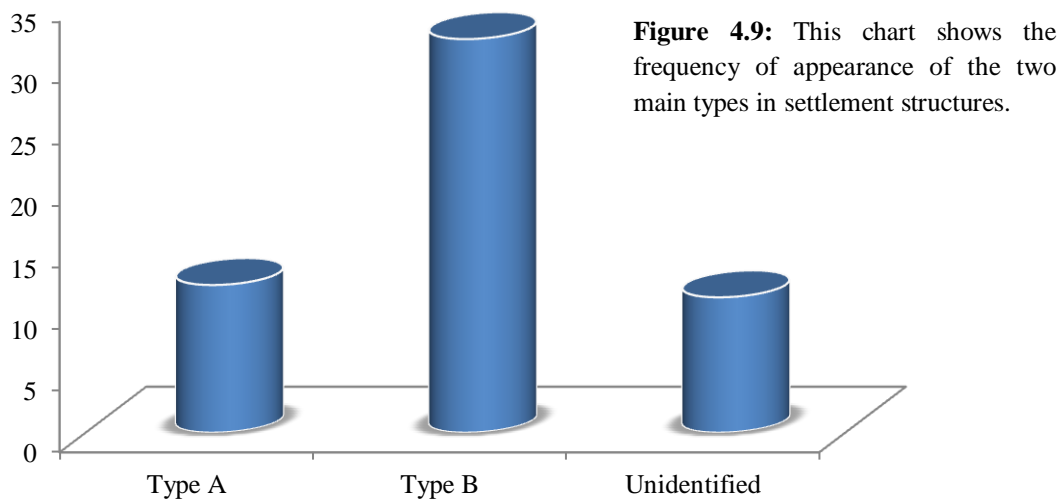
of LC sites (Keswani 2004, 102-104) which could argue that they had a certain significance in LBA Cyprus; this is discussed more fully below.

1.5.Types and construction types in settlements

Further patterns were recorded with regards to the frequency of appearance of the two types and construction types. Forty-four specimens give information regarding their type, while 50 provide information concerning their construction type.

Twelve out of the 44 figurines have been identified as Type A. On the other hand, 32 specimens belong to Type B. The number of the Type B figurines seems to be three times the number of the Type A. Eleven figurines could not be identified (**Fig. 4.9**) with regards to their types either because the fragment surviving could not provide any indication for the type (these constitute the majority of the unidentified specimens) or because pictures of the figurines were not published and it was not possible for me to examine them personally. Generally, it seems that Type A figurines occur more rarely than Type B in domestic structures.

Type A vs Type B in settlements



Since differences in the use of the figurines may occur in the various settlement sites, a site-specific examination of this aspect was also undertaken. Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* are used as case-studies. In Enkomi's domestic structures, only three Type A figurines were discovered while Type B specimens constitute the majority with thirteen examples. Two Type A figurines were found in Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios*, six Type B and three unidentified. Overall, it seems that there is a

‘dominance’ of Type B figurines in domestic structures which, as we will see later, changes when one examines the frequency of appearance of the two types in burials.

Moving on to the frequency of appearance of the two construction types, it seems again that one type occurs more frequently than the other. Thirty-two examples belong to the hollow type while 18 belong to the solid (**Fig. 4.10**). Thus, the hollow figurines seem to occur more often in domestic structures than the solid. Nonetheless, this might be connected with the production and use of a larger number of hollow figurines than solid since the overall number of the former is larger than the latter.

Hollow vs Solid in settlements

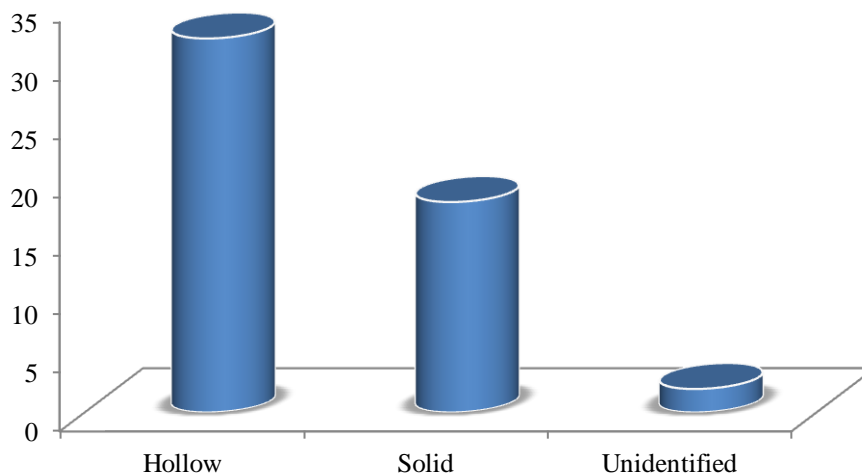


Figure 4.10: This chart shows the frequency of appearance of the two construction types in settlement structures.

Using again Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* as case-studies, I examine if the general image is repeated through site-specific examination. Enkomi settlement produced nine hollow (one Type A and eight Type B) and seven solid (two Type A and five Type B) figurines. The difference in the frequency of appearance between the two construction types in this site is not significant and it does not seem to follow the general picture. On the other hand, at Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios*, ten hollow (two Type A, five Type B and three unidentified) and one solid (Type B) specimens were discovered. Thus, contrary to Enkomi, the difference in the numbers of hollow and solid figurines occurring in Kalavassos-Ayios *Dhimitrios* is high. The results of this

examination are compared below with the data deriving from the burials providing an interesting picture.

1.6. General Remarks

Through this examination, the importance of documenting the exact archaeological context of the figurines was highlighted since it was possible to record various patterns revealing possible connections of these terracottas with certain buildings and/or certain groups of people. When it comes to Enkomi and Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhmitrios* the majority has been found in or around buildings of key importance for the society. In general, it seems that they appear in rooms or features related with various settlement activities. It is likely, however, that their places of discovery were not their places of use. Another explanation for this variability could be the fact that they were connected with certain people rather than spaces of a particular character, if we assume, of course, that some have indeed been found in the rooms where they were used. Also, different qualities or roles might be foregrounded or emphasised according to different contexts.

The various patterns recorded concerning the modes of discard/deposition probably show the different attitudes of the society during this stage of the figurines' lives. It seems that these terracottas could be discarded without any special treatment while sometimes they could be used as construction material. Nevertheless, the picture changes when one examines the evidence from Enkomi and Toumba tou Skourou; their assemblages and exact context might argue in favour of a more ritualised burial, possibly related to the 'sealing' or foundation of floors. A specimen from Enkomi (Enk._3912/3-4) could also shed light on one of the possible reasons that these figurines reached the end of their use-life; this might have come as a consequence of their owner's death.

In addition, through recording their associated assemblages, it was noticed that in at least four cases the female figurines appeared in close proximity to zoomorphic terracottas. Therefore, a relation and maybe a common use of the female and zoomorphic heads were suggested. Furthermore, the possibility of the heads having followed a different life-cycle or received a different treatment than the rest of the parts constituting the figurines was discussed through a range of evidence. Lastly, patterns

were observed in the frequency of appearance of the two types and construction types; Type B figurines seem to occur more frequently in settlement structures than the Type A while hollow occur more frequently than the solid. These results are compared with the data deriving from the burials.

2. Figurines from burials (Appendix IV, Table 2)

The data collected for each of the figurines deriving from burials are: exact place of discovery, associated assemblages and/or general finds of the tomb, state of preservation at the time of their deposition and frequency of appearance of certain types in burials. Unfortunately, through the investigation of their exact place of discovery and associated assemblages it was not possible to obtain much information due to the restricted number of figurines found *in situ*; although some interesting observations were made. Through the examination of the general finds of the tombs containing these terracottas I was able to proceed to observations regarding the status of the deceased. With regards to this aspect, I explored if one of the main types or construction types occurred more frequently in wealthy or modest burials. In other words, through this investigation it was possible to note if a certain type was related to a particular economic group.

As in the case of the settlements, the frequency of appearance of the two main types and construction types in this context was recorded. The results from the two contexts were then compared providing interesting patterns. Furthermore, in the case of more than one figurine appearing in the same tomb, the types and construction types were recorded in order to study the different combinations that could (or not) occur. Finally, their state of preservation was studied; nevertheless, burials produced mostly complete figurines.

2.1.Exact context

Only six figurines seem to have been discovered *in situ*; one derives from Enkomi T.19 excavated by the Cypriot Mission (C19); the second example comes from Enkomi T.3 excavated by the Swedish Mission (S3); the third derives from Dromolaxia-*Trypes* T.1 excavated by the Department of Antiquities; the fourth comes from

Episkopi-Bamboula T.19 excavated by the University of Pennsylvania; and the last two examples derive from Agkastina T.3 and T.5 also excavated by the Department of Antiquities.

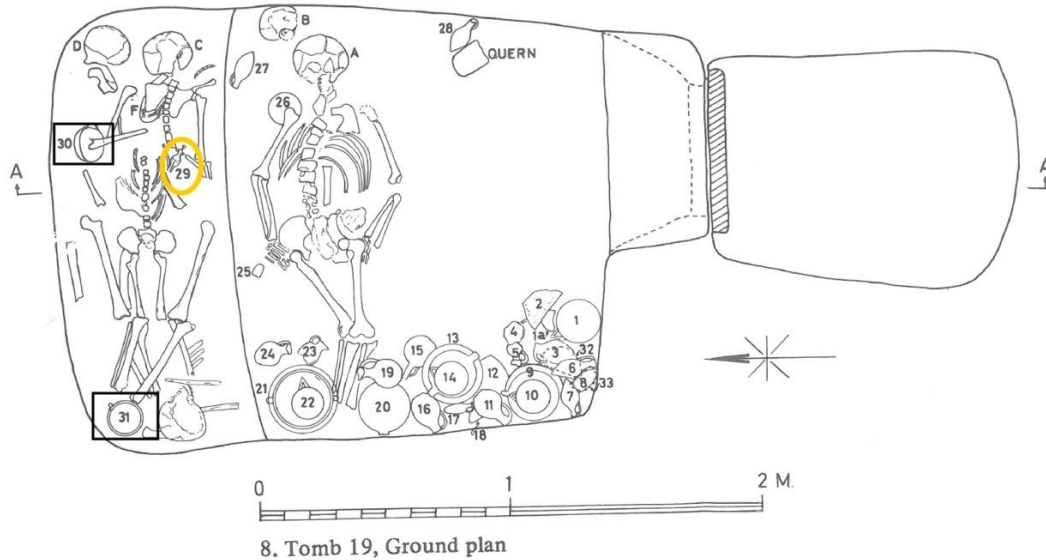


Figure 4.11: The ground plan of Tomb 19 of Enkomi excavated by the Cypriot Mission (Dikaios 1969-1971, Pl. 289). The figurine and its assemblages are noted.

The figurine found in Enkomi Tomb 19 (C19) by Dikaios (1969-1971, 410) and his team provides an interesting picture since it was found on the chest of the deceased. C19 was a chamber tomb in Area I. Although the roof was found collapsed and the whole tomb, dromos and chamber were found sealed by the floor of the so-called ‘Ashlar Building’, it seems that the figurine was found *in situ* along with the rest of the items accompanying that burial. The remains of at least five adults were discovered in this tomb. On the bench of the tomb lay the remains of three superimposed skeletons, the lowest belonging to an adult, lying in dorsal position with the head on the west. The second body of a younger individual lay directly on the previous, again in dorsal position but with the head on the east. Apart from these complete burials, a lower jaw was discovered under the vertebrae topmost of the three bodies while a bone of a leg was noticed by the side of the chamber. Evidently, these remnants belong to another individual. A fifth adult had been buried on the floor of the chamber in front of the bench.

The topmost burial on the bench was associated with the following three objects: a Monochrome bowl discovered under the elbow of the right arm; a terracotta female

figurine found at the side of the chest and LH IIIA:1 cup placed on the feet (Dikaios 1969-1971, 408-410; **Fig. 4.11**). It should be noted that the placement of vessels on or below certain parts of the body of the deceased is also seen on the burial located on the floor of the chamber in front of the bench (Dikaios 1969-1971, 410).

The placement of the figurine on the chest of the deceased suggests a direct contact, a close relationship between the deceased and the figurine. Thus, the figurine might have been a valuable possession of the deceased; its placement in the burial might have come as consequence of its owner's death as it was suggested for Enk._3912/3-4 found in Room 42 of Area III buried along with an heirloom (a LH cup). Of course, this interpretation does not exclude the possibility that its inclusion in the tomb might have also been connected with the wider role and significance of this figurine type.

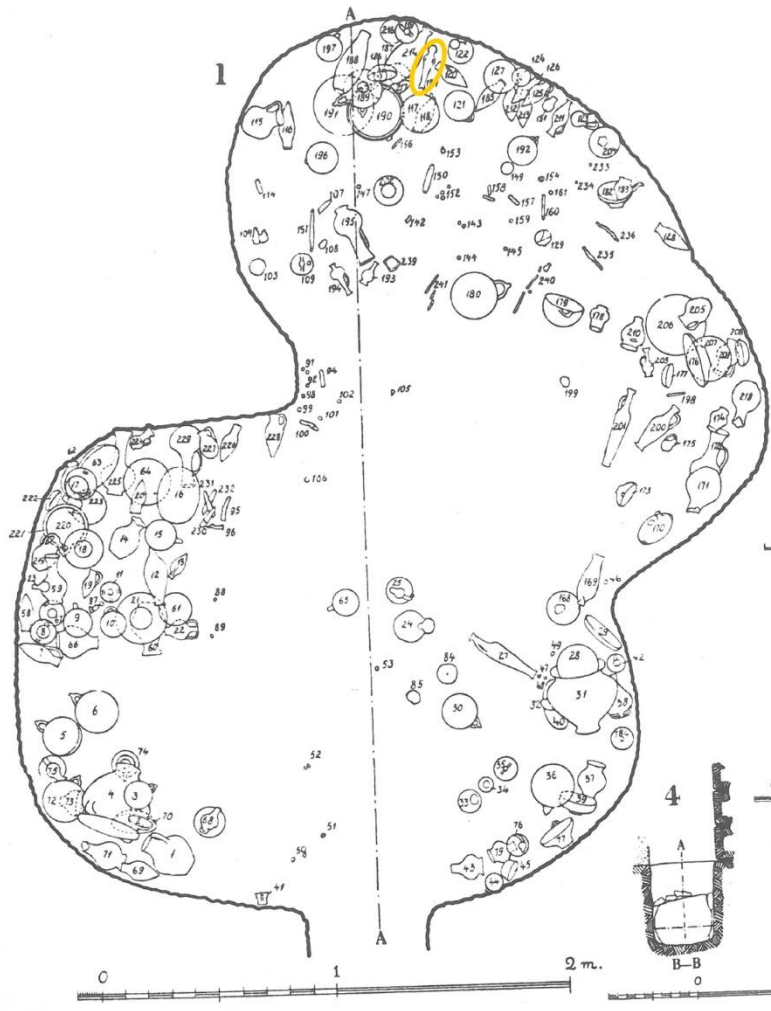


Figure 4.12: The plan of Tomb 3 of Enkomi excavated by the Swedish Mission (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 488). The figurine is noted.

The second example that was found *in situ* derives again from Enkomi and more precisely from T.3 excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (S3). S3 was a chamber tomb with a dromos which was found disturbed and looted apart from one layer. According to the excavators the tomb was rich and contained many bodies. From the fragments of bones found it is estimated that at least fifteen persons had been buried in the tomb (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 475-477). The figurine was discovered in the only undisturbed layer of the tomb, in the innermost corner of the niche; it rested directly on the floor, and was consequently part of the deposit of the first burial. From the plan we can observe that all the assemblages of the burial are concentrated in one place (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 488; **Fig. 4.12**). The figurine was found along with locally produced and imported pottery; eight strips of gold leaf; seven gold beads; a gold circular earring; a gold spiral hair-ring; a gold crescent-shaped twisted earring; fluted biconical bead of yellow faience; and a circular ivory lid decorated with a wheel-ornament on one side (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 477-485). This tomb, in general, is considered to be a wealthy tomb (Keswani 2004, 126).

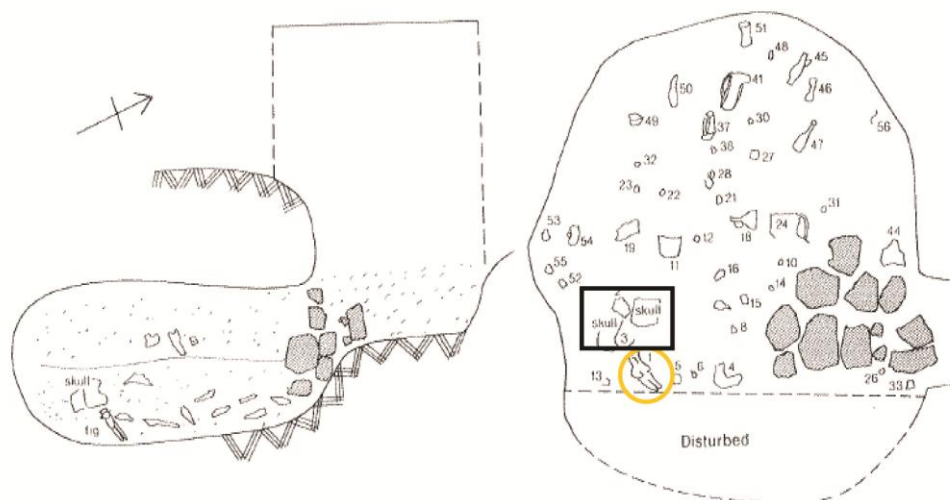


Figure 4.13: The plan of Dromolaxia-Trypes Tomb 1 (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 42). The figurine and skulls are noted.

The area of Larnaca also produced a figurine found *in situ* in a chamber tomb. This specimen was found in Tomb 1 of Dromolaxia-Trypes. It was discovered with the only concentration of skeletal remains found in the tomb on the south side of the chamber. More precisely, it was found close to three skulls (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 40). Fragments of pottery were also recovered close to the three skulls while two beads, two fragments of bronze and a Coarse Monochrome bowl were found east and west of

the figurine (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 42; **Fig. 4.13**). Although this might not be the figurine's primary position in the chamber (it seems that this arrangement was made during secondary burial treatments) it is interesting that it was relocated along with the three skulls.

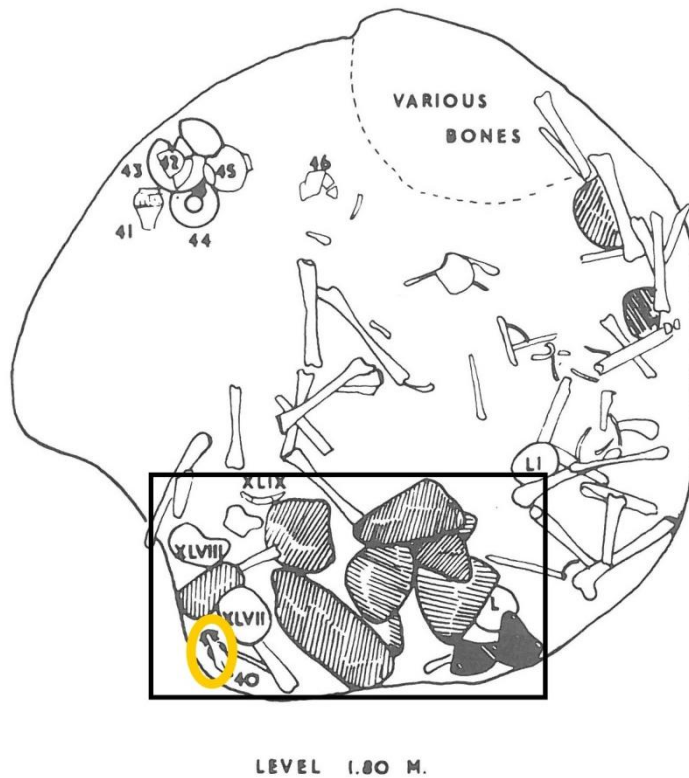


Figure 4.14: A plan of Level 1.80 m of Episkopi-Bamboula Tomb 19 (Benson 1972, Pl. 10). The figurine and its associated finds are noted.

The fourth example that was probably found *in situ* belongs to Burial B of Tomb 19 of Episkopi-Bamboula. During the LC III period, the shape was altered and the area was considerably reduced by the construction of a stone wall across the southwest part of the tomb. According to Benson (1972, 22) no section exists but the stratigraphy can be recovered to some extent from the field notes. The latest burial group was found at 70 cm below the top of the bedrock. There were various other burials down to a firm gritty layer over the 1.35 m floor. Also over this floor in the north was a carefully laid packing of stones. These were set in a layer of gritty red earth, entirely without bones. This layer went at places to 1.45 m, where it ended on soft sandy gray earth by the door, and to 1.80 m where it ended on great masses of bones. The figurine was found in the level of 1.80 m and belongs to Burial B. A LH III handle jar, four White Slip II bowls, a BR II bowl and a Plain White jug were the assemblages of this burial. It also consisted of five skulls (Benson 1972, 22-23). According to the plan, the BR figurine was found

on the south side of Burial B close to a concentration of stones, four skulls (noted with Latin numbers on the plan) and a few bones (Fig. 4.14). Interestingly, the aforementioned finds are concentrated on the north-west part (Benson 1972, Pl. 10). Thus, Tomb 19 of Episkopi might offer additional evidence for a relationship between the figurines and the skulls in burials.

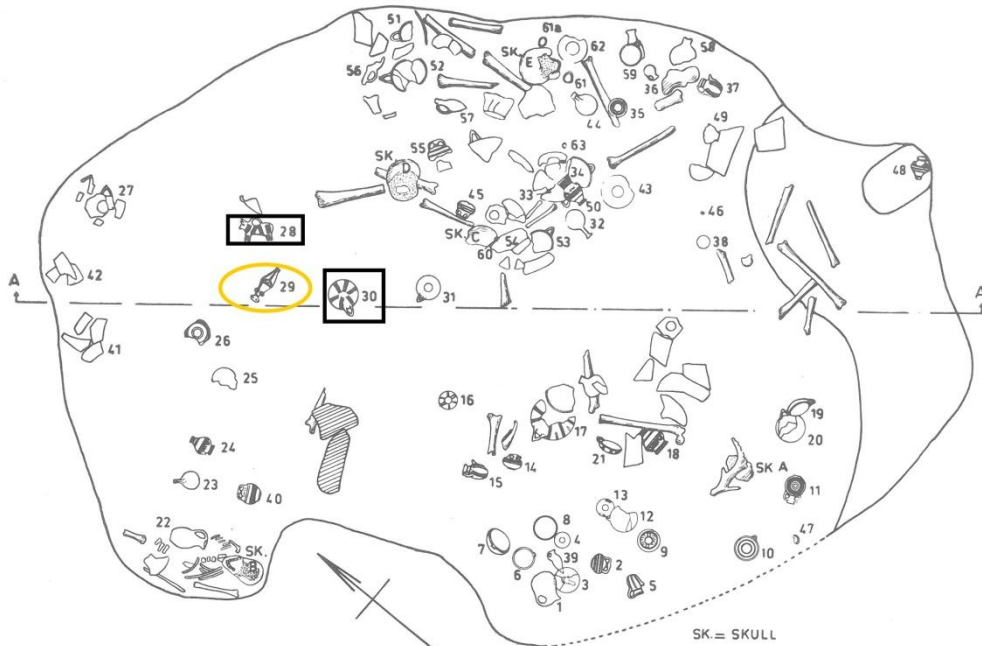


Fig. 1a. Angastina. Plan of T.5.

Figure 4.15: A plan of Agkastina Tomb 5 (Karageorghis 1964, 2). The figurine and its associated assemblages are noted.

The last two examples that might have been found *in situ* derive from the cemetery site of Agkastina. The first example derives from T.5. This tomb was partially disturbed by a bulldozer before the excavation, destroying the dromos, stomion and the entrance of the tomb. However, only a very small part of the chamber was affected. The excavators note that this tomb must have been looted during antiquity since it was missing valuable objects such as jewellery and bronzes. There were five skeletons in the chamber, but all of them very much disturbed; the skulls were not found in position with regards to the other skeletal remains. Most of the offerings and skeletal material were found piled up the far end of the chamber opposite the entrance. These may belong to earlier burials, the material from which was piled up aside to make room for the burials located closer to the entrance. The figurine was found closer to the earlier burials

rather the later; nevertheless, it was not discovered in the pile of skeletal material and burial goods but it was slightly isolated. The nearest finds to it were a BR bull-*rhyton* and a White Slip II bowl (Karageorghis 1964, 3; **Fig. 4.15**).

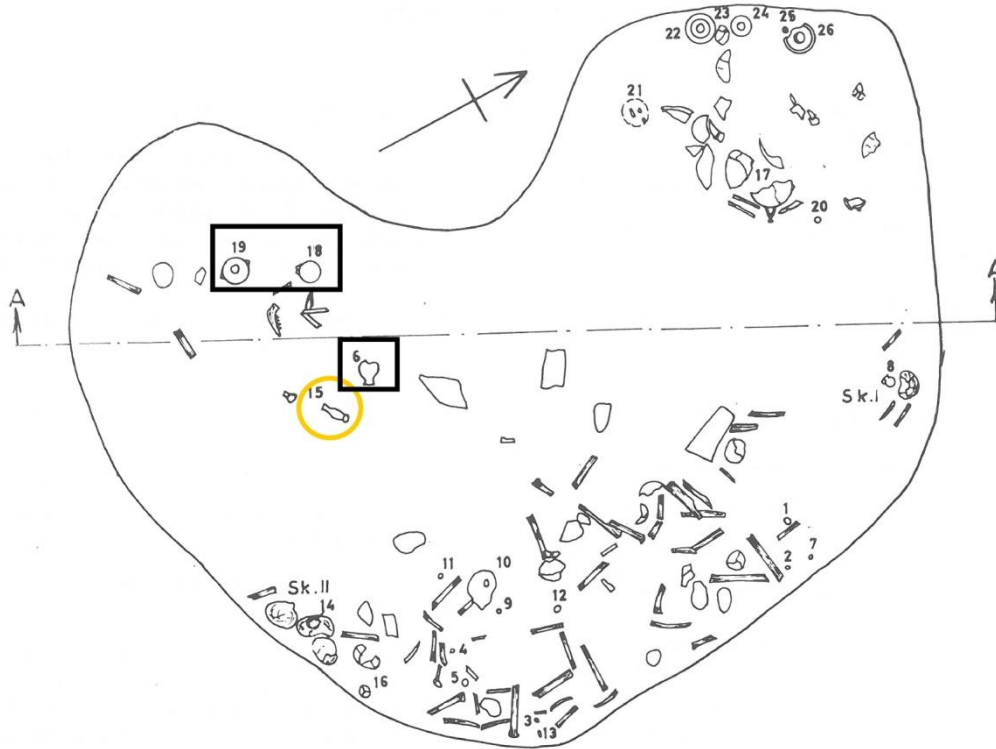


Figure 4.16: A plan of Agkastina Tomb 3 (Nicolaou 1972, 99). The figurine and its associated finds are noted.

The second figurine from Agkastina was found in T.3. The roof of the chamber tomb had probably collapsed in antiquity, but the whole chamber had been rased by the bulldozer practically to its floor. All the objects were found on the floor or mixed with earth. No skeleton was found *in situ* but many bones scattered about suggest more than one burial; two skulls were identified. However, twenty-six objects seem to have been found *in situ* and one of them was the female figurine. The figurine was found close to a Bucchero jug in the middle of the tomb, slightly isolated from the rest of the finds; the closer group of finds is a Plain Wheel-made Ware bowl and a LH IIIB two-handed bowl (Nicolaou 1972, 58-105; **Fig. 4.16**).

As seen through this examination, the evidence regarding the figurines' exact position in tombs is quite limited; nonetheless, Enkomi C19, Dromolaxia-*Trypes* T.1 and Episkopi-*Bamboula* T.19 provide an interesting picture. The former is suggestive of

the close relationship between the figurines and their users/owners while the latter could provide evidence for a relationship between the figurines and the skulls. The figurines and the skulls seem to have been relocated during secondary burial treatments. In general, a continuing emphasis upon the special treatment of the skull is evident at a number of LC sites.

For example, at *Ayios Iakovos-Melia* T.8 (LC IIA burial stratum) skulls were carefully arranged around the periphery of the east niche (Keswani 2004, 91). The same practice is probably seen in French T.5 of Enkomi (Keswani 2004, 96). Six skulls were also found in the side chamber of Enkomi Swedish T.6 of LC IIC–IIIA. The skulls of this tomb were frequently found with or on top of the leg bones close to the walls. Also, a small cupboard discovered in the dromos contained the skulls of at least six individuals and two objects (Keswani 2004, 94). Skulls also appear to have been predominant in the skeletal material of *Politiko-Ayios Iraklidhios* T.6 (LC IIB) (Keswani 2004, 89), *Episkopi-Bamboula* T. 12, 18 and 19 (LC IIA–IIB) and other LC I tombs (Keswani 2004, 102). Nonetheless, according to Keswani in some of these cases their prominence might have been exaggerated by reporting biases (Keswani 2004, 102–103). It is significant to mention, however, that the latest and only more or less *in situ* burial at *Politiko* T.6 consisted of an extended skeleton from which the skull had been separated; however, it is unknown if it was included among the other skulls of the tomb or if it was totally removed from it (Keswani 2004, 103).

Practices connected with secondary treatment of the deceased and collective burials seem to have emerged in Chalcolithic Cyprus while they became largely elaborate during the EC–MC period (Keswani 2004, 81–82). Thus, the examples mentioned above seem to continue the burial practices followed in the previous period but in a much lesser degree regarding elaboration and grandeur. According to Keswani:

‘...over time, as social competition and social stratification increased, the ideological basis for earlier traditions of secondary treatment and collective burial may have eroded’ (Keswani 2004, 103).

It should be noted that these practices are more frequent during LC I and are more often attested in rural rather than town centres (Keswani 2004, 102).

The secondary burial practices described above for tombs dated to LC II–III A could shed additional light on the importance of the head in LC society. Therefore, the placement of the figurines explicitly with the concentration of skulls might have been related with the significance of the latter. This could also provide additional evidence for the fragmentation of these figurines in settlement structures. If the head had a special meaning in the society then it is possible that this was extended on the figurines as well. One could take this observation even further, suggesting that the similarities in the treatment between skulls and figurine heads could offer a hint towards the identity of the BR females. Could they be representations of ancestors?

It is also possible that the relocation/deposition of the figurine along with the skulls was accompanied by some kind of ritualised acts related with the veneration of ancestors. For instance, Enkomi Swedish T.11 and Swedish T.6 are thought to provide evidence for sacrificial ceremonies or for the use of purification fires involving burning of decompositional residues during secondary burial treatments (Keswani 2004, 94, 96). Although nothing in the data provided by Dromolaxia-*Trypes* T.1 or Episkopi-*Bamboula* T.19 suggests that such practices took place, it is possible that other less visible ritual practices might have taken place.

2.2.Assemblages and status of the deceased

One of the research questions approached through this section is the connection of these figurines with certain social groups. The tombs have been divided in wealthy and modest burials (with perhaps some higher status items) based on Keswani's (2004) work on the LBA mortuary practices in Cyprus. Keswani's division was based on

‘...locational patterning and spatial associations of mortuary units, their relative elaboration and cost, the burial programmes accorded to the deceased, and the range quantity, and quality of associated grave goods’ (Keswani 2004, 34).

The BR female figurines seem to appear in both rich and modest burials; nevertheless, a number of burials that belong to the second category seem to contain a small amount of valuable objects such as jewellery or imported goods. We should keep in mind that some of these tombs were found looted; consequently, the image obtained through such an investigation might not represent the reality. The modest burials will be

presented first, noting their status during the time of their discovery (**Table 4.5**). Similarly, this approach will also be applied to the burials identified as wealthy (**Table 4.6**). The type and construction type of the figurines is noted for each burial.

The category of the modest burials includes three tombs from Enkomi (C19, B91, S19) (Keswani 2004, 94, 125, table 5.9c). C19 included a Type A solid figurine and it was found sealed (Dikaios 1969-1971, 408-410). British T.91 (B91) contained a Type A solid figurine (Murray *et al.* 1900, 42; Walters 1903, 3; Tatton Brown 2003, 51-52) and it is unknown if it was found sealed, looted or disturbed while Swedish T.19 (S91) had two Type B hollow specimens and it was found looted and disturbed (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 558-568).

T.6 from Ayia Paraskevi is also considered to be modest with some precious items (Keswani 2004, 135). This tomb produced two Type B hollow terracottas and it was most probably found sealed (Kromholz 1982, 13, 24-31). The Palaepaphos-*Teratsoudhia* T. 105/Chamber B, where the hollow lower legs of an unidentified type was found, is considered to be relatively modest with some valuable items in its assemblages. This tomb was discovered disturbed (Karageorghis and Michaelides 1990, 42-49; Keswani 2004, 134).

Moreover, Katydhata T.100, which produced two Type A and one Type B hollow specimens as well as T.81 which produced a Type A hollow figurine are also considered to be modest burials with some valuable items (Åström 1989, 48-49, 55-56; Keswani 2004, 136). T.3 and T.5 of Agkastina are also identified as relatively modest burials, although they included a very small number of valuable objects (Karageorghis 1964, 1-22; Nicolaou 1972, 58-105; Keswani 2004, 134). The excavators of these tombs believe that they were looted in antiquity since they lack valuable objects. The dromos and stomion of both tombs was destroyed by the bulldozers; thus, it was impossible to observe if they were found sealed (Karageorghis 1964, 1-22; Nicolaou 1972, 58-105). However, the lack of valuable objects might be related with the status of the deceased or with secondary burial treatments and not with looting activities. They both contained a Type B hollow figurine.

The Maroni tombs have also been identified as modest burials containing some valuable objects. These tombs were found extensively plundered (Manning and Monks 1998, 304; Keswani 2004, 134). Therefore, their categorisation as modest tombs might

not represent their real status. Maroni Tomb 14 contained two Type B and one Type A solid figurines (Johnson 1980, 9). In addition, Maroni Tomb 15 contained one Type B hollow example (Johnson 1980, 9-10) while Maroni Tomb 17 produced a Type B solid figurine (Johnson 1980, 10). Finally, Maroni Tomb 25 produced a Type B hollow and a Type B solid specimen (Johnson 1980, 10).

The last three tombs belonging to this category derive from the necropolis of Episkopi-*Bamboula*. The state of discovery of two out (T.50 and T.57) of the three tombs is unknown while the Pennsylvania University tomb (T.19) was discovered disturbed (Benson 1972, 22-23). In general, the necropolis was found extensively looted (Keswani 2004, 131). T.50 contained a Type B hollow figurine and it was found with some valuable objects (Kiely 2009, 75) while T.57 contained a Type A hollow specimen which was recovered along with a BR child in a cradle figurine and pottery vessels (Kiely 2009, 76). Finally, T.19 contained again a Type A hollow figurine. This tomb included a small amount of valuable items (Benson 1972, 22-23).

N° of tomb	Site	State of tomb's discovery	Date	N° of figurines	Type	Assemblages of the tomb
C19	Enkomi	Sealed	LCIIA	1	Type A, solid	Imported and local pottery.
B91	Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	1	Type A, solid	Imported and local pottery; gold diadem; gold mouth piece; neck of travertine vessel.
S19	Enkomi	Looted and disturbed	LCI-II	2	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; bronze chisel; bronze rings; four bronze hair-rings; six bronze earrings; bronze mirror; bronze bowls; silver bracelet; three gold hair-rings; gold finger-rings; five gold earrings; gold mouthpiece; faience bowl; faience bead; stone mace-head;

						stone spindle-whorl; two stone bowls and two stone pestles.
6	Ayia Paraskevi	Probably sealed	LCII	2	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; alabaster aryballos; five faience beads; four glass beads; carnelian bead; gold bead; serpentine cylinder seal; steatite cylinder seal; cylinder grey stone; ivory/ bone cylinder seal; gypsum disc; bronze toggle pin; bronze awl; bronze pin; bronze dagger; bronze earring; three bronze rings; ivory cylinder; three ivory pins; three bronze knucklebones.
100	Katydhata	Disturbed	LCIIA	3	2 Type A, hollow, 1 Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; two stone pestles; a pair of bronze and a pair of gold earrings; stone spindle whorl.
81	Katydhata	Unknown	LCIIB–IIC	1	Type A, unidentified	Imported and local pottery; neck and part of shoulder of a faience bottle; bone lid; bronze knife; bronze needle; fragments of a bronze ring or bracelet; gold earring of bull's head; gold bead; gold ring; paste cylinder; bronze cylinder; terracotta figurine of a sow.
3	Agkastina	Disturbed and maybe	LCIIB–IIIA	1	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; fragment of

		looted				a bronze ring; cylinder seal; three bronze earrings; gold bead; cylindrical bead of gold sheet; two bronze rings; paste button; stone bead; two bronze bracelets; plain ivory disc; 89 beads in paste of various sizes, colours and shapes; two cylinder seals; two stone spindle-whorls; fragments of bronze rings.
5	Agkastina	Disturbed and maybe looted	LCIIB–III A	1	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; a bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; bronze earring; two bronze bracelets; a pair of bronze earrings; cylinder seal of black steatite or marble; cylinder seal of white paste; a stag's horn.
105/ Chamber B	Palaepaphos- <i>Teratsoudhia</i>	Disturbed	Unknown	1	Unidentified hollow	The material ranges from Chalcolithic to the Archaic period: stones of varying sizes and types; animal bones; vast quantity of postsherds; zoomorphic terracotta fragments; stone tools, copper slag, charcoal.
14	Maroni	Probably looted	Unknown	3	2 Type B, solid and 1 Type A solid	Two gold beads; two carnelian beads; three faience beads; faience figure fiddle-shaped; three fragments of similar figures (Chalcolithic period); fragments

						of ivory and faience; ivory disc with rosette; two glass vases; two basalt cylinders; ivory vase in form of fruit; hedgehog rhyton; askos of tea pot shape; a small LH jug; a bronze ring; an amphoriskos; two glass beads; a glass pendant.
15	Maroni	Probably looted	Unknown	1	Type B, hollow	LH pottery; two bull- <i>rhyta</i> ; two bull figurines; Egyptian blue bead; picrolite pendant in the shape of a human figure (Chalcolithic period); two gold and an ivory bead.
17	Maroni	Probably looted	Unknown	1	Type B, solid	Two faience bowls (with Egyptian glazed compositions); amphoroid crater of LH IIIA2; gold pendant of earring; fragment of a stern from pottery vessel; silver finger-ring; steatite stamp seal; foot and part of bowl from a stone tripodic mortar.
25	Maroni	Probably looted	Unknown	2	1 Type B hollow, 1 Type B solid	Imported and local pottery; bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; three bull figurines; three gold earrings; faience pyxis inside which was found a small faience vase in the shape of pomegranate; two basalt cylinders; an ivory and 41 faience beads; bronze rings and fragments; small

						faience bowl with astragalos patterns on rim; faience bowl with patterns in brown, yellow and green; fragments of faience bowl; ivory oblong plaque pierced with two holes; two bronze hinges; stone whorl; ram's head.
50	Episkopi-Bamboula	Probably looted.	Unknown	1	Type B, hollow	Stirrup jar; fragment of a glass flask; gold spacer bead or dress attachment; two hollow hold spacer-beads or dress attachments with pairs of piercings composed by two yellow gold and red gold rectangular plaques accordingly; ivory disc; LH stirrup jar; glass vase.
57	Episkopi-Bamboula	Probably looted	Unknown	1	Type A, hollow	Imported and local pottery (4 vessels); infant in a cradle figurine.
19	Episkopi-Bamboula	Probably looted	LCIIA–IIB	1	Type A, hollow	Imported and local pottery; bronze fibula; steatite spindle-whorl; dome-shaped seal; necklace of a glass bead, a glass loop and 17 sea snails; bronze pin; loom-weight; bronze bracelet; two glass beads; small faience bead; bronze rod; ivory disc; ivory button; ivory pin head; glass bead; cylinder seal; paste cylinder; two dome-shaped seals of

	steatite; cylinder seal of steatite; bronze ring; bronze bowl; bronze needle; oval ivory disc; gold bead.
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Table 4.4: This table summarises the general assemblages of the tombs which were identified as modest along with information about the number and type of the terracottas included in these tombs.

The category of the rich burials includes nine tombs. Although the number of the rich burials is significantly smaller than the modest, we should keep in mind that some of the tombs grouped in the first category were found looted and/or disturbed while the state of others is unknown.

Five burials from Enkomi (B67, B69, B88, B93, S3) (Keswani 2004, 125-129, Table 5.9b-c) are included in the category of wealthy burials. According to the British Mission (Murray *et al.* 1900, 37-39; Walters 1903, 2; Tatton-Brown 2003, 36-37), T.67 from Enkomi (B67) was found with the door unsealed but it is not known if it was looted. In this tomb, two Type A hollow figurines were found. British T.69 (B69) contained a Type B hollow figurine and it was found with the door sealing missing (Murray *et al.* 1900, 39; Walters 1903, 3; Tatton-Brown 2003, 38-39). In addition, British T.88 (B88) was discovered disturbed and it included four Type B hollow specimens (Murray *et al.* 1900, 33-34; Walters 1903, 3-4; Tatton-Brown 2003, 49-50). Another tomb discovered by the British is B93 which is considered to be one of the richest tombs in this area and probably one of the richest LC tombs found so far. It is not known if it was found sealed or disturbed. Two Type A hollow figurines were recovered from this tomb (Murray *et al.* 1900, 36-37, 41; Walters 1903, 3; Tatton-Brown 2003, 53-55). Finally, S3 is another significantly rich LC tomb which was found

Table 2.1: This table summarises the general assemblages of the tombs which were identified as modest along with information about the number and type of the terracottas included in these tombs.

According to Keswani (2004, 129) all the Hala Sultan Tekke tombs excavated by the Department of Antiquities and the British Museum are considered to be relatively rich. T. 2 produced one Type A hollow figurine and even though it does not contain a significant amount of gold or other metallic objects, the large quantities of local and imported pottery, the remains of horses, which probably represent sacrifices for the dead, and the exotic materials might suggest a level of wealth (Karageorghis 1976b, 78-

86). T.1 MLA.1173 was the second tomb excavated by the Department of Antiquities at Hala Sultan Tekke. This tomb produced a Type B and a Type A solid figurine (Samaes and Nys 2010, 16-17). The tomb was found looted while it was destroyed during the construction of the parking place or the tourist pavilion (Samaes and Nys 2010, 1). The third and last tomb from Hala Sultan Tekke (VIII) produced a Type A solid figurine. This tomb was excavated by the Trustees of the British Museum and its status during the time of its discovery is unknown (Bailey 1976, 4-5).

T.1 at Dromolaxia-*Trypes* is the last tomb considered to belong in the category of wealthy burials (Keswani 2004, 131). It was excavated by the Department of Antiquities and it was found looted. The figurine found in this tomb was a Type B hollow specimen (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 42-49).

N° of tomb	Site	State of tomb's discovery	Date	N° of figurines	Type	Assemblages of the tomb
B67	Enkomi	Door unsealed; disturbed?	LCIA-IIC	2	Type A, hollow	Agate bead; amber bead; bronze finger ring; chlorite cylinder seal; cornelian beads; glazed beads; gold beads; gold diadems; gold discs; dress pins; gold earrings (30); gold fingerings; gold hair-rings or earrings; mouth pieces; gold pendant; gold scaraboid fingerings; haematite weights; LH pottery; LH bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; White Painted rattle; two silver fingerings; travertine amphora from Egypt.
B69	Enkomi	Door unsealed; disturbed?	LCIA-IIC	1	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; Red Lustrous arm-shaped vessel; Red Slip zoomorphic rattle; LH <i>rhyton</i> ; bronze finger-ring; chlorite shallow tripod bowl; rectangular glazed composition dish;

						glazed composition lentoid flask; gold bead; gold diadems and mouth pieces; gold earrings and hair-rings; gold fingering; gold beads; and glazed composition form necklace.
B88	Enkomi	Disturbed	LCIA-IIC	4	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; two chlorite biconical spindle-whorls; glass beads; glass flask; blue frit disc; glazed composition bead; 42 glazed composition beads of various forms probably forming one necklace; 36 glazed composition beads probably forming a necklace; three glazed composition bowls; a glazed composition figure of a lion; glazed composition <i>rhyton</i> in the shape of a horse head; blue frit spacer bead; gold mouth piece; gold disc; BR bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; terracotta spindle-whorl.
B93	Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	2	Type A, hollow	Imported and local pottery; cornelian bead; cornelian ring bead; glass juglet; 18 glazed composition beads; faience scarab; rectangular piece of hammered gold sheet scrap; gold beads; 18 gold beads forming a necklace; 29 gold beads forming a necklace; gold diadems or mouth pieces; gold dress pins; fragments of gold Vapheio cups; gold earrings (65);

						gold hair-rings or earrings; gold finger rings; a frontlet of very thick gold sheet; two gold ingot bar fragments; four gold ingot droplets; two gold mounting cap for cylinder; gold mouth pieces; series of gold beads forming a necklace; two gold pendants, gold scraps; gold toe rings (?); copper cylinder seal; gold and cornelian bead necklace; parts of gold pectoral; hematite cylinder seals; intaglio of lapis lazuli; silver armlet, silver finger-rings; silver earring; LH IIIA2 – IIIB1 terracotta chariot group.
S3	Enkomi	Disturbed and looted apart from the inner most niche	LCII	1	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; silver-lead rings; silver pins; silver earrings; silver fragments; a gold leaf, gold strips; a gold diadem; gold mountings; a gold nailhead; gold beads; gold fragments; BR bull <i>rhyton</i> ; faience beads; faience bowl; faience vase; faience cup; glass bottles; stone loom-weights; stone beads, ivory pins, ivory discs and ivory varia.
2	Hala Sultan Tekke	Disturbed	Unknown	1	Type A, hollow	Imported and local pottery; faience jug; fragments of two closed faience vases; three faience beads; two possible faience seals; gold bead; two boat-shaped bronze earrings and one

						<p>spiral ring; two pieces of lead; two funnel shaped ivory attachments; ivory rod; carnelian bead; clay loom-weight; stone anchor; fragmentary mortar; three cylinder seals, one of paste and two of haematite; rectangular seal in the form of an amulet and a finger-ring of enamel paste with an engraved bezel; fragment of an ostrich egg; seashells.</p>
1 MLA.1173	Hala Sultan Tekke	Looted and disturbed	LCIIA– IIIA	2	1 Type A, solid and 1 Type B solid	<p>Imported and local pottery; animal bones; prism-shaped fragment of a bone; faience bead with gold caps; ivory circular disc; ivory attachment; 18 bronze fragments from which seven might be of a vessel; two gold pendants of the form of a female hippopotamus; two gold rings; two ring beads; three gold strip fragments; eight pieces of ostrich eggshell; two fragments of whorl-shell; three pieces of minimum two alabaster vases, maybe three; alabaster vessel; alabaster flat base fragment; upper fragment of an alabaster jug; cone-shaped chalk object; haematite cylinder seal; lump of ochre; leg and a horn of a terracotta; Psi type figurine.</p>

VIII	Hala Sultan Tekke	Unknown	LCI-II	1	Type A, solid	LH stirrup jar; glazed pottery jar; calcite chalice; gold finger rings and hair rings or ear rings; two gold cylinder caps; silver finger rings; bronze spear-butt or terminal of a staff; cornelian bead; alabaster disc; glass vase; fragments of bronze; plain gold diadem.
1	Dromolaxia- <i>Trypes</i>	Looted and disturbed	LCI-IIC	1	Type B, hollow	Imported and local pottery; terracotta bead; terracotta spindle-whorls; terracotta loom-weight; terracotta pendant juglet; four bronze earrings; bronze hair-ring; three bronze tweezers; bronze needle or pin; three bronze fragments; three iron lumps; gold earring of the stylised bucranium type; two crescent-shaped silver earrings; carnelian bead; two ivory beads; stone cylinder seal; stone spindle-whorl; stone bead; stone plaque or lid; paste bead; faience bead; bone bead.

Table 4.5: This table summarises the general assemblages of the tombs which were identified as wealthy along with information about the number and type of the terracottas included in these tombs.

Consequently, after this investigation, it became obvious that the figurines under study can occur in both modest (with some valuable objects) and rich tombs. Unfortunately, the time dimension cannot be taken into account for this investigation since the number of tombs providing more precise dates are only a few; this, it is not possible to observe patterns. Also, the two main types occur in both wealthy and modest burials. Therefore, it does not seem that one of the main types is more strongly associated with a certain economic group. It should also be noted that, in the case that

two or more examples occur in a burial, there is no preference or pattern regarding the status of the tomb either. Nevertheless, when the frequency of appearance of the two construction types was investigated, it was observed that the majority of the solid figurines occurred in modest tombs.

However, this observation is quite problematic. Solid figurines occurred in C19 and B91 of Enkomi, T.14 and T.17 of Maroni, T.25 of Episkopi-*Bamboula*, T.VIII and T.1 MLA.1173 of Hala Sultan Tekke. All tombs are characterised as modest apart from the Hala Sultan Tekke tombs that were identified as wealthy. Consequently, solid figurines could appear in rich tombs as well. Moreover, only C19 is known to have been found sealed. Therefore, some of the aforementioned modest burials might have been looted and are thus, lacking their original assemblages. Finally, hollow figurines appear in both modest and wealthy burials. The tentative hypothesis that solid figurines are mostly related to modest burials could only be confirmed or overruled through future excavations.

2.3.Types and construction types in burials/ State of preservation

Fifty-two figurines were recorded as having been found in burials all over Cyprus. Twenty-one belong to Type A, while 30 belong to Type B and one is unidentified (**Fig. 4.17**). Through this investigation we have observed that Type B figurines occur more often in burials than Type A; however, the minimal difference in their frequency of appearance could argue in favour of an equal presence of the two types in this context which stands in contrast to the evidence deriving from the settlements. It is also important to note that the numbers of Type B figurines occurring in both burials and settlements are almost equal. If this observation is correct, then it means that there is a preference towards the context of the final deposition of the Type A figurines.

This general picture is also confirmed through a site-specific examination. The sites that contained figurines from more than one tomb are included in the investigation. For example, in Enkomi's burials, eight out of the sixteen figurines are of Type A and eight of Type B which agrees with the general picture. In Katydhata tombs, three out of the five are of Type A and two of Type B. Similarly, in Hala Sultan Tekke tombs, three are of Type A and one of Type B. The two Agkastina tombs contained only Type B

figurines. Maroni's tombs contained six Type B figurines and one Type A which might suggest preference for one type over the other, while Episkopi-*Bamboula* tombs included two Type A and one Type B.

Type A vs Type B in burials

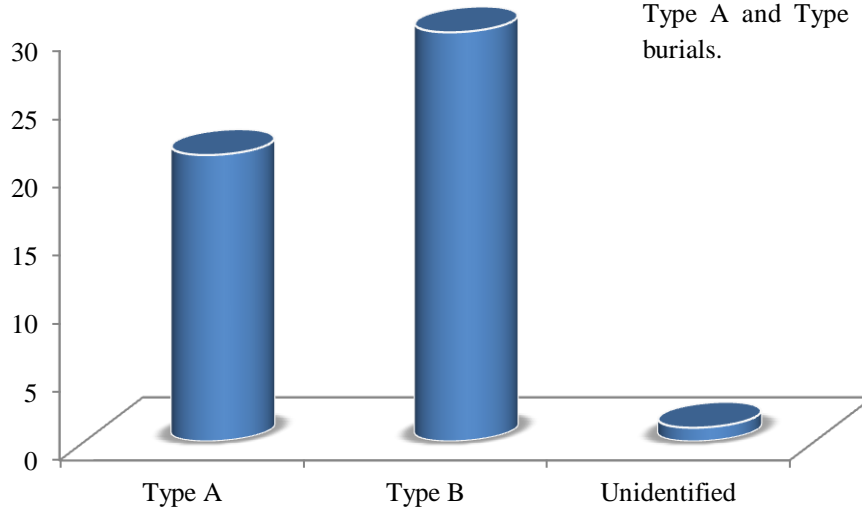


Figure 4.17: This chart presents the frequency of appearance of the Type A and Type B figurines in burials.

In the last section of Chapter I, where the evidence for the dating of the figurines was collected, we observed that the deposition of both types in tombs does not surpass the 13th century B.C. This might be related with the depositional practices followed for these figurines during this period. Nevertheless, the number of tombs providing more precise dates is too restricted to be able to proceed to definite conclusions. We also cannot, at this point, overrule the possibility that this patterning could be related with the prevalence of one type at a particular time in which a certain practice was followed. If we take into account the dates deriving from the specimens recovered in settlements—although they might be dates of final deposition/discard or of the point at which the fragments entered the archaeological record—we cannot dismiss the fact that the majority of the Type B that provide more precise dates occur in 13th–12th century contexts while the majority of the Type A examples occur in 15th–14th century contexts. Nonetheless, Type A examples seem to be under-represented in settlements with only five specimens providing more precise datable contexts. Another piece of information that complicates the situation even more, and we should keep it in mind while investigating this aspect, is that most of the LBA settlements excavated in Cyprus are of the 13th century onwards. Even at Enkomi, that has 15th–14th century levels,

these do not survive very well. Thus, data from future excavations could clarify this picture.

Thirteen of the 52 figurines found in burial structures are solid while 35 are hollow and four are unidentified (**Fig. 4.18**). Similarly to the figurines found in domestic structures, the predominance of the hollow figurines is visible here as well. However, as mentioned already, that might be connected with the production of a larger number of hollow figurines than solid since the overall number of the former is larger than the latter. Is the same picture repeated through a site-specific examination? Again, here, only the sites that produced figurines from more than one tomb are taken into consideration. For example, Enkomi's burials contained fourteen hollow figurines and two solid; Katydhata tombs produced three hollow and one solid; Hala Sultan Tekke tombs contained three solid and one hollow; Agkastina's tombs included two hollow; Maroni's burials produced five solid and two hollow and *Bamboula's* tombs contained three hollow figurines. Only in two sites the number of the solid figurines exceeds the number of the hollow and could signify a preference.

Hollow vs Solid in burials

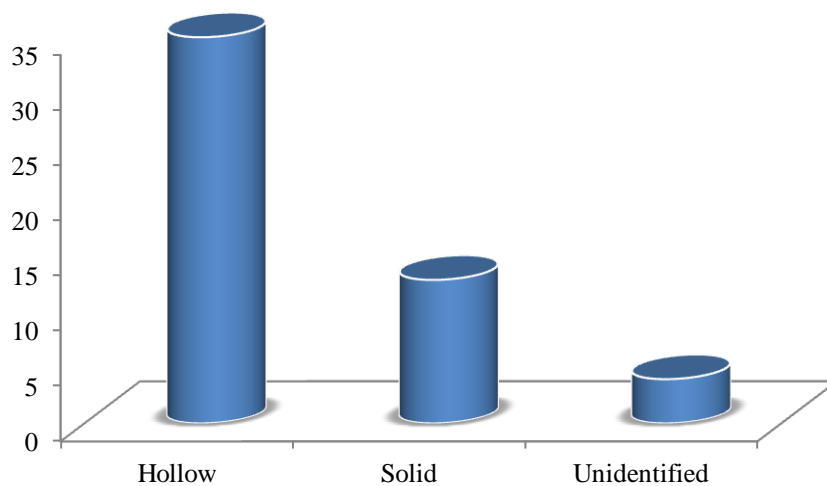


Figure 4.18: This chart presents the frequency of appearance of the hollow and solid figurines in burials.

Evidence that indicate a preference in the deposition of hollow figurines in burials derives from the site of Enkomi. Although the hollow and solid terracottas are equally represented in the settlement structures of this site, there is a dominance of the hollow specimens in tombs. Consequently, it seems that, at least in this site, they

preferred to deposit hollow figurines in burials. Enkomi is used here as a case-study since it provides evidence from both domestic structures and tombs.

An important aspect examined through this section is the presence of two or more figurines in the same tomb; do Type A figurines appear with Type B or do hollow figurines appear with solid? Do we observe different combinations in the different settlements? Nine LC tombs contained more than one BR female figurine, four derive from Enkomi, one from Ayia Paraskevi, one from Katydhata, one from Hala Sultan Tekke and two from Maroni. In Enkomi tombs, hollow and solid figurines do not occur together, neither Type B with Type A. More precisely, B67 contained two Type A hollow specimens as well as B93. B88 produced four Type B hollow examples while S19 bore two Type B hollow terracottas. It seems that in Enkomi, when there is more than one figurine in a tomb, they are usually hollow while Type A and Type B combinations are avoided.

In addition, the two figurines from the Ayia Paraskevi tomb are both Type B hollow. Consequently, there is no combination of types or construction types here either. In contrast to the previous two sites, the site of Katydhata, Hala Sultan Tekke and Maroni provide a combination of the different types and construction types. Katydhata T.100 contained two Type A and one Type B hollow figurine; here there is a combination of the two main types, although the construction type remains the same. Maroni T.14 presents the same picture; this tomb contained two Type B and one Type A solid figurine. Similarly, T.1 MLA.1173 from Hala Sultan Tekke produced one Type B and one Type A solid specimen. Only one tomb has provided evidence for the combination of both construction types so far; this is Maroni T.25 which contained a Type B solid and a Type B hollow figurine. It should be noted, however, that the solid specimen is of the seated type which is rare.

The postures of the figurines discussed above were also explored more closely. This examination was conducted in order to observe if there is a preference in the postures of the terracottas when more than one specimen was included in a tomb. The two Type A hollow figurines found in B67 of Enkomi are both 'kourotophoi'. Similarly, the two Type B hollow figurines from S19 of Enkomi assume the same posture of 'hands on stomach/below breasts'. This posture is also assumed by the two figurines from the Ayia Paraskevi tomb and by the two figurines from B88 of Enkomi

whose posture can be identified. In contrast to the aforementioned examples, the Type A hollow figurines from B93 assume different postures; one holds an infant and the other has its hands below breasts. In addition, Katydhata T.100's Type A figurines also assume different postures; 'hands on stomach/below breasts' and 'hands on waist'. Maroni T.14 produced a seated Type B example with one hand below breast and the other on the breast and a standing Type B with the hands on the stomach. Finally, Maroni T.25 produced a seated example with the hands on the abdomen and a standing specimen with its hands below the breasts. Consequently, some of these tombs seem to have produced figurines with similar postures while others contained specimens with different postures.

Another aspect examined here is the state of preservation of the figurines at the time of their deposition. In contrast to the fragmentary nature of the figurines found in domestic structures, the majority of the figurines discovered in burials survive in their entirety. Only in a handful of cases are the figurines found in a fragmentary state. For example, three out of the four specimens found in Enkomi B88 are broken; two survive from their torso up and one from the pelvis to the feet. However, the latter does not seem to belong to one of the torso fragments. Interestingly, the rest of the assemblages of this tomb have been found complete with the exception of one krater. Although this observation could point to a deliberate fragmentation of the figurines and possibly a structured dispersal of fragments (Chapman 2000, 25-39; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 92, 95-96, 100), we should keep in mind that it was excavated by the British in the late 19th–beginning of the 20th centuries and it was discovered disturbed. The two figurines from Hala Sultan Tekke T.1 MLA.1173 were also found in a fragmentary state; Hal.S._1173.5 was discovered with its legs missing while Hal.S._1173.2 lacks its head. A large number of the items belonging to this tomb have also been found incomplete (Samaes and Nys 2010). In addition, only the neck/head survives from Episk.Bamb._A3 (T.50). A very small amount of items was discovered inside this tomb and it seems to have been looted. One other object, a glass flask, was found incomplete (Kiely 2009, 75). Another example that was found fragmented, lacking its right leg, was Episk.Bamb._A2 (T.57). None of the other items (five additional objects) that belonged to this tomb was found incomplete but T.57 was probably looted prior its discovery by the British (Kiely 2009, 76). Lastly, the Type A figurine from Katydhata T.81 lacks its head. According to the publication of this tomb, other items have been found broken or

incomplete (Åström 1989, 48-49). All figurines found in a fragmentary state seem to have been broken on weak points and more precisely, on places where the assemblage of two pieces took place. It should be noted, though, that the missing pieces were not discovered in the tombs or they were not reported to have been found. This could be explained by looting, the partial clearance of artefacts during the life of the tomb or through deliberate fragmentation. Only in the first case (Enkomi B88), however, there are potential indications of a more deliberate act. Nonetheless, contrary to any pattern observed for the figurines found in settlements regarding their fragmentation, figurines in burials are mostly deposited and survive in their entirety.

2.4. General Remarks

To sum up, although not much can be said about the exact position and associated assemblages of the BR females and thus, their possible function in burials, two observations could be made. Firstly, owners/users and figurines might have had a close relationship, in the degree that the death of the former could cause the end of the latter's use-life. Secondly, there might be a relation between figurines and skulls which might have been connected with the importance of the latter.

Through recording the general assemblages of the tombs containing these terracottas, it was possible to observe that they appear in both wealthy and modest burials following the categorisation formulated by Keswani. Therefore, it seems that the use of these figurines was not restricted to people of a specific economic status. Also, none of the main types seem to have been exclusively related to wealthy or modest burials. However, hollow specimens seem to occur in both rich and modest burials, whereas solid figurines seem to appear mostly in modest burials. This observation, though, remains to be confirmed through future excavations.

Moreover, the two main types seem to occur in equal numbers in this context which contrasts with the image provided by the domestic structures. This could be understood as a preference in the context of the Type A figurines' deposition; although changes in the depositional practices in periods when one type might have been more dominant than the other was not completely rejected. Hollow figurines also dominate

over the solid in this context. Lastly, when more than one figurine occurs in a tomb, different combinations of types and construction types can be observed.

3. Figurines from cultic structures

This group of figurines is rarely found in cultic structures. Only twelve specimens have been discovered in structures of such character. However, not all of them have been recovered from features dated to LBA. These figurines derive from the sites of Phlamoudi-*Vounari* (Type A solid), Myrtou-*Pigadhes* (one Type A and four Type B),¹³ Idalion-*Ambelleri* (Type B solid) and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos (three Type B solid, one Type B hollow and one Type A solid). Their minimal appearance in structures of such character possibly shows that they did not play a significant role in relation to communal cultic buildings. This section examines the exact context of the figurines discovered in sanctuaries along with their associated assemblages.

One figurine was unearthed from the site of Phlamoudi-*Vounari*. The excavator (Al-Radi 1983, 19) reported that the figurine was found in the northern entrance of the Cypro-Archaic phase of the sanctuary, adding that a number of terracotta and bronze objects as well as a limestone statuette were found along with it. The latter are all dated in the Cypro-Archaic period. New investigations of the material deriving from this site revealed that the figurine was actually discovered in the debris that was shovelled down the hill by Hellenistic builders; it is estimated that its original deposition place was near the summit of the hill. Consequently, it was not found on the floor of the Cypro-Archaic phase but merely in the debris that covered it (Horowitz 2008, 80). Horowitz proposes that:

‘If the figurine was not left at Vounari in the Bronze Age, it might well have been rediscovered during the Iron Age in a tomb and reused as a votive in the Cypro-Archaic II-Cypro-Classical or Hellenistic phase of the sanctuary’ (Horowitz 2008, 80).

Similarly, three out of the five figurines from the site of Myrtou-*Pigadhes* were found in the Iron Age deposit. The remains of the Iron Age sanctuary are limited since

¹³ It should be noted that it was not possible for me to examine the figurines deriving from the sanctuary of Myrtou-*Pigadhes* in order to identify their construction type; no pictures of them were published either.

they lay beneath the modern surface. According to the excavator, between the altar and the bank of rubble, there was a pile up of pottery deposit; the largest pots were placed together in the centre and the figurines and smaller vessels round the edges. A few bronze and iron objects were also found in the deposit. The deposit consisted of mostly Cypro-Geometric II and III period material with an overlap into Cypro-Archaic I (Du Plat Taylor 1957, 23-25). Similar explanations as above can be given for the presence of these figurines in the Iron Age deposit of this site.

Only two figurines from Myrtou-*Pigadhes* were found in LBA levels; one was found in CD2 room, Period III (LC IIA) while the second specimen was discovered in the destruction layer of the road dated in Period VII (Du Plat Taylor 1957, 82). During Period VII (LC III) the sanctuary is destroyed and the destruction seems to be deliberate according to the excavator (Du Plat Taylor 1957, 23). Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned about the exact archaeological context of these figurines or their assemblages. In addition, the figurine deriving from the courtyard of the so-called ‘cult-house’ of Idalion-*Ambelleri* was found without any stratigraphic context (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 460-628); nevertheless, according to Webb it was almost certainly from Period I (Webb 1999, 89).

Finally, the last five figurines discovered in cultic structures derive from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos. Three (Palaep._KC-825, Palaep._KC-731, Palaep._KC-924) out of the five were found in a *bothros* discovered under the Roman peristyle house west of the sanctuary. Several *bothroi* were found underneath this house and they seem to have belonged to the sanctuary. Mitford and Illife (1951, 59) discovered several hundred fragmentary figurines in the foundations of the north-eastern part of the building belonging mostly to Geometric to Classical times. In 1976, the room was re-examined by the Germans who discovered more than 4.500 fragmentary terracotta figurines mainly of Archaic to Hellenistic date; the majority of which show females with upraised arms and finely decorated near life-size statues.

The proximity of these pits with the sanctuaries led the excavators to interpret them as *bothroi* which contained discarded votives from both Sanctuaries I and II (Maier 1977, 140; Maier 1979, 172-174). Regarding the BR figurines, Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche doubt a connection of the figurines with the *bothroi* and they interpret them as individual finds which can be associated with the sanctuary but

accidentally recovered in the same area as the *bothroi* (Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011, 11). The finds contemporary to the figurines deriving from these *bothroi* were some LC fragmentary pottery and copper slag (Maier 1977, 140; Maier 1979, 172-174). The two remaining figurines (Palaep._KX-127, Palaep._KX-12) were among the scattered surface finds from the sanctuary, thus, their original context is lost (Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011, 9).

With these the list of figurines found in cultic structures or related to cultic structures is concluded. The appearance of these figurines in later floors might suggest their re-dedication, re-deposition in sanctuaries by people of later periods. Figurines such as these could have been found by people of later periods either through the looting of tombs or through the renovation and reuse of LBA structures. These figurines might have been considered important since they provided a connection with their past and their ancestors.

Regarding the specimens found in the *bothros* of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos, what is important to keep in mind is that they seem to have been either dedicated or used during the LBA at the site of the sanctuary. Two additional figurines have been found on the surface of this site which confirms their use or dedication to the sanctuary. The same can be said for the two figurines found in the LC features at Myrtou-Pigadhes and the Idalion-Ambelleri specimen.

Overall, the number of the figurines found in ritual spaces and their total absence in other cultic structures of the LC period probably shows that their dedication or use in buildings of such character was not usual. The BR female terracottas have not been found in any of the so-called sanctuaries located at Enkomi, i.e. the sanctuary of the Horned God, Ingot God or Double Goddess. Scholars' opinions on the chronology for when these buildings started to present a cultic character vary; some argue that it should be attributed to LC IIIA while others argue that it should be attributed to LC IIIB (for a discussion on this matter see Webb 1999, 91-102). It is possible that the absence of this kind of figurines from these sanctuaries is due to the fact that the periods in which these structures developed some kind of cultic activity were the same periods in which the figurines' production and use was reduced. However, the continuous use of the figurines during the LC IIIA is evident by their presence in Area III floors. It should be noted that the 'successors' of the BR female figurines in the coroplastic tradition of

Cyprus, the so-called ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ as well as LC zoomorphic specimens have been discovered in the sanctuaries of Enkomi (Webb 1999, 213; see also Chapter V for a brief discussion on the context of this group of figurines).

Moreover, BR female figurines were not found in the cultic structures of Kition either; the latter, however, produced Plain ware zoomorphic specimens, a number of Mycenaean Phi, Psi and Tau figurines (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 98, 103, 105) and the later ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 177). Thus, their absence in these sanctuaries might have been connected with their particular use or character and role in LC society. Their primary context of use, discussed below, could provide some insights regarding this aspect.

4. Primary context of use

The question that many scholars have tried to answer from the moment of their discovery has been concerned with the main context of their use. Scholars were divided in two groups; those arguing in favour of an exclusive funerary function of the figurines (J.Karageorghis 1977, 72, 78–79; Orphanides 1983, 46–48; 1988, 187; Merrillees 1988, 55; Karageorghis 1993, 21–23; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272) and those arguing for a mostly domestic use (Begg 1991, 15–23; Knapp 2008, 179; Budin 2011, 265). Nevertheless, the discovery of figurines in both domestic and ritual spaces clearly demonstrates that the idea of an exclusive funerary function is incorrect.

As already stated in Chapter I, 55 out of the 149 examples of known provenance were discovered in settlement structures. Fifty-two were found in burials. As Webb (1992, 90) argues, during LC II only eight out of 268+ tombs contained female figurines and during LC III only one out of 145+ tombs included these terracottas. Consequently, the figurines do not constitute a consistent or necessary element in funerary practices. In my opinion, since the BR female figurines have been discovered in settlements, it is more reasonable to assume that they were used in settlements while they were *sometimes* deposited or used in burials. I highlight ‘sometimes’ because, although the number of figurines discovered in the two contexts is almost equal, we should keep in mind that the excavated LBA settlements in Cyprus are limited while none has been

excavated in its entirety. On the other hand, the LC tombs excavated are numerous while they derive from a variety of sites.

The archaeological context of the figurines found *in situ* in burials could also shed some light regarding this aspect. These specimens seem to provide evidence for their deposition or of at least a secondary use in this context. For instance, the figurine found on the chest of the deceased in C19 of Enkomi could have belonged and used by the latter in life; its position on his/her chest could argue for a close relationship between the figurine and the deceased. Thus, in this case this specimen was possibly used in life prior its deposition in the tomb. Of course, this figurine could have been used during the funerary ritual prior its deposition to the tomb but this could also be considered as a secondary use if the specimen was used by the deceased during his/her life. Also, even if we consider the fact that this terracotta was viewed as being active after its placement with the deceased, due to maybe protective qualities, this could, again, be considered as a secondary use. The same can be said for the figurines from Episkopi-Bamboula T.19 and Dromolaxia-Trypes T.1 which were found close to concentrations of skulls. Finally, their scarce appearance in ritual spaces shows that it was not usual for these figurines to be used or deposited in structures of such character. The appearance of a significant number of other types of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines in LC cultic structures could suggest that the use and role of the BR female figurines, by contrast, might not have been compatible with structures of such character.

CHAPTER V:

THE BASE-RING FEMALE FIGURINES IN THEIR *LONGUE DURÉE* AND IN RELATION TO THE WIDER CORPUS OF LATE-CYPRIO FIGURINES

This chapter places the BR female figurines in the wider context of Cypriot tradition of figurine-making and use. The EC–LC I anthropomorphic figurine tradition is investigated as well as the figurine tradition that succeeded the BR female figurines during the LC IIIB–CG I period. This chapter explores the potential factors that led to the BR female figurines’ production through a typological and contextual (social and archaeological) comparison with the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines of the EC–LC I periods. At the same time investigating the possible reasons that led to their decline also through a typological and contextual comparison with the so-called ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ produced during the LC IIIB–CG I. Through the examination of their contexts and the changes occurring in the society during these periods additional light might be shed regarding the uses(s), role and character of the BR female figurines and the needs of the LC society.

This chapter also examines the BR females in relation to the zoomorphic and male terracottas produced during this period. For instance, questions related to the dominance of the female figurines in the archaeological record in comparison to their male counterparts are addressed. In addition, as we have seen in Chapter IV, BR female figurines occurred in five cases in association with zoomorphic figurines in settlements. Their proximity and similar state of preservation in three out of the five cases could argue for a close relationship between the two types. Therefore, the archaeological context of the zoomorphic figurines in comparison to the BR female figurines’ context is explored more closely.

Throughout Chapter V, the social context and changes occurring in the society during the periods under study are key elements in approaching all of the aforementioned research questions. This diachronic investigation approaches the BR female figurines through another perspective, aiming to better comprehend of how they were used and what their role and significance was in LC society.

1. Early and Middle Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurines

This section includes a brief introduction of the basic elements characterising the EC–MC in Cyprus since it is vital to have a good knowledge of the circumstances under which these terracottas were produced. A discussion of their interpretations, typologies and archaeological context follows. Their archaeological context is explored through two case-studies; the MC Lapithos cemetery site and the Marki-*Alonia* settlement. Next, the typologies and changes observed in the elements characterising the appearance of the figurines produced during the transitional period to the LBA (MC III–LC I) are presented, placing them again in their social context. Finally, the BR female figurines are compared in a typological and contextual level with the ‘plank-shaped’ terracottas noting differences and proceeding to observations regarding their identity, role, character and use while at the same time the possible reasons behind the decline of the ‘plank-shaped’ specimens are discussed.

1.1. Introduction to the Early and Middle Cypriot period

As already mentioned, the social context and changes occurring in the society that produced and used the plank figurines are key elements in approaching one of this chapter’s research questions. Understanding the conditions under which this group of terracotta figurines was produced is important in comprehending, firstly the needs of that particular society and, secondly, approaching their possible use and significance. Thus, a brief introduction to the period’s main characteristics is necessary. Through this investigation, the aspects of the Cypriot society that changed from the EC–MC to the LC period are highlighted since they could shed light on the reasons behind the demise of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines and the beginning of the production of the BR specimens.

The EC and MC periods are usually referred to as the prehistoric Bronze Age (Steel 2004, 119). These periods are characterised by major changes in the settlement pattern and architecture, burial practices, domestic technologies and economy (Swiny 1989, 186; Steel 2004, 119). However, all these changes seem to have been a diachronic development from the Philia facies. The transition from the Philia facies to the EC period is not marked by intrusive technologies or material culture but provides evidence

for continuities and gradual developments from the pre-existing settlement and cultural system (for a detailed discussion on this matter see Webb and Frankel 1999).

Settlements expanded into areas previously unoccupied, while their size and the actual number of the sites increased. Gradually, sites expanded across the whole island. Settlements of this period are either located on fertile plains suitable for agricultural production; on the foothills of Troodos where they could exploit the copper deposits (Swiny 1989, 18; Steel 2004, 121; Knapp 2013, 263, 277-279); or they are located on the north coast where they most likely participated in a maritime interaction sphere that connected Cyprus, Anatolia and the Aegean as early as c. 2400 B.C. It should be noted that the different settlements seem to have been in contact since they are characterised by similarities in material culture (Webb and Frankel 2012, 50).

While the EC and MC settlements were characterised by some differences in size and structure related to topography and resources, they had much in common. For example, domestic architecture appears to be similar; they had rectilinear houses, often divided in many rooms. They used rectangular mould-made mudbricks on top of low stone foundation walls. Although earlier buildings were less complex with fewer interconnected rooms, later houses have two or three covered rooms set within a larger, partly or fully enclosed courtyard (Swiny 1989, 21; 2008, 44, 48; Coleman *et al.* 1996, 24-25; Steel 2004, 129; Frankel and Webb 2006, 311; 2007, 195; Fall *et al.* 2008, 194-195; Webb 2009, 257-262; Falconer *et al.* 2010; Knapp 2013, 263).

Using Marki-Alonia as a case study, we observe that through the years households become more segregated. At the beginning, the architectural features provide evidence for resource-sharing and cooperative relationships between kin-related households, but from EC III courtyards become smaller and fully enclosed with only narrow entrances or internal passageways giving access to the buildings, while the interior rooms grow in size and number. Such changes may point to an increased specialisation in production and maintenance activities, and more diverse household behaviours. Also, it shows a trend towards privacy and security, perhaps linked to notions of heritable property and the control and manipulation of space and household resources (Frankel and Webb 2006, 311-314; Knapp 2013, 282).

All these changes in settlement location, size and architecture were also accompanied by the re-introduction of cattle on the island which facilitated a shift from

hoe cultivation to plough agriculture. This allowed for productivity to be increased as larger areas of land were cultivated through harnessing animal power. The increase in production is confirmed through the increase of household storage capacity (Swiny 1989, 187; Steel 2004, 125; Knapp 1990, 156-157; 2013, 304). Moreover, evidence deriving from pottery shapes linked to milk products as well as faunal remains showing the prominence of young female ovicaprines and very mature species suggest that animals were no longer kept only for their meat but also for secondary products (Knapp 1990, 157; 2013, 263, 304; Swiny 1997, 185-205; Steel 2004, 119, 125). Textile production, for example, is confirmed through the presence of various shapes of spindle-whorls in both domestic and mortuary contexts (Crewe 1998, 21-22).

The founding of settlements close to the copper-rich foothills of Troodos was clearly related to the exploitation of both mineral and agricultural sources. The recovery of ingot moulds in the excavations of Marki shows that copper from nearby ore bodies was being processed and distributed across the island. Excavations at Marki have provided so far the best evidence for the smelting and casting of local ores during this period (Frankel and Webb 2006, 216-217). Settlements such as *Sotira-Kamminoudhia*, *Alambra-Mouttes*, *Ambelikou-Aletri*, *Episkopi-Phaneromeni* and others also provided some evidence for metalworking (Knapp 2013, 300). In addition, scientific analysis of metal artefacts shows that these earliest Bronze Age people were involved in a maritime trade in metals, mainly copper with Anatolia and the Aegean (Webb *et al.* 2006).

In common with other changes in the material record of the prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus, mortuary practices were also transformed. Most people were now buried in large, formal, extra-mural cemeteries, often situated on hill slopes. The tombs were pit or rock-cut chamber tombs which usually contained one or more burials accompanied by a range of grave goods (Keswani 2004, 37-4; Frankel and Webb 2006, 283-285).

From *Karmi-Palealona* (EC I-II) we have evidence probably for a mortuary shrine connected with the cult of ancestors (Webb and Frankel 2010, 189-190, 192). From the EC I-II cemetery of Vounous there is evidence for mortuary rituals involving feasting (Stewart and Stewart 1950; Keswani 2004, 64; Webb and Frankel 2010, 195-198). According to Knapp:

‘By throwing feasts to revere and celebrate their status-laden ancestors, some extended families or other social groups underpin their status and highlight their identity’ (Knapp 2013, 321).

Herscher also believes that the various funerary customs at Vounous were indicators of special rituals in honour of elite ancestors (Herscher 1978, 33-34).

During the EC III period, the burial practices were slightly modified. Previously, based on evidence from Karmi, whenever the tombs were reused the human remains and grave goods already present were removed and placed in other types of mortuary facilities (shallow pits or scoops located in the cemetery area). During EC III they kept the human remains within the chamber tombs which became larger in size or elaborated with additional chambers and other associated features. This may be related to a change in the concept of a tomb, from a temporary resting place for a single person to one of permanent burial for a specific social or ancestral group (Keswani 2004, 82; Webb *et al.* 2009, 240; Webb and Frankel 2010, 194; Knapp 2013, 320). Finally, the MBA cemetery at Lapithos provides evidence for the use of the chambers beyond the time of the final burial episode and for purposes other than burial, probably including the caching of ancestral wealth and the use of ancestral space for on-going ritual activities (Webb 2015, 248; *forthcoming*).

Towards the end of the MC period significant changes occurred in the settlement pattern. Some villages were abandoned while the population of others increased which suggests the creation of larger villages and towns. However, some of the latter declined during the end of this period after the establishment of settlements on the coast which served as trade centres for Cypriot copper and other products (Webb and Frankel 2012, 53). A novel characteristic of the end of this period is the appearance of fortified sites in central Mesaoria plain and along the Karpas peninsula. Traditionally these forts were viewed as defensive strongholds and refuges reflecting presumed unsettled conditions on the island. An alternative and more plausible explanation suggests that the forts developed to control the movement of copper from the mines on the foothills of Troodos to urban centres on the coast for exportation since this period was characterised by increasing external demand for Cypriot copper (Merrillees 1982, 375; Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004, 152; Peltenburg 2008, 145-153). All these changes transformed the

economy and political structure of Cyprus during the initial phase of the LBA (Webb and Frankel 2012, 53).

1.2. The ‘plank-shaped’ figurines: interpretations and archaeological context

The ‘plank-shaped’ figurines started to be produced towards the end of the EC and through the MC period in both RP (**Fig. 5.1**) and WP ware (see Karageorghis 1991 for a catalogue). A number of fragmentary figures dating to the beginning of the EBA were unearthed in Marki. However, the RP ‘plank-shaped’ figurines constitute the first surviving ‘freestanding’ representations of the human form known on Cyprus since the Middle Chalcolithic period (Frankel and Webb 2006, 157; Knox 2012, 127; Falconer *et al.* 2014, 8; Webb 2015, 242). The ‘plank-shaped’ specimens depict flat, stylised figurines with detailed facial features, without clear sexual characteristics (they are sometimes depicted with breasts though). They are also characterised by incised (RP) or painted (WP) designs on their body and face which have been interpreted to represent dress and ornamentation. More precisely, these features have been interpreted as headbands, multi-stranded necklaces, dress pins, scarfs or shawls, and waist-bands as well as tattoos, scarifications or body paint. Some of them have also holes on their ears but no example has been found wearing earrings. Variations of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines include specimens holding cradled infants (**Fig. 5.2**) and examples with two or three heads (**Fig. 5.3**) as well as singular cradled infants (Karageorghis 1991; a Campo 1994, 150, 166; Knapp and Meskell 1997, 196; Talalay and Cullen 2002, 183-184; Falconer and Fall 2014, 181; Webb 2015, 242; *forthcoming*). Some of the WP specimens have modelled arms and legs (see Karageorghis 1991 for examples).

This group of terracottas has been variously interpreted. Nonetheless, the considerable variety of interpretations is based largely on typological studies while the contextual associations of specimens from secure deposits are often neglected. Suggestions regarding their function range from images of a goddess of fertility (J. Karageorghis 1977: 57–60) to fertility/birth charms or concubines (Morris 1985, 162). Merrillees (1980, 184) argued that they represent symbols of the continuity of human existence through procreation and life after death, while the remaining scholarship has been divided into two schools of thought: those arguing in favour of the figurines being symbols of group identity (Falconer and Fall 2013, 110; 2014, 182; Falconer *et al.* 2014,

11) with specific reference to ancestral authority (Talalay and Cullen 2002, 187, 189, 191; Keswani 2005, 349); and those supporting the idea of them being representations of an individual's social personality or status (a Campo 1994, 166-168; Knapp and Meskell 1997, 196, 199).



Figure 5.1: Red Polished 'plank-shaped' figurine 74.51.1534 from the Metropolitan Museum (Cesnola collection) dated to EC III–MC I (photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum).



Figure 5.2: Red Polished 'plank-shaped' figurine from the British Museum holding an infant in a cradle dated to EC III–MC I (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 5.3: Red Polished 'plank-shaped' figurine from Medelhavsmuseet dated to EC III–MC I (photo: courtesy of the Medelhavsmuseet).

As it is highly important to take into consideration the archaeological context of the figurines as a basis for interpretation, I have selected two case-studies in order to investigate this aspect. The 'plank-shaped' figurines seem to occur in both burial and domestic contexts, therefore, a cemetery and a settlement site were chosen; the MBA cemetery site of Lapithos and the EC–MC settlement site of Marki-*Alonia*. The first site was selected due to the fact that is one of the few, if not the only site, that provides

evidence on the exact position of the figurines in burials. Also, the number of Lapithos figurines far outweighs those found elsewhere. Moreover, only Lapithos has produced the full range of types which makes Webb (2015, 245) suggest that they were, at least at first, produced exclusively at Lapithos. On the other hand, Marki-Alonia was chosen because of the number of specimens it produced and also because it was thoroughly excavated and recorded.

Starting with the cemetery of Lapithos (at the north coast of the island), fourteen figurines have been found in the tombs excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. However, due to water accumulation and bad preservation of the tombs only four provided evidence regarding the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines’ archaeological context (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 53, 108, 134). It should be noted that most Lapithos tombs that were in use during the MC period contained at least one example (Webb *forthcoming*).

Tomb 306 produced one specimen which was discovered immediately below the head of a deceased, judging from the position of the necklace found with it (**Fig. 5.4**). Also an unusual two-necked spouted jug was recovered along with the latter (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 60; Webb 2015, 245; *forthcoming*). Tomb 307 produced two figurines but only the position of one is mentioned in the publication. The latter was found in Chamber B which was occupied by a single skeleton. The assemblages of the burial included the figurine, a scraper, a knife and a spouted vessel (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 63; Webb *forthcoming*). Tomb 313 contained a concentration of figurines; two specimens were found in Chamber A associated with a single burial while three were discovered in Chamber B (**Fig. 5.5**) associated with faience necklaces, ox bones and several multiple and other likely ritual vessels (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 93, 97-98; Webb 2015, 245; *forthcoming*). Webb argues that there might be a link between the presence of the terracottas, elite burials and unusual, possibly ritual vessels (Webb *forthcoming*). She also suggests that there might be a connection of the figurines with female burials judging from the examples in Tomb 306 and Tomb 313B that were found close to faience necklaces. Of course she highlights that no evidence is provided by the osteological material for such an assumption (Webb 2015, 245).

Another tomb that contained a concentration of terracotta and stone plank-shaped figurines was Tomb 322. One plank-idol was found in Chamber A which was one of the largest and most architecturally complex of all tomb chambers at Lapithos

(Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 155). This chamber also included a few skeletal remains, 14 pottery vessels and 55 metal items which give the impression that they have been gathered, arranged and cached (**Fig. 5.6**). According to Webb, they seem to have been grouped together to some extent by type and aligned as though placed in boxes or bags. It seems that some artefacts were removed from their burial contexts and accumulated in other chamber tombs. Skeletal material and pottery vessels were also partially removed (Webb 2015, 248; *forthcoming*).

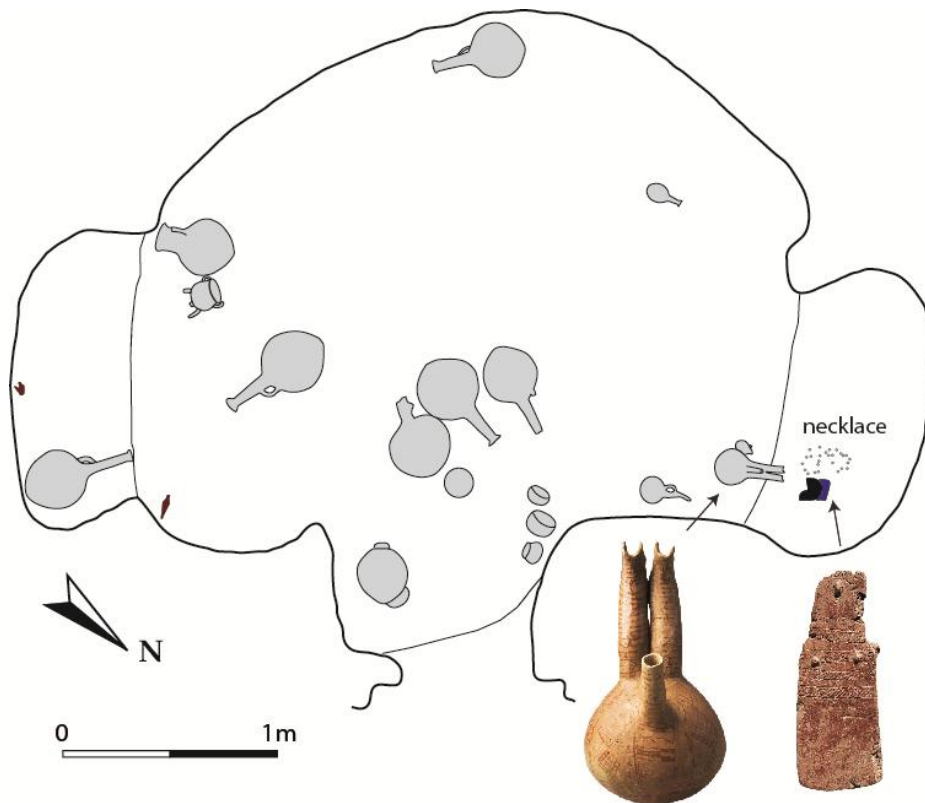


Figure 5.4: A plan presenting the position of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurine in T.306 Chamber A of Lapithos (Webb *forthcoming*; after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, Fig. 32.1).

In addition, Chamber B also produced one figurine; however, this chamber was found looted. Only a number of metal objects, faience beads and ‘several bones of a horse skeleton’ survived the looting. Lastly, Chamber D produced two stone figures, one made out of gypsum and one 70.4 cm long described as an ‘oblong menhir’ (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 147). The latter lay in the centre of the chamber immediately in front of the double entrance with the former directly behind it, placed between two large jugs and a ring vase and before an array of other vessels (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 147;

Webb 2015, 248; *forthcoming*; **Fig. 5.7**). Chamber D also contained 85 pots (including a unique array of small bowls and complex, probably ritual vessels), seven metal items and the ‘almost complete skeleton of a dog’ (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 147; Webb 2015, 248). The presence of all these objects in Chamber D along with the remains of the dog make it possible that it was used at least in its final phase for on-going ancestor rituals (Webb 2015, 248; *forthcoming*). Webb concludes that:

‘Both terracotta and stone plank-shaped images, appear to have been associated with ritualised activity in mortuary contexts at Lapithos, with some stone examples apparently serving specifically as ritual devices. They clearly had considerable symbolic power, likely linked with ancestralising practices and with the emergence of new social structures and the changing status of individual human agents’ (Webb *forthcoming*).



Figure 5.5: A plan presenting the position of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines in T.313 Chamber B of Lapithos (Webb *forthcoming*; after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, Fig. 43.2).

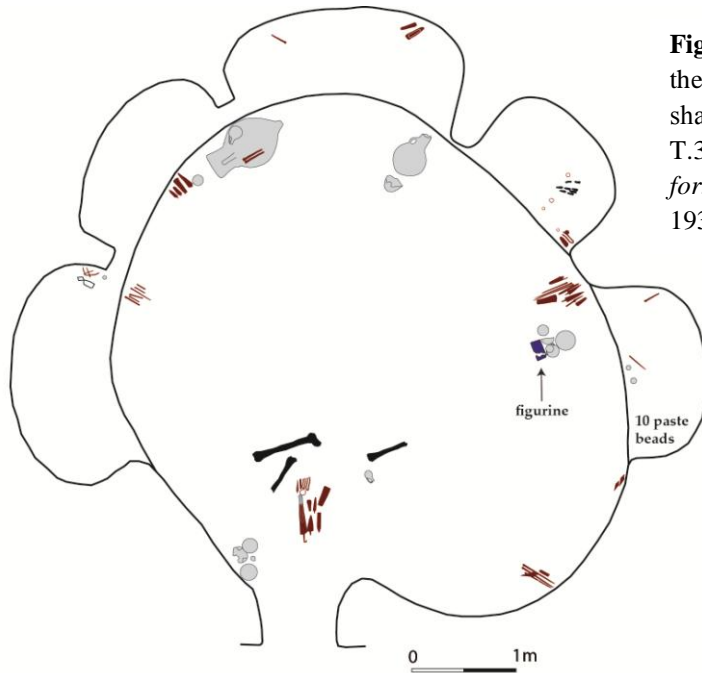


Figure 5.6: A plan presenting the position of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurine in Lapithos T.322 Chamber A (Webb *forthcoming*; after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, Fig. 56.4).

These figurines seem to appear mostly in tombs rich in metal objects. During this period some tombs and their mortuary assemblages become more elaborate at Lapithos which suggests a significant increase in the wealth and status of some groups from this site. Thus, the appearance and use of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines in these tombs might have been related with the efforts of these groups to legitimise and communicate their status through an appeal to ancestral authority. Whether the plank-figurines were used the same way elsewhere is however, unclear (*Webb forthcoming*).

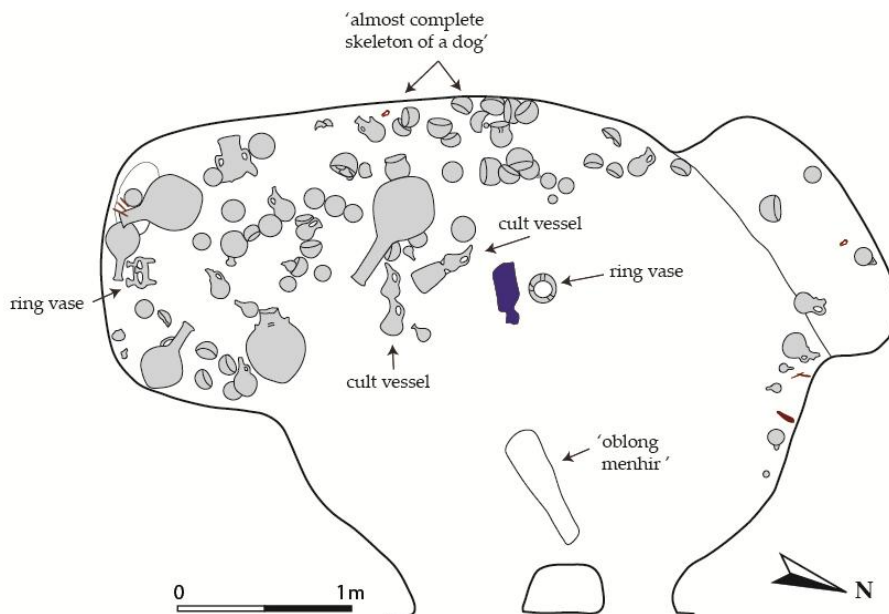


Figure 5.7: A plan presenting the position of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurine and the ‘oblong menhir’ in Lapithos T.322 Chamber D (Webb *forthcoming*; after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, Fig. 57.2).

Moving on to Marki, 'plank-shaped' figurines were found in depositional contexts of EC III and MC I–II date. It should be noted that the figurines start to appear at more or less the same time when households become more segregated. Their depositional contexts suggest that they were not subject to special treatment with regard to final discard (Frankel and Webb 2006, 157). More precisely, seven specimens were surface finds or found on plough soil (Frankel and Webb 2006, Table 5.1). Two were found in fills of pits/ditches of a later period (Frankel and Webb 2006, 79, 87-88), while ten were discovered on floors of interior rooms belonging to households. These specimens seem to have been associated with domestic objects and installations (Frankel and Webb 1996, 187; 2006, 157).

One was recovered from the material used for the construction of a bench (Frankel and Webb 2006, 43-44, 157) while a number of examples were found in construction or leveling fills (Frankel and Webb 1996, 187-190). Of particular interest are four specimens found together in a construction fill along with a bovid horn which the excavators compare with a collection of anthropomorphs in Room 2 of Building I at *Alambra-Mouttes*¹⁴ (Frankel and Webb 1996, 35, 187). Finally, two specimens were recovered from fills created by the collapsed walls of structures that fell into disrepair along with a variety of objects (Frankel and Webb 2006, 78, 80). Therefore, no pattern is observable regarding their use in this settlement nor is there evidence for a special treatment of these terracottas towards the end of their use-life.

To sum up, these two sites provide significant evidence regarding the figurines' potential use and role in EC III and MC society. The Lapithos MC tombs revealed that the 'plank-shaped' figurines usually occur in metal-rich tombs. They appear at a time when these tombs and their assemblages become more elaborate. During this period tombs become also permanent resting places for specific social or ancestral groups and not for just one or two individuals. All these changes could signify the appearance of groups of people or, more precisely, families that acquired, or were trying to acquire, a certain status through ancestral rituals. When we take into consideration the increasing importance of heritable property connected with plow agriculture, the associated labour requirements, the rising population densities coupled with the larger land areas required for plow cultivation which might have created a perception of land scarcity (Keswani

¹⁴ This concentration does not provide any indications of special status or purpose either.

2004, 41, 82), we come to the conclusion that the need for social boundaries or group membership must have been great. Thus, it can be suggested that the use and role of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines in burials might have been connected with the efforts of these groups to legitimise and communicate their status through ancestral authority.

Although no pattern is observed regarding the use or discard of the specimens recovered from the settlement of Marki-*Alonia*, it is significant to note that they appear during a period when the household architecture changes. From an architecture suitable for resource-sharing and collaboration between kin-related households there is a move to more isolated and enclosed households, possibly family-based (Frankel and Webb 2006, 311-314; Knapp 2013, 282). The figurines found on floors seem to have been recovered from the interior of rooms of such households. Thus, we could speculate—in accordance to their social context—that the use of these figurines in the settlement structures of Marki would have been related to certain families.

1.3. From the ‘plank-shaped’ to the Base-Ring female figurines: the transitional period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (MC III–LC I)

Only a few specimens can be dated in the transitional period. The majority of this group of terracottas is of an unknown provenance and they were dated in the end of the MC—beginning of the LC due to their similarities with both the ‘plank-shaped’ and the BR anthropomorphic figurines. They are mostly of WP and Plain White ware (Karageorghis 1991, 176-180). The types of specimens produced during this transitional period are not standardised but are instead characterised by differences in both their typologies and production methods.

Briefly, during this period specimens with cylindrical bodies begin to be manufactured while a small number seems to have their genitalia rendered through the use of small circular impressions (Karageorghis 1991, 176-177, 180). Another group with flat bodies is characterised by modelled legs with downward pointing feet and incised toes similar to the BR figurines but more crudely rendered. They have arms extended away from the body and hands placed on the waist (Karageorghis 1991, 177-178). Karageorghis (1991, 180) dates this group in LC I. It is important to mention that only a few examples are known to have modelled legs and arms from the MC–LC I period. Furthermore, an additional group is characterised by elongated necks with a

number of painted horizontal bands resembling the Type B specimens. They are freestanding and rendered in the round. One example, a male figure (the genitals are represented), seems to hold an item/infant (Karageorghis 1991, 179-180). Entirely hollow or partially hollow specimens dated to the end of the MC or later are also manufactured (Karageorghis 1991, 178-180; 2009, 69).

The figurine tradition of this transitional period is characterised by a number of novel elements such as the indication of the genitals; rounded bodies; hollow or partially hollow construction; modelled legs and arms. With the production of the BR female figurines during LC II–III A, these elements become standardised and developed. Consequently, along with the social changes characterising the end of the MC period, changes seem to occur also in the production of the anthropomorphic terracotta figurines.

It might not be a coincidence that the period in which these examples occur is characterised by settlement abandonments and population movement to other sites which are either being expanded or are newly founded. This is also the period when settlements start to appear at the coasts of Cyprus in order to serve as centres for the exportation of copper and other materials. Thus, this might explain the variety of types of terracottas produced. It is only when the island's LBA polities are clearly established, the trade between Cyprus and its neighbouring areas is intensified and there is clear evidence for social stratification that the BR female figurines appear.

1.4. Base-Ring female figurines vs 'plank-shaped' figurines

Comparing the 'plank-shaped' and the BR female figurines on a typological level, they seem to differ significantly. Although continuities exist in the rendering of the facial features and ornamentation through incisions or paint and their occasional depiction as 'kouroutrophi' (for a more detailed discussion regarding continuities with the previous figurine tradition see Chapter II, Section 4.4), the rendering of the human form and the emphasis given to certain features change notably from one figurine tradition to the other.

The first significant difference concerns the way the human body is represented. The 'plank-shaped' figurines have a flat body while their bodily features (with facial

features being the exception) are usually rendered schematically. The BR female figurines are depicted in the round while their bodily and facial features are rendered in detail. Another major difference between the two figurine traditions is that the BR specimens are clearly gendered while the majority of the 'plank-shaped' figurines is characterised by 'gender ambiguity' – or at least this is how we see them through our 'modern society' eyes (for a discussion on this matter see Knapp and Meskell 1997; Talalay and Cullen 2002; Bolger 2003, 107-109). What changes during the LBA is that there is a clear depiction of the male and female genitalia which is due to the fact that the figurines are represented nude or almost nude. In addition to that the BR figurines not only have their pubic triangles rendered but they have them exaggerated; thus, the depiction of this feature seems to have been particularly important. On the other hand, the 'plank-shaped' specimens appear to be most probably dressed which could explain the lack of the genitals. It is the nudity of the BR females that stands in contrast to the seemingly dressed bodies of the 'plank-shaped' specimens. Therefore, from a tradition characterised by a more schematic representation of the human form which is presented flat and which gave emphasis on the depiction of dress and in general bodily ornamentation, we move to a tradition that is characterised by the representation of the human form in the round with facial and bodily features rendered in detail, with the female body represented nude and the genitalia rendered in an emphatic manner. Although ornamentation is also represented on the BR examples it does not constitute the focus of attention as was the case with the previous figurine tradition. Also, while both figurine traditions have specimens holding infants, it should be noted that during EC–MC the infants are represented in a cradle (Karageorghis 1991, 77-81) while during the LC period the infants are held in various positions without the cradle.

The differences observed in the rendering of their bodily features could also shed light on their use. For example, the downward pointing feet of the BR female figurines and their sizes suggest that they could have been handled in one's palm; the most natural way of handling them is to hold them from the legs. These figurines were meant to be handled and experienced through handling which can be supported by the lack of decoration on their backs. On the other hand, it seems that the 'plank-shaped' figurines are meant to be seen which can be supported by the fact that both front and back sides are covered in decorative motifs. Of course, the fact that the 'plank-shaped' figurines are made to be seen does not mean that they could not have been handled.

They cannot stand freely, thus, in order to be seen they had to be placed on a base, pressed into the ground or be handled. Taking into account their sometimes larger size, their decoration on both sides and the fact they could not stand freely, it can be presumed that these figurines were handled in such a way that they could be seen from some distance (maybe raising them up with both hands). It seems reasonable to infer that the differences observed between the two figurine traditions are probably connected with the social changes and needs of the society that produced and used them.

This observation can also be confirmed through a comparison of their archaeological contexts. ‘Plank-shaped’ figurines and figures seem to have been found in tombs and settlements. It was suggested that the examples found in Lapithos tombs were probably used in ancestor rituals that aimed to legitimise and communicate the status of certain people. The archaeological context of the specimens discovered at the settlement of Marki does not overrule or confirm this interpretation; however, the fact that they appear in a period when the households become more family-based units is significant (Frankel and Webb 2006, 311-314; Knapp 2013, 282). We should, however, keep in mind that these figurines could have had a different use or significance in the different settlements. According to Webb (2015, 245), Lapithos and Marki are two very different communities. Lapithos is the heart of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines and figures while Marki was receiving a few imported examples and also imitate them.

When we move to LC II–III A, the period of the BR female figurines’ production and use, no or little evidence is provided by the position of the figurines in the tombs for their involvement in on-going ritual activities related to ancestors. Only three tombs could be interpreted as shedding light on the role and use of these terracottas in this context. C19 of Enkomi provides evidence for a close relationship between the deceased and the figurine since the latter was found on the chest of the former. It is possible that this figurine belonged to and was used by the deceased in life and it was therefore placed in the tomb as a valuable possession. The picture created by the position of the figurine in Enkomi’s C19 regarding its role in the burial comes in contrast to the potential role and use of the plank figurines in the MC Lapithos tombs.

On the other hand, the position of the BR females in T.19 of Episkopi-*Bamboula* and T.1 of Dromolaxia-*Trypes* can be tentatively interpreted as evidence on the relation between terracottas and skulls. It was argued that the placement of the figurines with

concentrations of skulls during secondary burial treatments might have been connected with the significance of the head in LC society. Although these tombs have not produced any evidence suggesting that ritual practices took place during secondary burial treatments we cannot totally dismiss such possibility since they might not have left any identifiable traces in the archaeological record. Thus, it is possible that the placement of the figurines with the skulls might have been accompanied with some kind of rituals connected with the veneration of ancestors. These two tombs are suggestive of a continuation of the practices followed in the previous period involving anthropomorphic terracottas.

However, a significant difference between the two periods is the way people choose to communicate and legitimise their status. For the Middle Cypriots this was conducted through elaborate burial practices, on-going ancestor rituals and a great investment on tomb architecture. Nonetheless, the architecture of the tombs and burial practices become less and less elaborate during the LC while groups of people negotiate and establish their status through different means (Keswani 2004, 136-139; Knapp 2013, 428-432). As Keswani argues:

‘...the ‘privatization’ of tombs in domestic contexts, the decreasing elaboration of ritual treatments especially evident in the shaft grave burials, the reduced consumption of pottery and copper relative to earlier periods, and the declining consumption of exotic goods in mortuary contexts during LCIII (when they are most plentiful in settlement deposits, at least at Enkomi) cumulatively suggest that over time mortuary rituals may have ceased to be the central arena for the creation and negotiation of status within the community. As social competition stimulated the demand for foreign prestige goods, the status differentials expressed by those goods were increasingly underwritten by material differences in access to or control of copper production, trade, and other forms of economic activity. The development of political and religious institutions and other elite productive estates offered new contexts for the aggrandizement of social status and the accumulation of wealth....’ (Keswani 2004, 143-144).

Consequently, it is less likely that the use of the BR females in tombs would have been related with rituals aiming to communicate and establish social status through ancestral authority as might be the case with the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines in the MC Lapithos tombs.

Thus, one reason that the plank figures and figurines went out of use could be the change in the means of conveying status and power during the LBA. This could also be the reason that we observe changes in the role and use of the two figurine groups. An additional reason that could have led to the demise of the ‘plank-shaped’ terracottas is that Cyprus comes into contact with other civilisations during the LBA, developing relationships that went beyond trade. During this period, Cypriots adopt and adapt foreign elements into their culture. The continuities and discontinuities with the previous local figurine tradition seen in their form as well as the introduction of novel elements could have been the result of the combination of local and foreign features along with elements that became important due to social changes. Most probably, all these factors resulted in the creation of a new female form.

A question that is raised here is whether this new female form is also characterised by a new identity. This is a very difficult—and not at all straightforward—question to answer but a few points should be discussed. Although, features from the adjacent areas to Cyprus could have been transferred on the island regarding the female figure it does not necessarily mean that the identity, role, use and significance of the BR females were identical to those. This can be confirmed, firstly, by the obvious re-interpretation of some features, the significant differences in others, the continuation of other elements from the previous local figurine tradition and also by the representation of elements/habits followed by the Late Cypriots which are not seen in the LBA traditions of the Levant, Egypt or the Aegean. Even if some of the ideas behind them were transferred it should be considered certain that they were adapted according to the worldviews and beliefs of the LC society. Detailed published studies on the LBA traditions of the Levant and Egypt (after which scholars have based mostly their interpretations for the BR females) taking into account not only their physical characteristics as a method of interpretation, are almost absent. Thus, it is more fruitful to study the identity of the BR females through the evidence provided within the island.

The evidence so far seems to point to a somewhat different role and use of the BR and the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines. Could, their identity, however, be the same? Could the identity of the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines have continued into the LBA even if their function and role did not? Is there any evidence that could support this claim? It has been argued that there is a connection between the presence of pins (which became more elaborated while the types significantly increased during the MC in the Lapithos

tombs) and other jewellery such as silver or silver-lead rings and earrings, silver bracelets and diadems, gold spirals and other ornaments and faience necklaces at Lapithos tombs (Webb 2015, 249) and the depictions of elaborately dressed, probably female figures (Webb 2015, 250). It should be noted that some of the pins and jewellery were imported goods. The use of these objects both in daily life and in the tombs would have contributed to the establishment and communication of status. Thus, the elaborate dress and ornamentation rendered on the plank terracottas seem to have been an element seen in the society. Could the plank-shaped figurines be representations of ancestors, used in rituals for the establishment and communication of their family's status?

A similar picture is created by the existence of multiple pairs of earrings on the Type A figurines and actual pairs of earrings in the LC tombs. It seems that in this case, again, a habit of the society or at least of a part of that society is represented. The same can be said for the flat top and protrusion on the back of the head for the Type B. Is it a coincidence that such feature appears when skull modification becomes more prolific in Cyprus? As it was argued before, these two features could represent habits of different social groups. Although the BR females do not seem to have been used in on-going ancestor rituals for the communication of status in burials (they have also been found in both rich and modest tombs), the case of *Dromolaxia-Trypes* T.1 and *Episkopi-Bamboula* T.19 as well as the fragmentation of the BR females in settlements could argue for a connection of these terracottas with ancestors (if they do not constitute representations of the latter). Also, the fact that we find BR females mostly in 15th–14th century burials and sometimes in 13th century and not later might, of course, be connected with the absence of excavated tombs providing more precise dates later in time and/or with the fact that they continue a tradition from the EC III–MC which started to fade with time. Nonetheless, I am aware of the scarcity of evidence regarding the BR terracottas and thus, these suggestions are tentatively made and could either be supported or change in the light of new data from future excavations.

1.5. General Remarks

Entering LC II, there is a discernible development from the 'plank-shaped' terracottas and the figurines of the transitional period to the BR female figurines. Continuities can be seen in form and construction techniques, as discussed thoroughly

in Chapter II. However, this period's figurine tradition is also characterised by novel elements; these novel elements could have been firstly, the result of the contact of Cyprus with its adjacent areas which went beyond the economical transactions in the degree which local and foreign elements appear to be blended in various aspects/areas of Cypriot material culture. Foreign elements seem to have been adopted and adapted in the LC society according to their own worldviews and ideas. On other hand, a number of these features (i.e. exaggerated ears and hanging of earrings as well as the flat top and protrusion of the upper part of the head) seem to constitute pre-existing characteristics of the Cypriot society that may have been highlighted or more emphatically marked due to social changes.

Although the status and wealth of the LBA elites must have passed from one generation to the other, the way they were legitimising and communicating the former changed. The legitimisation of status through ancestral authority which seems to have been strong during the end of the EC–MC does not seem to be evident during the LBA when the tomb architecture and burial rituals are becoming less and less elaborate. This is also reflected in the positions of the BR females in tombs which show no signs of the terracottas' involvement in on-going burial rituals and more particularly, rituals that aimed to reaffirm or consolidate status through the mediation of ancestors (as it seems to be the case with the plank figurines in the Lapithos tombs). Nonetheless, even though the function and role of the two figurine traditions might have been different, their identity might have been similar as argued on the basis of a variety of evidence above.

2. The Late Cypriot IIIB – Cypro-Geometric I anthropomorphic figurines

This section contains a brief introduction to the basic elements characterising the LC IIIB–CG I period in order to explore under which conditions the BR female figurines gradually go out of use and the new figurine tradition is introduced. A description of the typology, interpretations and archaeological context of the successors of the BR female figurines, the so-called 'goddesses with uplifted/upraised arms', follows. The archaeological context of the latter is presented through two case-studies: the sanctuaries of Enkomi and Kition. These figurines are then compared with the BR specimens on a typological and contextual level which aims to explore the potential reasons behind the latter's demise.

2.1. Introduction to Late Cypriot IIIB–Cypro-Geometric I period

During the LC IIIB–CG I period, the BR female figurines gradually go out of use while new figurine types are introduced. The first step in approaching the question concerning the circumstances under which the BR female figurines went out of use and explore the possible reasons behind this change is to proceed to an examination of the basic elements characterising this period. A comparison of the typologies and archaeological contexts of the two figurine traditions constitutes the second step.

During LC IIIB (1125-1050 BC) old settlements are relocated while new settlements are founded; these changes in the settlement pattern were to create the island's Iron Age settlement configuration (Iacovou 2008, 234). More precisely, the few settlements that survived into LC IIIA¹⁵ were either shifted or relocated or continued to occupy the same urban nucleus they had been occupying during the 14th or 13th century as it is assumed for Palaepaphos and Kition. Other settlements like Amathous are freshly-founded in places with no LBA urban predecessor. The founding of Amathous in that location was clearly related to the control of a harbour (Snodgrass 1994, 170; Iacovou 2005, 130; 2008, 245; 2012, 217; 2013, 25-26).

Enkomi was gradually abandoned during the transition from LC IIIA–IIIB because of the silting of its harbor by alluvial deposits. It was succeeded by Salamis (Iacovou 2008, 243; 2013, 26; Satraki 2012, 177). Moreover, the closure of the harbor of Hala Sultan Tekke (transformed into a lake by the 11th century) led to the town's gradual abandonment. The enhancement and presumed rise of population at nearby Kition is not considered to have been irrelevant to the abandonment of Hala Sultan Tekke and the shift of its population. Thus, when the region's primary coastal town centre had closed down, another took its place. As noted above, only Kition and Palaepaphos did not shift away from their original LC locations during the transition from the LC IIIA to LC IIIB. These two settlements seem to have been the island's primary administrative and economic authorities during the 12th century¹⁶ and it is more than likely that they sustained this role during the transition to the Early Iron Age (Iacovou 2005, 129, 132; 2008, 244-245; 2013, 26). The same sites that existed during

¹⁵ It should be noted that a number of primary importance sites were abandoned during the end of the 13th–12th century like Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*.

¹⁶ It is important to mention that Kition and Palaepaphos are the only sites that in the midst of the 13th century economical crisis proceed in building monumental sacred architecture.

the Early Iron Age (11th–10th centuries), plus or minus one or maybe two, are identified by name on Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions of the 7th century with the Iron Age city-kingdoms of Cyprus (Sherratt 1992, 330; Iacovou 2008, 247-248; 2013, 28).

Another change characterising this period is the introduction of a new language; the unknown language of the Cypro-Minoan script was no longer the island's predominant language in the Iron Age. The Bronze Age language was almost totally replaced by a Mycenaean related form of early Greek. As Iacovou argues:

‘Although the introduction of the new language in Cyprus was not accompanied by a distinctly Mycenaean material culture in new and separate settlements, this fundamental change between the island's prehistoric (Bronze Age) and historic (Iron Age) languages could not have come without human agents permanently established on the island’ (Iacovou 2008, 234).

However, the joint appearance of Greek language written in the local Cypriote syllabic script shows that the illiterate newcomers, instead of adopting the local language which was already served by a script, chose to adopt and adapt the local script to write their own language (Iacovou 2008, 238). Thus, ‘an Aegean migration of limited archaeological visibility set off the process of Hellenisation’ (Iacovou 2008, 238).

Although LC IIIA is characterised by diversity in the material culture, LC IIIB–CG I material record is culturally homogenous (Iacovou 2012, 213). For instance, from the 12th century an unattested type of tomb occurs: the shaft grave which is not restricted to low status individuals. As Keswani (1989, 70) suggests the appearance of shaft graves side by side with many pre-existing Cypriot family chamber tombs which continued to be used in the 12th century could yield strong evidence for the presence of foreigners, functionaries or specialists; people detached from their place of origin who had no local family tomb (Iacovou 2005, 130). Not one site shows Bronze Age to Iron Age continuity in tomb use, tomb architecture or burial practices. The lack of continuity is even observed in Kition and Palaepaphos. A new tomb type is introduced; the chamber tomb with a long dromos while cemeteries are now located outside the walls of the cities (Satraki 2012, 175). Neither LC family tombs nor single-use shaft graves survived in the island's new homogenous pattern of extramural, community-organised Early Iron Age cemeteries (Iacovou 2005, 131). The new grave seems not to have been of a local development since it was previously unattested in the Cypriot environment

but was of an Aegean origin (Iacovou 2005, 131; 2008, 242). It is important to note that within these cemeteries we cannot distinguish between autochthons and foreign immigrants (Iacovou 2005, 131; 2008, 242; 2012, 214).

LC IIIB is also characterised by the introduction of a new pottery type, the Proto-White Painted. This type has many similarities with the Aegean pottery of the 12th century. It is the first pottery type which appears to be standardised and mass produced through the wheel in Cyprus (Satraki 2012, 176). The use of Proto-White Painted and later of White Painted I, the local pottery deposited in tombs of the 11th and 10th centuries, was shared (a koine) across the island's population, and not restricted to a particular 'ethnic' group such as Greek-speaking migrants; in the 11th–10th centuries, the island's ceramic industry produced only one type of painted ware which had a high quality and an amazingly rich repertoire of shapes (Iacovou 2005, 131).

The predominance of the fast wheel also affected the manufacture of the Cypriot terracottas. In LC IIIA the first zoomorphic figurines with hollow bodies produced on the wheel appear, while by LC IIIB they completely replace the BR bulls in cult sites and tombs. A similar development affected also the anthropomorphic terracottas. The BR female figurines are now replaced by the Cypriot version of the so-called 'goddesses with uplifted/upraised arms' which are characterised by wheel-made elements. This replacement is discussed in detail below.

2.2.The LC IIIB–CG I female terracotta figurines: typology, interpretations and archaeological context

While the use of the BR female figurines gradually declines, a small group of Plain ware female and male figurines appear in Enkomi. The female terracottas are usually represented holding their breasts and they occur in both hollow and solid forms. Both Plain ware female and male figurines are characterised by a 'stylistic anarchy with simplistically rendered facial features' (Karageorghis 1993, 29-30). During the 11th century another type of figurine appears; that is the so-called 'goddess with upraised arms'. This type continues in production until the Cypro-Classical period (Karageorghis 1993, 60-61; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 320). The earliest examples occurred in LC IIIB contexts at Kition, Enkomi and Limassol-*Komissariato* (**Fig. 5.8**) and they are usually of Proto-White Painted ware. They have cylindrical wheel-made or hand-made bodies

with the arms raised to either side of the head. Eyes, nose and breasts appear in relief and details of hair, jewellery and clothing are painted. They appear wearing a long skirt and they sometimes bear a polos or a tiara (Webb 1999, 213; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 154-155). They are considered to represent females since they usually have breasts denoted (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 155-156). The material conventionally included in this group consists of numerous figurines which vary in decoration, size and techniques of production (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 154-155).



Figure 5.8: One of the earliest examples of the Cypriot ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ from Limassol-Komissariato (Karageorghis 1993, 59).

Several theories have been put forward as to the identification of this type of figurines and the significance of the position of the arms. They have been interpreted to represent a goddess or a priestess representing a goddess and playing the role of mediator between the worshipper and the divinity. It has also been argued that they represent worshippers or dancing votaries (for a synopsis of the interpretations see Karageorghis 1993, 60-61; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 324). The gesture of upraised arms has been variously interpreted as one of mourning, benediction or invocation, a manifestation of the divine presence, an evocation of horns of consecration or a dancing posture (Webb 1999, 215). Zeman-Wiśniewska notes that the gesture of upraised arms is strictly associated with female representations (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157).

The new figurine types are found predominantly in sanctuaries rather than in tombs or settlements (J.Karageorghis 1977, 7; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 153). Of course, Early Iron Age provides minimal visibility regarding settlements (Satraki 2012, 178). In sanctuaries they seem to have been deposited as votive offerings as is suggested by their archaeological context (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157). Over 150 fragmentary examples were discovered in the west courtyard, west bench and west adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (**Fig. 5.9**), seven on or above Floor II in Temenos A, Courtyards C and D, Temples 2 and 5 and Room 16 at Kition and one in room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess at Enkomi; these were recovered from LC IIIB contexts (Webb 1999, 213). Sixteen fragments were found in Temples 4 and 5, Temenos A, Room 16, Courtyards A and B and associated borthroi at Kition dating to the CG period (Webb 1999, 213). In general, the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are found in sanctuaries associated with a female deity. Although examples do also occur in the sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi which might argue that the cult of which they were part was not gender specific (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157), it was suggested that the west adyton was probably dedicated to a female deity (Webb 1999, 112).

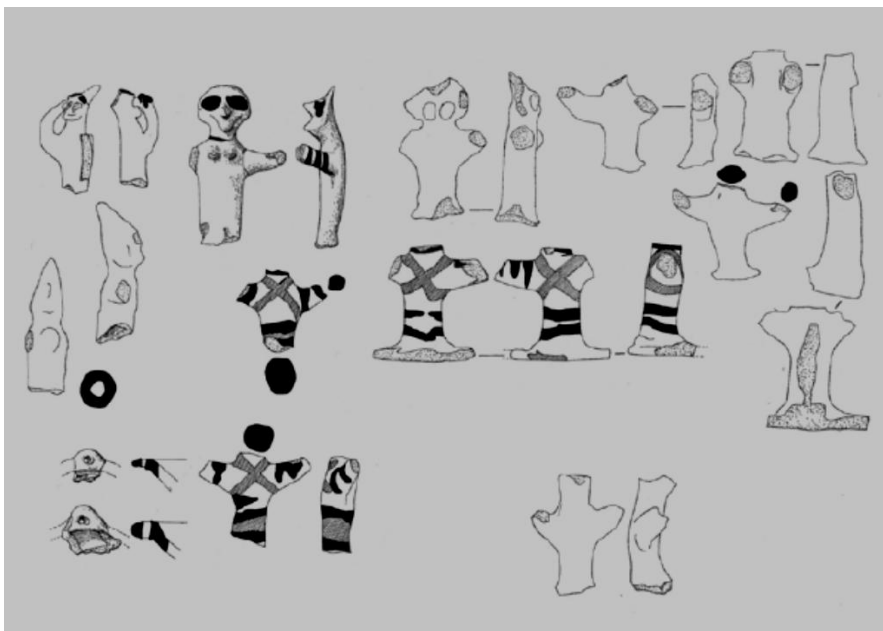


Figure 5.9: Figurines with upraised arms from Enkomi, Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Steel 2008. 165).

The concentration of the small solid figurines with upraised arms in the western part of the sanctuary of the Ingot God is of particular interest. Most seem to show females while only a small number represent males with pointed bonnets. They were all found broken and detached from circular plaques on which they might have been arranged in groups of three female dancers around a male musician with a flute or

tambourine (judging from examples of later date). In other words, these could have represented female votaries arranged around a musician (Karageorghis 1993, 64-65; Webb 1999, 123; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015, 323).

This suggests that ‘the gesture of upraised arms could not only be emblematic or symbolic, but also part of an active performance’ (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157; 2015, 323). More precisely, Zeman-Wiśniewska argues that they may represent female participants of a ritual, engaged in dance or other forms of cultic activity apart from being symbols of a dedication, prayer or a ritual that was repeated continuously by being embodied within the offerings (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157; 2015, 323). She adds that the ‘Goddesses’ represent claims to authority by promoting a special female relationship with the divine, achieved by participation in special cult activities which could have been publicly performed and thus be visible to members of the community; therefore, these rituals could have formed an important part of the processes of constructing the gender relations within Cypriot society (Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 158).

Apart from these small solid figurines, finely decorated fragments which appear to belong to figurines of at least 25 cm were also discovered in the western part of the sanctuary of the Ingot God. Due to their size it was proposed that they might have constituted representations of goddesses (Webb 1999, 215). Figurines of this size have also been found in the sacred quarter of Kition which constitutes our next case-study in the examination of the archaeological context of this type of figurines. ‘Goddesses with the upraised arms’, dated to LC IIIB–CG I, have been found in Temenos A (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 192-195, 215-217), Courtyard A (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 228-229), Courtyard B (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 229-230), Courtyard C (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 200-202) and Courtyard D (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 202-203), Temple 2, Temple 4 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 207) Temple 5 in Room 58 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 190-191, 208-209), Room 16 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 176-178) and in bothroi 19 and 20 of Temple 5 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 210-212, 215) and Bothros 2 of Room 16 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 221-225). The presence of these figurines in the bothroi supports the argument that they were deposited in the sacred area of Kition as offerings; the terracottas were removed along with other votives in order to make space

for the new ones brought to the temple (Smith 2009, 128-132; Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012, 157). The specimens found on the floors of these structures or between floors have been discovered along with a variety of material.

Consequently, the figurines that succeeded the BR were not only different in form but probably also in character and function. From a figurine tradition characterised by a detailed rendering of the bodily and facial features we move to a tradition where the body and face is relatively crudely rendered. Of course this could be the result of the different production methods applied. Another significant difference is that the LC IIIB–CG I figurine tradition appears to be dressed and thus, their genitalia are never indicated. Their postures are also different and in addition the LC IIIB–CG I specimens never appear to hold infants. It is also significant to note that the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are free-standing; this comes in contrast to the BR female figurines and their downward pointing feet. Thus, these observations clearly indicate that their use must have been different which is further confirmed through an exploration of their archaeological context.

Striking differences are observed in the character of their places of discovery. BR female figurines’ main context of use seem to have been the settlements, although they were sometimes deposited in burials and more rarely in sanctuaries, the majority of their successors occur in sanctuaries. As hinted in Chapter IV, the restricted appearance of the BR female figurines in ritual spaces of the LBA could argue that their character and function was mostly related to the domestic sphere. Additional evidence is provided by the appearance of Mycenaean anthropomorphic figurines, LC zoomorphic specimens and the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ in ritual spaces that had existed since the period of the BR figurines’ use.

A question that is raised here is if the change in form, role and function is accompanied with a change in identity. As noted above, this is a very difficult question to answer. Although between the ‘plank-shaped’ and the BR females there are some similarities in their form and context, the similarities between the latter and the ‘goddesses with upraised arms’ are only minimal. The formation of the facial features of the earlier examples seems to constitute the only similarity between the two figurine traditions. Although the previous two figurine traditions show some connection with the ancestors, the LC IIIB–CG I figurine tradition shows no signs of such relationships.

The difference between the EC–MC figurine tradition and the BR females, the latter and the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ is that in the first case we may have a change in the form, role and function of the figurines but we may not have a change in their identities whereas, in the second case it seems that we have a change in the form, role, function and the identity of the figurines. It is significant to take under consideration the fact that during the LBA we have influences coming from abroad regarding the form of the female body, which are most likely adapted in the local system of worldviews and ideas. On the other hand, during the LC IIIB–CG I these influences come from inside Cyprus, from people that migrated to the island and have already been assimilated with the local population. Thus, we could speculate that the influences deriving from inside the island were much stronger than those deriving from outside. These influences could have led to a change in the identity of the figurines. Of course, some of the features characterising the ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are ‘translated’ differently than their Cretan counterparts (see Zeman-Wiśniewska 2015 for a discussion on this matter), according to the local needs and beliefs. Nonetheless, all these are provisional ideas based on the evidence currently available; new evidence might, of course, confirm or overrule them.

2.3. General Remarks

To sum up, BR female figurines are gradually replaced by the so-called Cypriot ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’. From nude female figures with exaggerated genitalia and detailed rendering of their bodily and facial features, downward pointing feet and hands on their body we move to clothed figures with no indication of the genitals, schematically or even crudely rendered bodily and facial features with upraised arms and the ability to stand freely. Apart from the typological differences the two figurine traditions differ significantly in their contexts of discovery and probably use. While BR female figurines’ main context of use was probably the settlement structures, the so-called ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’ are mostly discovered deposited in ritual spaces. Therefore, not only does their physical appearance and technology of manufacture change, so too does the context of use and probably their identity.

Whatever the role that the BR female figurines fulfilled during the LC period it seems that it was no longer necessary. The changes in tomb architecture, pottery types

and methods of ceramic production and the introduction of the Greek language which probably came through the accommodation and assimilation of migrants from the Aegean in the already existing Cypriot towns show that the society has undergone a process of change; the interaction of the indigenous people with the migrants seems to have brought gradual changes in the society and material culture of the Early Iron Age Cyprus. Part of the package of changes was also the change in the form, construction, role, function and possibly identity within the terracotta tradition. Consequently, the BR female figurines belonging to a worldview or a set of social needs that had by this time disappeared were to be replaced by new and different figurine traditions.

3. The Base-Ring female figurines in relation to the wider corpus of Late-Cypriot figurines

This section examines the relationship between the BR females with the zoomorphic and male terracottas of the LBA. More precisely, it discusses questions concerning the predominance of the BR females in the LC society in comparison to their male counterparts. Also, the observation that BR female figurines are sometimes found with zoomorphic terracottas is explored further through a case-study approach.

3.1. Base-Ring females vs Late-Cypriot male figurines

An aspect related to gender that deserves further attention is the predominance of female terracotta figurines in the archaeological record in comparison to the minimal appearance of male terracottas. Of course, male figures are represented in other materials such as pottery, glyptics and metal (for example the Ingot God and the Horned God found at Enkomi). Only four figurines are identified as male and were produced in Cyprus; one comes from Episkopi-*Bamboula* T. 44 excavated by the British and has one hand on its penis and the other on the face (Karageorghis 1993, 15; **Fig. 5.10**); the second example is of an unknown provenance and it is depicted seated on a horse sideways (Karageorghis 1993, 16-17; **Fig. 5.11**); the third specimen comes from the settlement area of Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström *et al.* 1977, 56-57). Only its legs survive which are of a hollow construction; it seems that something was attached on its left side,

probably a bull (Åström *et al.* 1977, 56-57; Karageorghis 1993, 17-18; **Fig. 5.12**). The last example comes from Kazaphani T. 2 and illustrates a male figurine with a bull. The former holds the bull's right horn with both hands (Karageorghis 1993, 17-18; **Fig. 5.13**). It should be noted that all the figurines described above have their penis indicated while three of them have a kind of clothing from the waist down to the upper legs.



Figure 5.10: Male figurine from T.44 of Episkopi-Bamboula (photo: courtesy of the British Museum).



Figure 5.11: Male figurine seating sideways on a horse exhibited in the Cyprus Archaeological Museum.



Figure 5.12: Hollow male figurine from Hala Sultan Tekke preserving only the legs (photo: Åström *et al.* 1977, 45).



Figure 5.13: Male figurine with a bull from T.2 of Kazaphani (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. XIV).

Unfortunately, none of the male specimens can give us information regarding their function in the two different contexts they have been found; tombs and domestic structures (no examples have been found in ritual spaces so far). The first example was found in a tomb excavated by the British in the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th

century. The second example does not have a provenance and the third was found discarded in a pit of a domestic structure along with sherds, bones and copper slag (Åström *et al.* 1977, 38). Thus, this was not its primary context of use. The last specimen comes from a tomb in Kazaphani but no information is given about its exact archaeological context in the publication (Karageorghis 1972, 1011). Apart from these four specimens which are of Cypriot production, there is a restricted number of imported horse and riders or chariot groups of LH IIIA–IIIB usually found in tombs.¹⁷

The appearance of this restricted number of male figurines with, almost always, horses or bulls could have a deeper significance. Horse has been interpreted as an elite symbol, a symbol of high status; indeed, during this period skeletons of horses are found in rich burials (Keswani 2004, 121-136). Moreover, chariot scenes on local pottery are involved exclusively in hunt compositions (Webb 1999, 260). In general, hunt scenes are popular in LC iconography; they usually present huntsmen aiming towards different animals with their bows (see Webb 1999, 207-208). Furthermore, comparable examples of bull handlers seem to exist in metal. The metal representations, however, include also dogs and birds (Webb 1999, 235). According to Webb, the representations of male figurines with bulls could be interpreted as a priest or votary driving or leading animals to sacrifice. This assumption seems quite reasonable if we take into consideration the importance of ox and ox sacrifice in LC cult and the probable association of at least some of these bronzes with ritual assemblages (Webb 1999, 236). Therefore, the terracotta representations of men with horses or bulls could be associated with a restricted group of people and with the communication of their status. The fact that they appear in restricted numbers could be related to their users as well as to the fact that various other means existed for the elites to consolidate and convey their power and position.

3.2.Base-Ring females vs Late-Cypriot zoomorphic figurines

Although male figurines appear in compositions with bulls or horses, yet it is the female figurines that are found in association with separate zoomorphic specimens in settlements. Their places of discovery and their states of preservation, in at least three of

¹⁷ For example the chariot and rider figurine found in Enkomi T.93 by the British Mission (Murray *et al.* 1900, 36-37, 41; Walters 1903, 3; Tatton-Brown 2003, 53-55).

the cases, could argue that their appearance together is not coincidental. Although in their majority they appear mostly with horned quadrupeds, Hala Sultan Tekke has also produced a female figurine with the head of a horse (Fischer and Bürge 2014, 77). It should be noted that in all cases where the female terracottas appear with zoomorphic figurines, they are of Type B and that they appear both in rooms related with general settlement activities and in rooms related with small scale metallurgical activities.

It is interesting that the male figurines described above resemble, in their majority, the Type B female figurines and that it is the Type B specimens that appear mostly with the zoomorphic examples. Although one could argue that the aforementioned heads identified as Type B female heads could have belonged to male representations¹⁸, or they could have been perceived as males due to the absence of the rest of the body, the presence of painted bands around their necks identify them immediately as female since the bands do not constitute characteristics of the male specimens. Consequently, both male and female figurines seem to have been related with zoomorphic terracottas, although in somewhat different ways. It is important to note that the depiction of the female form with features of zoomorphic figures can be traced back to the EBA¹⁹ (Webb and Frankel 2010, 192) when a cosmology that has zoomorphic and female figures playing a central role starts to materialise and be spread (Webb *forthcoming*).

The appearance of the female together with the zoomorphic figurines could also argue for a similar use and/or modes of deposition. Thus, the archaeological context of the zoomorphic figurines in Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971; Courtois 1984), Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström *et al.* 1977; 1983; Hult and McCaslin 1978; Öbrink 1979; Hult 1981) was recorded in order to examine whether their places of discovery present similar patterns to those recorded for the female figurines. Firstly, zoomorphic figurines appear in settlement, burial²⁰ and ritual contexts. In contrast to the female figurines, the zoomorphic specimens appear more

¹⁸ Since most of the male riders are typologically similar to the Type B female figurines.

¹⁹ For instance, a relief female figure is represented on the wall of Tomb 6 at Karmi with a three-part façade decorated with probably schematic representations of horned animal heads. These representations can be equated with the Kotchiatis/Marki models depicting a female figure standing in front of a large jar before a similar three-part façade which is crowned with horned animal heads (Webb and Frankel 2010, 192).

²⁰ It should be noted that bull-*rhyta* seem to be more frequent in this context.

frequently in ritual contexts. Therefore, whatever their role and character was, it seems to have been also suitable for sanctuaries.

The zoomorphic figurines in settlements occur usually in depositional contexts, similarly to the female specimens. Nonetheless, nothing in their mode of deposition suggests that they might have been connected with a more ritualised behaviour which might be the case with the female figurines deriving from Enkomi and Toumba tou Skourou. The latter, however, included also a zoomorphic figurine. They are mostly found in rooms related to domestic/settlement activities while only a small number seems to have been recovered from rooms related to metallurgical activities. Their usual assemblages consist of loom-weights, spindle-whorls, pottery of both local and imported wares, other animal figurines or *rhyta*, female figurines and stone grinders. Consequently, their places of discovery in settlements as well as their associated assemblages seem to present similar patterns with the female terracottas.

Concentrations of zoomorphic terracottas in certain buildings of Enkomi were also recorded. The building of Area III as well as Quartier 5E contained 17 zoomorphic figurines each whereas Quartier 6W included 19 and Quartier 4E had nine. Quartier 3E and 3W contained four figurines each while two specimens were recovered from Quartier 2W and seven from Area I (Dikaios 1969-1971; Courtois 1984, 84-88). Thus, apart from the concentration of figurines in Quartier 5 where the sanctuary of the Ingot God is located and in Quartier 6W there is also a concentration of zoomorphic figurines in the building of Area III, similarly to the female specimens.

Although a thorough investigation of the exact archaeological contexts of the zoomorphic figurines from all over Cyprus remains to be undertaken in order to be able to have a more complete picture; the three case-studies revealed important information regarding their find contexts. When compared to the find contexts of the female specimens, similarities but also differences are observed. In settlement structures the character of the rooms of their discovery and associated assemblages seem to be similar to those of the female specimens. At the same time concentrations in certain buildings are noted for both terracotta groups. On the other hand, concentrations of zoomorphic specimens seem to exist in more than one building at Enkomi which comes in contrast to the female examples. Another important difference is that zoomorphic terracottas appear more frequently in ritual spaces. From this we could conclude that the role and

character of the zoomorphic figurines did not exclude their use or deposition in such structures; this, however, does not seem to be the case with their female counterparts. Lastly, it is interesting to note that when zoomorphic terracottas are deposited in tombs are usually in the form of *rhyta*. These could have been used during burial rituals for pouring liquids. Thus, the preference of zoomorphic *rhyta* instead of figurines in the tombs seems to have been related with their usage. The deposition of the BR females in burials, however, does not seem to have had any practical purpose, meaning that their use in such a context might have been more symbolic.

3.3. General remarks

Whatever the use and meaning of the female figurines was it seems to have been more widespread and more necessary during people's daily lives. On the other hand, male figurines appear mostly in compositions with bulls or horses. Horses are identified as a high status symbol during the LBA while the appearance of male figurines with bulls could indicate a priest or a votary offering the animal for sacrifice. Thus, the terracotta representations of men with horses or bulls could be associated with a restricted group of people who communicated their status through the figurines. The fact that they appear in restricted numbers could be related to their users as well as to the fact that various other means existed for the elites to consolidate and convey their power and position. The use and role of the female figurines does not seem to have been connected only with the elites but they seem to have been used by people of all economic backgrounds which might explain their prevalence in the archaeological record.

The appearance of the female form with features of zoomorphic figures can be traced back to the EC period. During the LC period female and zoomorphic figurines seem to appear occasionally together (in close proximity) characterised by similar patterns of fragmentation. In these cases, female and zoomorphic terracottas might have assumed similar functions and/or modes of deposition. In general, zoomorphic figurines seem to appear in similar contexts and have similar assemblages to the female figurines. However, nothing in their mode of deposition could argue in favour of a more ritualised burial in the settlements while they occur in significant numbers in ritual spaces which

comes in contrast to the evidence provided by the female examples. Also, zoomorphic *rhyta* and not figurines seem to appear and be used mostly in burials, possibly as ritual vessels.

EPILOGUE

My thesis was informed by the cultural/biographical approach which follows an object or a category of objects from the beginning of its existence until its death/discard. Each and every stage of the BR anthropomorphic figurines' use-life or life-cycle has provided important insights regarding their use, character, role and significance. Through this examination new evidence and insights have been gained concerning the attitudes, beliefs and ideas of the society that produced and used them.

The cultural/biographical approach was, of course, not the only approach used throughout the thesis; the various stages of the figurines' use-life were investigated through the lens of a variety of methods, sources and approaches which when used together provide a more robust and transparent basis for analysis and interpretation. Focusing on one figurine group has produced an in depth study of these terracottas from multiple points of view; this has facilitated the collection of important information that would have otherwise been lost. Only by producing detailed research for the full corpus of each distinctive figurine group are we able to proceed to more holistic observations and understanding of the social context and beliefs of the society. Below I summarise the main observations, findings and methods that have been used in the current study while future avenues are proposed.

Foreign influences or Cypriot heritage: evaluating previous approaches

Through the combined lens of experimental and typological studies, the question of the degree of the foreign influences on the BR female figurines was explored providing a basis for a re-evaluation of previous scholarship on the issue. The level of continuities with the local figurine traditions of the past were also examined showing that the BR figurines have a strongly Cypriot character, from their exterior appearance to their production sequences, which should not be dismissed when proceeding to interpretations. More precisely, continuities and/or developments from the previous local figurine tradition can be seen in the production of hollow or partially hollow specimens; in the formation of figurines through the assemblage of various parts; and in the rendering of some of their facial features, postures and method of decoration.

Although similarities have been noted with the figurine traditions of the areas adjacent to Cyprus, these are far outweighed by the differences. Significant differences have been recorded in features that are considered to be crucial for the interpretation of the BR female figurines' role and character. Differences have been recorded in their construction techniques, size; postures/items held; ornamentation; formation of bodily and facial features; and methods used to emphasise the area of the pubic triangle. Although the BR females seem to belong to the wider Mediterranean tradition of female terracottas concerning their nudity and emphasis on the genitalia, it is important to keep in mind that the Cypriot figurine-makers choose to emphasise the latter through exaggeration which is not seen in the figurine traditions of the areas adjacent to Cyprus. This shows a re-interpretation of this feature. Therefore, these differences undermine ideas of a straightforward transfer and adoption of Levantine or Aegean elements into the BR tradition, and suggest that we should not assume that the BR Cypriot material can be interpreted through the lens of the Aegean or Near Eastern material when considering identity, character and roles. In other words, even if the Cypriot figurine tradition was influenced regarding these features from neighbouring figurine traditions, it does not mean that the ideas behind it were also transferred or that they were adopted without being adapted to the local traditions and worldviews.

The demise of the 'plank-shaped' figurines and the floruit of the Base-Ring female figurines during the LC II–III A

It was from the end of the EC until the beginning of the LC that the 'plank-shaped' and 'transitional' figurines and figures were produced and used. These were replaced by the BR female figurines in the LC II period. The reasons behind their demise were investigated through a comparison of the two figurine traditions' typologies, and of their archaeological and social contexts.

Important differences were noted in the rendering of the human body which would have been connected with the difference in the character and use of these figurines. This was further confirmed through an examination of their archaeological and social contexts. It has been suggested that at least the figurines found in the MC Lapithos tombs were probably used in ancestor rituals that aimed to legitimise and communicate the status of particular people. The archaeological context of the figurines

discovered at the settlement of Marki does not overrule or confirm this interpretation; however, the fact that they appear in a period when the households become more family-based units is significant (Frankel and Webb 2006, 311-314; Knapp 2013, 282).

The legitimisation of status through ancestral authority which seems to have been strong during the end of the EC–MC does not seem to be evident during the LBA where the tomb architecture and burial rituals are becoming less and less elaborate. Although the status and wealth of the LBA elites must have passed from one generation to the other, the way they were legitimising and communicating the former changed. Consequently, taking into account the social context and the evidence provided so far by the position of the BR females in tombs one could conclude that, in contrast to the earlier ‘plank-shaped’ figurines, these terracottas were not used in on-going burial rituals that aimed to reaffirm and consolidate the status of certain individuals or families through the mediation of the ancestors. In conclusion, one of the reasons that might have led the ‘plank-shaped’ terracottas to go out of use during the LC II could have been the change in the means of communicating status.

Although, the function, role and significance of the two figurine traditions seem to have been different, it is possible that their identity was similar. The position of the two BR females close to concentrations of skulls in two LC tombs, the pattern of their fragmentation in settlements and the depiction of features probably represented in the society and possibly connected with certain social groups could point to their identity. Could they be representations of ancestors or at least be connected with ancestors? The same question can be asked for the plank terracottas, although the evidence seems to be pointing more clearly in that direction. As already mentioned, the plank figurines and figures seem to have been used in on-going ancestor rituals in the MC Lapithos tombs. The focus on dress and ornamentation on the figurines seems to have come in a period when pins became more elaborate while both pins and other jewellery were imported. This evidence comes from the Lapithos tombs. We can speculate that the use and possession of these items would have played a role in the communication of status. We can, also, speculate that they would have been worn by certain groups of people that aimed to convey their wealth and status. Thus, the depiction of dress and ornamentation on the plank figurines seems to have been connected with their usage during daily life by certain people. Consequently, both figurine groups seem to carry elements that might have been connected with certain social groups while they seem to have a particular

connection with the ancestors. It should also be noted that the presence of BR females in tombs is so far restricted to the 15th–14th centuries B.C. with minor occurrences in the 13th. This might be showing a continuation of a practice developed from the EC-MC which started to fade with time.

Although studies have been conducted on the ‘plank-shaped’ figurines focusing mostly on their typologies and archaeological contexts, the methodological model adopted here highlights the aspects that have not been investigated and could give important information regarding their use, character and role. For example, a more thorough typology is necessary based on first-hand examinations of specimens in museums, and a study of their manufacturing procedures through the archaeological material, experimental and replication work could reveal important information on these figurines. Finally, a careful recording of their exact archaeological contexts bringing together old and new evidence could lead to interesting patterns.

The making of the figurines: evidence on their function(s), life-cycle and users

The thorough recording of the typology and production procedures through a variety of sources and approaches, made it possible to identify those elements that made the manufacturing procedure more complicated as well as to examine the emphasised, omitted and repeated features on the BR female figurines; all these were considered as deliberate and conscious choices of the artisans.

The choice of hand-made instead of mould-made production was explored and a number of reasons (related to their size, sensation when handled, firing and users) were proposed for the presence of both hollow and solid figurines. Also, the identification of the weak assembly points characterising the BR females viewed in relation to studies on the fragmentation of other figurine traditions was the catalyst for an investigation of the fragmentation of the terracottas under study found in settlements. This examination showed that a particular part of the figurines’ body (head) might have received a special treatment or followed a different life-cycle.

Furthermore, the recording of the exaggerated, omitted and repeated elements showed that specific features merit closer investigation as possible ways of communicating social status and identity. For instance, the flat top and protrusion on the

back of the Type B's head, which was identified through replication work as intentional, could be interpreted as a cranial modification which during the LBA seems to have been a marker of social status. Also, the accentuation of the Type A ears for hanging earrings and the presence of examples of Type A figurines in tombs with large concentrations of earrings could be associated with the physical appearance of a particular social group.

Thus, exploring the significance of the exaggerated, omitted and repeated elements on the BR female figurines it was also possible to identify features that might signify differences in the character and role of the two main types. For example, Type A figurines seem to have a richer iconography. They could be represented in various activities, from holding infants to holding stemmed cups and discs, from clapping-like postures to hugging-like postures. In general, their postures are far more active than those of the Type B examples. These variations in the Type A repertoire and their total absence in the Type B iconography could suggest that the character of the former was characterised by multiple facets. Nonetheless, one could argue that the absence of infants or any other items in the iconography of the Type B figurines make their form rather 'generalised', and thus, more suitable for a range of purposes and actions.

It was also argued that the deliberate exaggeration of and emphasis on the pubic area might have been connected with their character. It seems that the intention of the people who made these figurines was not to be consistent in relation to reality but perhaps represent features that were important to them and probably acquired certain significance. Although traditional interpretations related to fertility or sexuality spring readily to mind, their meaning might have been more complex. Through an analogy with the Mesopotamian figurine tradition it was suggested that the accentuation of this feature might have served as an index of femininity while the nude female body could have signified an idealised body.

These observations were the result of the method used for structuring and investigating the typology which avoided the usual proliferation of types and sub-types but divided the figurines according to the variations characterising each and every part of their bodies. Also, the personal examination of the material and the experimental and replication work were vital in identifying features that constituted conscious choices of the figurine-makers; choices that can be identified as significant for the use, character and role of the BR female figurines.

Figurine-makers and workshops

Through the recording of 'motor habits', typological and technological details shared only by groups of figurines, I attempted to identify specimens that might have been made by the same person and/or workshop. From this examination, it was observed that terracottas from different sites can be grouped together as products of the same individual/workshop. Therefore, it seems that specimens produced in the same workshop could end up in different settlements. Others, however, seem to derive from the same site which might mean that the workshop producing them was part of that settlement.

However, in order to confirm these observations as well as add to the evidence regarding the different workshops and areas producing the BR female figurines, a petrographical and/or chemical analysis should be conducted. This kind of work could prove to be useful when an analytical method is intended to be used. If the technique is destructive and only few samples can be taken, then this method, which identifies similarities in the rendering and formation of the figurines, might be useful in selecting from which specimens one can take samples. This could also be applied in the case that the technique is non-destructive but there are time constraints.

A pXRF technique was applied on the material from Enkomi, stored in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus. The aim of this study was to identify any possible imports from other sites, and most importantly, to explore the possibility that different types or construction types were produced in different workshops and, thus, that different workshops were specialised in one of the two types or construction types. The results from this investigation showed that the clay used for the majority of the figurines was characterised by more or less chemically homogeneous composition with only two exceptions. Thus, the clay used for the majority of the figurines probably derived from the same area. A future programme of chemical analysis of figurines from different sites could help explore and define production centres. This investigation could yield evidence on whether the finished products move outside their place of production. In consequence, the extent of the distribution of the products of each production centre could be explored.

The statistical analysis of the results of the application of pXRF showed that the figurines could be divided into two sub-groups through some minor variations. The

majority of the Type A figurines belong to the same group while the majority of the figurines constituting the second group consists of Type B. This might be related with the existence of two different workshops specialising more in one type rather than the other. However, the number of the Type A figurines analysed is relatively small to be able to proceed to further conclusions. A larger sample needs to be analysed while the application of other techniques together with the pXRF could provide more detailed and accurate results.

Finally, the identity of the figurine-makers was also explored through various sources; primary material, secondary literature, experimental and replication work. The similarities characterising the production procedure of the BR females, zoomorphic figurines, bull-*rhyta* and pottery; the compositions of BR zoomorphic specimens with anthropomorphic specimens, which are typologically and technologically similar to the Type B solid examples and infants held by the Type A figurines; and the experimentally derived data regarding the difficulties encountered and level of expertise required for the manufacture of the female terracottas, led us to the conclusion that all BR products were manufactured by the same people, the potters.

Evidence for their function(s), life-cycle and users through their archaeological context

The meticulous recording of their exact archaeological context, drawing on publications and reports of excavations, field notes and personal communication with excavators for unpublished material, revealed important information regarding their use, life-cycle and users. The evidence is summarised below in a table:

Settlements	Burials	Sanctuaries
<p>Use and Life-Cycle: Concentrations in certain buildings at Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>.</p>	<p>Users: Through recording the assemblages of the tombs it was observed that the BR female figurines appear in both wealthy</p>	<p>Use and Life-Cycle: Seem to appear only in certain sanctuaries while they are totally absent from others. The information gained for their use in LBA features of spaces of such character is minimal. Specimens were most probably re-deposited when recovered</p>

was an administrative building. Also Area III building at Enkomi was a very important building.

and modest burials. Thus, they were not related to a particular economic group. Solid figurines might have been deposited more in modest burials than wealthy.

from LBA structures in Iron Age features of sanctuaries.

Use and Life-Cycle: Found in rooms of multiple characters. Possible explanation: their rooms of discovery might not have been their rooms of use since most of the figurines are found in contexts of deposition/discard.

Users: Another possible explanation is that they could have been connected with particular people and not spaces of a particular character.

Use and Life-Cycle: A common use/mode of deposition was suggested for the zoomorphic and female figurines that have been found together in some instances.

Use and Life-Cycle: Two modes of disposal/deposition were recorded: either they were discarded without special treatment or they were possibly ritually buried.

Users: Different attitudes or/and different beliefs might have existed in the society.

Use and Life-Cycle: A specimen was carefully deposited between two levels of floors along with an heirloom.

Use and Life-Cycle: A specimen was found on the chest of the deceased.

Users: Its deposition might have come as a consequence of its owner's death which might be used to confirm the close relationship between figurines and owners/users.

Users: The placement of the figurine on the chest of the deceased suggests a direct contact, a close relationship with the deceased; thus, its deposition might have come as a consequence of its owner's death.

Use and Life-Cycle: Their heads might have received a special treatment or followed a different life-cycle than the rest of the parts of their bodies.

Users: Might have been connected with a belief of the society regarding head.

Use and Life-Cycle: Type B figurines dominate over the Type A in this context while hollow dominate over the solid (might be related with their overall larger production). *Case-study:* Enkomi's settlement produced the two construction types in equal numbers.

Users: These patterns might be showing a preference on behalf of their users regarding the modes of their deposition. However, other explanations have been given for this.

Use and Life-Cycle: Two specimens have been found with concentrations of skulls at Dromolaxia-*Trypes* and Episkopi-*Bamboula*; their placement with the skulls would have happened during secondary burial treatments.

Users: Their placement with the skulls might have been related with the significance of the head in LBA Cyprus; a special treatment of the skulls was observed in a number of LBA tombs.

Use and Life-Cycle: Type B and Type A figurines appear in almost equal numbers in this context while hollow dominate over the solid (might be related with their overall larger production). *Case-study:* Enkomi's burials produced more hollow specimens than solid.

Users: From the numbers recorded from both contexts it seems that there is a preference in the context of the Type A figurines' final deposition. It should be noted that Type B figurines appear in equal numbers in both contexts. However, other explanations have been given for this. For instance, the equal appearance of Type A and B in burials might also be related with changes in the depositional practices through periods when one type was more dominant than the other. *Case-study:* Using the evidence from Enkomi's settlement and burial structures, it seems that at least in this site there is a preference in the deposition of hollow figurines in burials.

The Base-Ring female figurines in comparison to the male and zoomorphic figurines of the LBA

The potential reasons behind the dominance of the female figurines in the archaeological record of the LBA in comparison to the male specimens were further investigated. Due to the fact that the provenance of most of the male figurines is unknown, data had to be drawn from the typology alone. Male figurines appear only with bulls or horses. Horses are identified as a high status symbol during the LBA while the appearance of male figurines with bulls could indicate a priest or a votary offering the animal for sacrifice. Thus, the terracotta representations of men with horses or bulls could be associated with a restricted group of people who communicated their status through the figurines. The fact that they appear in restricted numbers could be related to their users as well as to the fact that various other means existed for the elites to consolidate and convey their power and position. The use and role of the female figurines does not seem to have been connected with the elites only but they seem to have been used by people from all economic backgrounds which might explain their 'dominance' in the archaeological record.

Although the iconography of the male figures is associated with animals, it is the female figurines that seem to occasionally occur in close proximity with them in settlement contexts. They are also characterised by similar patterns of fragmentation. In these cases female and zoomorphic figurines might have assumed similar functions/modes of deposition. Through case-studies, it was observed that zoomorphic figurines appear in similar contexts and have similar assemblages to the female specimens. However, nothing in their mode of deposition could argue in favour of a more ritualised burial in the settlements (except from the Toumba tou Skourou specimen) whereas they occur in significant numbers in ritual spaces which comes in contrast to the evidence provided by their female counterparts. In order, however, to know more about the function, role, character and significance of the zoomorphic figurines produced in LBA Cyprus, a detailed programme of research focusing specifically on them should be undertaken.

The demise of the Base-Ring female figurines

Society changes and develops through the years and so too do the needs and beliefs of the people within it. Therefore, the various changes occurring in the material culture during the end of the LBA were accompanied by the gradual replacement of the BR female figurines by the so-called Cypriot ‘goddesses with the upraised arms’. These two figurine traditions differ not only in form, technology of manufacture but also in use and possibly in identity.

From nude female figures with exaggerated genitalia and detailed rendering of their bodily and facial features, downward pointing feet and hands on their body we move to clothed figures with no indication of the genitals, schematically or even crudely rendered bodily and facial features with upraised arms and the ability to stand freely. From a tradition which seems to have been mostly related to the life of the settlement we move to a tradition that is mostly found in sanctuaries (deposited as votives). Thus, people’s demands regarding the figurine production changed and the coroplastic art had to adjust in order to satisfy their needs.

The ‘new society’ that was created through the assimilation and interaction of the indigenous people with the Aegean migrants seems to have brought the gradual replacement and disappearance of the worldviews and social needs that kept the BR female tradition alive. It seems to have brought new appropriate ways of rendering the female form which seem to have been accompanied with a change in their function, role and possibly their identity. Therefore, by the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus the BR females belonged already to the sphere of the past.

Future avenues

This research would benefit from the application of analytical techniques aiming to explore the provenance of the figurines and in consequence, investigate relationships between the different settlements. Also, the application of analytical techniques could confirm the observations made in Chapter III where the figurines were grouped according to details characterising their formation and typology. In addition, the rest of the LC terracotta groups as well as the figurines from the EC-MC periods are in need of a thorough and systematic study. Only by producing detailed research on each and

every one of these groups we will be able to comprehend the Bronze Age society in a deeper level.

The 'second lives' of the figurines could be explored further. In other words, the lives of the terracottas after their excavation could be followed providing a fuller and contextualised reconstruction of their life-cycle. This should include also a research on the figurines that have been sold through auctions. Where did they end up? How much were they sold for? In the case of forgeries, is there a difference in their price? Do the auction houses know that is a forgery? It will be fruitful also to look how they are presented in the different museums and private collections of the world and how they are displayed and communicated to the museum audiences. The term of 'second lives' could be expanded to include also the use of the image of the BR females in aspects of the modern life; for instance, the use of their image in public spaces/services and the intentions behind their use. Another area of potential interest is the inclusion of their image in modern paintings. How are they perceived by the modern artists? What is their role in their paintings?

Another aspect that deserves further attention is the replication conducted by modern artists for the intention of selling them to the tourists. Here, there is a division between the artists that collaborate with the Cyprus Museum, those that are part of the Cyprus Handicraft Service and those that are independent. Questions related to the materials used for their production, their production procedures, the way they are perceived and materialised, the efforts of the artisans to be faithful to the originals, their prices, their target groups etc. could be approached through such an investigation. Thus, this part is connected with the commodification of the BR female figurines.

Finally, another aspect that might be interesting to explore is how these figurines are treated in the history school books; how they are perceived by students; how teachers perceive them and transmit it to the class; and how they are presented to certain groups in museums (among them people of young age). All these questions could help build an even more thorough biography for the BR females.

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APPENDIX I: PROVENANCE

Inv.N°	Site	Type	Construction	Structure	Mission/ Excavator	Publication	Museum
1818	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1764	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
4509/1	Enkomi	A	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1938	Enkomi	B	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1477	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1566	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum

1102	Enkomi	B	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
3912/3-4	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1853/13	Enkomi	B	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1164	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
3022/8	Enkomi	B	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
29	Enkomi	A	Solid	Tomb 19	Cypriot/Dikaios	Dikaios 1969-1971 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages. The figurine was found <i>in situ</i> .	Cyprus Museum

19.55	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	French/Schaeffer	Courtois 1984 – Only descriptions of the typology of the figurines are provided.	Cyprus Museum
10	Enkomi	A	Solid	Settlement	French/Schaeffer	Courtois 1984 – Only descriptions of the typology of the figurines are provided.	Cyprus Museum
226	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	French/Schaeffer	Courtois 1984 – Only descriptions of the typology of the figurines are provided.	Cyprus Museum
19.56	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Settlement	French/Schaeffer	Courtois 1984 – Only descriptions of the typology of the figurines are provided.	Cyprus Museum
16.51	Enkomi	B	Solid	Settlement	French/Schaeffer	Courtois 1984 – Only descriptions of the typology of the figurines are provided.	Cyprus Museum
A55	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Tomb Unknown	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Karageorghis 1993 – Only description of the typology of the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum

10	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 19	Swedish/Gjerstad	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages; although the figurine was found on the surface of the filling.	Cyprus Museum
11	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 19	Swedish/Gjerstad	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages; although the figurine was found on the surface of the filling.	Cyprus Museum
CS1484/II-I	Ayios Theodoros Soleas	A	Hollow	Tomb 2	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Karageorghis 1966 – No details are provided about the stratigraphy of the tomb or the place of the figurine’s discovery.	Cyprus Museum
15	Agkastina	B	Hollow	Tomb 3	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Karageorghis 1964 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages. The figurine was found <i>in situ</i> .	Cyprus Museum
29	Agkastina	B	Hollow	Tomb 5	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Nicolaou 1972 – Detailed recording of the archaeological	Cyprus Museum

						context and assemblages. The figurine was found <i>in situ</i> .	
47	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Tomb 6	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities (Anastassiou)	Kromholz 1982 – The field notes of Anastassiou do not mention anything about the stratification, burials or orientation of the tomb.	Cyprus Museum
48	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Tomb 6	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities (Anastassiou)	Kromholz 1982 – The field notes of Anastassiou do not mention anything about the stratification, burials or orientation of the tomb.	Cyprus Museum
1942/III-18/3	Sinda	B	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972 – No information is given about the archaeological context although the provenance is known.	Cyprus Museum
71.8.9	Phlamoudhi-Vounari	A	Solid	Sanctuary	American/Porada, Symeonoglou, Al-Rhadi and Paley	Al-Radi 1983 and Horowitz 2008 – The figurine was discovered in a feature of a later period.	Cyprus Museum

1021	Hala Sultan Tekke	A	Hollow	Tomb 2	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Karageorghis 1976 – The figurine was found in the fill of the tomb.	Cyprus Museum
1173.5	Hala Sultan Tekke	B	Solid	Tomb 1	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Karageorghis 1984 and Samaes and Nys 2010 – The tomb was found destroyed; only descriptions of the assemblages are given.	Cyprus Museum
1173.2	Hala Sultan Tekke	A	Solid	Tomb 1	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Samaes and Nys 2010 – The tomb was found destroyed; only descriptions of the assemblages are given.	Cyprus Museum
N215	Hala Sultan Tekke	B	Solid	Settlement	Swedish/Fischer	Fischer and Bürge 2014 – The figurine was found in a trial trench (14B). Further excavations are necessary. Associated assemblages are noted.	Cyprus Museum
N207	Hala Sultan Tekke	A	Hollow	Settlement	Swedish/Fischer	Fischer and Bürge 2014 – The figurine was found in a trial trench (14B). Further excavations are necessary.	Cyprus Museum

K-AD 202	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	South <i>et al.</i> 1989 – The publication contains only a typological description of the figurine. The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 524	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	South <i>et al.</i> 1989 – The publication contains only a typological description of the figurine. The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 561	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	South <i>et al.</i> 1989 – The publication contains only a typological description of the figurine. The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 562	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Solid	Settlement	American/Todd and South	South <i>et al.</i> 1989 – The publication contains only a	Cyprus Museum

						typological description of the figurine. The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	
K-AD 1145	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	South 1984 – The publication contains only a typological description of the figurine. The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 1465	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 2093	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	A	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum

K-AD 2096	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 2226	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 2264	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
K-AD 2266	Kalavassos-Ayios <i>Dhimitrios</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd and South	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum

466	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i> (?)	B	Unknown	Tomb 100	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899 – Only a description of the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum
B1563	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	A	Hollow	Tomb 19	American/ McFadden, Hill and Daniel	Benson 1972 – The exact position of the figurine in the burial and assemblages are noted. It was probably found <i>in situ</i> .	Cyprus Museum
B1562	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	B	Solid	Settlement	American/ McFadden, Hill and Daniel	Benson 1969, 1972 and Weinberg 1983 – The description of the figurine, structure, level of discovery and assemblages are noted.	Cyprus Museum
B1565	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/ McFadden, Hill and Daniel	Benson 1969, 1972 and Weinberg 1983 – The description of the figurine, area, level of discovery and assemblages are noted.	Cyprus Museum
B1566	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/ McFadden, Hill and Daniel	Benson 1969, 1972 and Weinberg 1983 – The description of the figurine, area,	Cyprus Museum

						structure, level of discovery and assemblages are noted.	
B1567	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Settlement	American/ McFadden, Hill and Daniel	Benson 1972 – The description of the figurine, area and level of discovery are noted. In the description of the architectural remains, however, nothing is mentioned about the exact position of the figurine.	Cyprus Museum
365	Kition	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1985 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
312	Kition	A	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1985 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
552	Kition	B	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1985 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum

742/1	Kition	B	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1985 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
1009	Dromolaxia- <i>Trypes</i>	B	Hollow	Tomb 1	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Lubsen-Admiraal 1982 – Detailed recording of the archaeological context and assemblages. The figurine was found <i>in situ</i> . Although the tomb was discovered looted and disturbed.	Cyprus Museum
92	Pyla- <i>Kokkinokremos</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1984 – The exact feature of the figurine’s discovery is not noted in the publication.	Cyprus Museum
PK15 421	Pyla- <i>Kokkinokremos</i>	B	Hollow	Settlement	Greek- Belgian/Kanta, Bretschneider and Driessen	Unpublished – The archaeological context was recorded through personal communication with the excavator.	Cyprus Museum
A59	Katydhata	A	Hollow	Tomb 100	Cypriot/Markides	Åström 1989 – Only a brief	Cyprus Museum

						description of the architecture and assemblages is provided.	
A54	Katydhata	A	Hollow	Tomb 100	Cypriot/Markides	Åström 1989 – Only a brief description of the architecture and assemblages is provided.	Cyprus Museum
A48	Katydhata	B	Hollow	Tomb 100	Cypriot/Markides	Karageorghis 1993 – This figurine was not included in Åström 1989. Karageorghis provides only a typological description.	Cyprus Museum
A39	Katydhata	B	Solid	Tomb 28	Cypriot/Markides	Karageorghis 1993– This figurine was not included in Åström 1989. Karageorghis provides only a typological description.	Cyprus Museum
Unknown	Katydhata	A	Unknown	Tomb 81	Cypriot/Markides	Åström 1989 – Only a brief description of the architecture and assemblages is provided.	Cyprus Museum (lost)

A44	Maroni	B	Hollow	Tomb 25	British/Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only a catalogue of the assemblages is provided.	Cyprus Museum
A41	Maroni	B	Solid	Tomb 25	British/Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only a catalogue of the assemblages is provided.	Cyprus Museum
KX-127	Palaepaphos/ Sanctuary of Aphrodite	B	Hollow	Sanctuary	German/Maier	Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011 – Surface find.	Cyprus Museum
KC-825	Palaepaphos/ Sanctuary of Aphrodite	B	Hollow	Sanctuary	German/Maier	Maier 1985 and Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011 – Description of the material found in the bothros along with the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum
KX-12	Palaepaphos/ Sanctuary of Aphrodite	B	Hollow	Sanctuary	German/Maier	Leibundgut-Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011 – Surface find.	Cyprus Museum
KC-731	Palaepaphos/ Sanctuary of	A	Solid	Sanctuary	German/Maier	Maier 1985 and Leibundgut-	Cyprus Museum

	Aphrodite						Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011 – Description of the material found in the bothros along with the figurine is provided.	
KC-924	Palaepaphos/ Sanctuary of Aphrodite	B	Solid	Sanctuary	German/Maier	Maier 1985 and Leibundgut- Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011 – Description of the material found in the bothros along with the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum	
122	Palaepaphos- <i>Teratsoudhia</i>	Unknown	Hollow	Tomb 105	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Karageorghis and Michaelides 1990 – The figurine was found in the general fill of the tomb.	Cyprus Museum	
19 Courtyard A	Maa- <i>Palaekastro</i>	Unknown	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1988 – Not specified in which pit it was found. Only structure and level of discovery are noted.	Cyprus Museum	
19 Courtyard B	Maa- <i>Palaekastro</i>	Unknown	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/ Karageorghis and Demas	Karageorghis and Demas 1988 – Detailed description of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum	

TC99	Toumba tou Skourou	B	Hollow	Settlement	American/ Vermeule	Vermeule and Wolsky 1990 – Detailed description of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Lost
34	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	A	Unknown	Sanctuary	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1957 – The figurine was found in the Iron Age deposit.	Cyprus Museum
438	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	B	Unknown	Sanctuary	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1957 – The figurine was found in the Iron Age deposit.	Cyprus Museum
252	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	B	Unknown	Sanctuary	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1957 – The figurine was found in the Iron Age deposit.	Cyprus Museum
337	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	B	Unknown	Sanctuary	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1957 – The exact place of the figurine’s discovery is not known. Only the room and the period are noted. The figurine is not mentioned when the architectural remains and their finds are described.	Cyprus Museum

368	Myrtou- <i>Pigadhes</i>	B	Unknown	Sanctuary	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1957 – The exact place of the figurine’s discovery is not known. Only the feature and period are noted. The figurine is not mentioned when the architectural remains and their finds are described.	Cyprus Museum
1933/XII- 19/2	Yerolakkos	A	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum
724	Idalion- <i>Ambelleri</i>	B	Solid	Sanctuary	Swedish/Gjerstad	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935 – The figurine was found without stratigraphic context.	Cyprus Museum
Unknown	Idalion	A	Solid	Settlement	Cypriot/Hadjicosti	Hadjicosti pers. comm. (unpublished) – The figurine was found in a later level.	Cyprus Museum
A8-12 (1-2)	Apliki- <i>Karamallos</i>	B	Solid	Settlement	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1952 and Kling and Muhly 2007 – Detailed description of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum

A8-12 (3-4)	Apliki- <i>Karamallos</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Settlement	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1952 and Kling and Muhly 2007 – Detailed description of the archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum
OPENCAST	Apliki- <i>Karamallos</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Settlement	British/Du Plat Taylor	Du Plat Taylor 1952 and Kling and Muhly 2007 – Only a reference to this figurine is made. Nothing is mentioned about its exact archaeological context and assemblages.	Cyprus Museum (lost)
S-MAS 232/A14	Sanidha	A (infant)	Hollow	Settlement	American/Todd	Hadjicosti 1993 – The figurine was a surface find.	Cyprus Museum
26	Boghaz	A	Unknown	Tomb 4	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972 and Merrillees 1988 – Only typological descriptions of the figurine are provided and also the tomb's assemblages. No information is given about the architecture, stratigraphy or position of the figurine in the tomb.	Cyprus Museum

Unknown	Dhekelia- <i>Steno</i>	B	Unknown	Tomb 1	Cypriot/Department of Antiquities	Åström and Åström 1972 and Karageorghis 1993 – Only typological descriptions of the figurine are provided. The tomb was not published.	Cyprus Museum (lost)
1937/VI-8/4	Yialousa	A	Solid	Unknown	Unknown/ Purchased by the Department of Antiquities	Dikaios 1937-39 – Only a reference is provided.	Cyprus Museum
464	Nikolidhes	A	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum (unable to locate)
465	Kythrea	A	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Lost
1964/IX-8/9	Skouriotissa Region	A	Solid	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993 and Merrillees 1988 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Cyprus Museum

A16	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 69	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A14	Enkomi	A	Solid	Tomb 91	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A18	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 88	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A20	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 88	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A19	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 88	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum

A17	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 88	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A13	Enkomi	A	Solid	Tomb Unknown	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A21	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb Unknown	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A11	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Tomb 67	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A10	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Tomb 67	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum

A15	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Tomb 93	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A12	Enkomi	A	Hollow	Tomb 93	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Tatton-Brown 2003 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A52	Hala Sultan Tekke	A	Solid	Tomb 8	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Bailey 1976 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A2	Episkopi-Bamboula	A	Hollow	Tomb 57	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Kiely 2009 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum
A3	Episkopi-Bamboula	B	Hollow	Tomb 50	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900 and Kiely 2009 – Only brief descriptions of the architecture and finds are provided.	British Museum

A38	Maroni	B	Solid	Tomb 17	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only descriptions of the finds are provided.	British Museum
A37	Maroni	B	Hollow	Tomb 15	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only descriptions of the finds are provided.	British Museum
A40	Maroni	B	Solid	Tomb 14	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only descriptions of the finds are provided.	British Museum
A36	Maroni	A	Solid	Tomb 14	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only descriptions of the finds are provided.	British Museum
A39	Maroni	B	Solid	Tomb 14	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Johnson 1980 – Only descriptions of the finds are provided.	British Museum
A53	Klavdia- <i>Tremithos</i>	B	Hollow	Tomb Unknown	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Malmgren 2003 – The tomb in which the figurine was found is not known.	British Museum

AM2407	Tyre (?)	A	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Unpublished	Louvre
MNB365	Athienou (?)	B	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Caubet 1971 – Only a typological description is provided.	Louvre (Acquired from Robert Hamilton Lang in 1872)
74.51.1549	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1548	Ayia Paraskevi	A	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1547	Ayia Paraskevi	A	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1546	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Solid	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan

74.51.1545	Ayia Paraskevi	A	Solid	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1543	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1542	Ayia Paraskevi	A	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
74.51.1541	Ayia Paraskevi	A	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	Myres 1914 – Only a typological description is provided.	Metropolitan
AN1896.2	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Unknown	Ohnefalsch-Richter	http://www.ashmolean.org/ – Only a picture is provided.	Ashmolean
AN1953.244	Dhenia-Kafkalla	A	Solid	Tomb Unknown	Unknown	http://www.ashmolean.org/ – Only a picture is provided. Karageorghis 1993 – only a typological description is provided.	Ashmolean

NM Ant 1554	Episkopi- <i>Bamboula?</i>	B	Hollow	Unknown	Deposit from the National Museum. Gift from Charles Watkins, Swedish Consul in Larnaca, 1890.	http://collections.smvk.se/ – Only a picture and a short typological description is provided.	Medelhavsmuseet
E.003:184	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb 3	Swedish	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934 – Detailed description of the archaeological context and assemblages is provided. The figurine was found <i>in situ</i> .	Medelhavsmuseet
P0284	Idalion	A	Solid	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 2004 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva
P0283	Idalion	B	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 2004– Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva
A.1906.366	Egypt	A	Hollow	Burial?	Bought from the curator of the Royal Ontario Museum, excavated with Petrie at Abydos.	Goring 1988 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	National Museums of Scotland

KTA 11.4	Palaepaphos- <i>Asproyi</i>	B	Hollow	Tomb 2	British/Iliffe and Mitford	Goring 1988 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	National Museums of Scotland
82.2.256	Deir el-Balah	B	Hollow	Unknown	A gift of Laurence and Wilma Tisch from New York to the Museum of Israel who purchased this figurine as part of the Dayan Collection.	Ornan 1986 – Only a typological description is provided.	Museum of Israel, Jerusalem
319	Tell Abu Hawam	B	Solid	Settlement	British/Hamilton	Hamilton 1935 and Balensi 1980 – Only a brief typological description accompanied by a brief description of its archaeological context is provided.	Unknown
320	Tell Abu Hawam	A	Hollow	Settlement	British/Hamilton	Hamilton 1935 and Balensi 1980 – Only a brief typological description accompanied by a brief description of its archaeological context is provided.	Unknown

321	Tell Abu Hawam	A	Hollow	Settlement	British/Hamilton	Hamilton 1935 and Balensi 1980 – Only a brief typological description accompanied by a brief description of its archaeological context is provided.	Unknown
Unknown	Tell Ta'annek	A	Hollow	Settlement	Ernst Sellin	Dussaud 1910 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Unknown
Unknown	Tell el Hesi	B	Unknown	Settlement	Palestine Exploration Fund	Åström and Åström 1972 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Unknown
Unknown	Rifeh	B	Unknown	Unknown	Flinders-Petrie	Åström and Åström 1972 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Unknown
Unknown	Ugarit	B	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Badre 1980 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Unknown

ANSA_V_11 71	Idalion	B	Hollow	Unknown	Cesnola	http://www.kulturpool.at/ – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
8103	Ayia Paraskevi	B	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown. Published by Ohnefalsch-Richter	Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Antikensammlung Museum, Berlin
109	Idalion?	A	Hollow	Unknown	Unknown	Bossert 1951 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Museum für Vorgeschichte, Berlin
Unknown	Alambra?	A	Solid	Unknown	Unknown	Perrot and Chipiez 1970 and Gubel 1994 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Sigmund Freud-Haus, Vienna
UCD598	Enkomi	B	Hollow	Tomb Unknown	British/The Trustees of the British Museum	Souyouzoglou-Haywood 2004 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	University College Dublin, Classical Museum
NM 47.347	Ayia Paraskevi?	A	Solid	Unknown	According to Merrillees (1988) it was once in the C.	Merrillees 1988 and Webb 2001 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided and a	Nicholson Museum, Sydney

					Watkins Collection. The figure itself, however has a sign that it belonged to Sir Henry Bulwer prior to its acquisition by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1892 and subsequent transfer to the Nicholson in 1947 (Webb 2001, 69).	discussion on its provenance.	
Unknown	Katydhata	B	Hollow	Tomb 17	Ohnefalsch-Richter	Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893 – Only the shape of the tomb and finds are noted.	Unknown
Unknown	Katydhata	A	Hollow	Tomb 18	Ohnefalsch-Richter	Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893 – Only the shape of the tomb and finds are noted.	Unknown
C-475	Idalion	A	Solid	Unknown	Cesnola	Davis and Webster 1964 – Only a typological description of the figurine is provided.	Stanford University Museum

Table 1: This table summarises the data on all the figurines of known provenance

Inv.N°	Type	Construction	Collector/Donator	Publication	Museum
1934/IV-27/23	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A52	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A58	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
V-30 596	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A57	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A49	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A45	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A47	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A51	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
A61	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum

1933/XI-29/7	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
B128b	A	Hollow	Unknown	Unpublished	Cyprus Museum
A43	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
1934 IV-27/11	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
1934/XI-9/3	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
1947/VI-15/1	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
1934/IV-27/12	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Cyprus Museum
1871-0708-3	A	Hollow	Cesnola	Unpublished	British Museum
71/7-8/2	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	British Museum
AM1175	A	Solid	Couchoud	Caubet 1971	Louvre

AO22224	A	Hollow	De Clerq Collection	Caubet 1971	Louvre
AM1	A	Solid	Vente Feuardent	Caubet 1971	Louvre
AM1173	B	Hollow	Couchoud	Caubet 1971	Louvre
AM817	A	Hollow	Unknown	Caubet 1971	Louvre
74.51.1381	B	Hollow	Cesnola	http://www.metmuseum.org/	Metropolitan
1968.1523	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993 and Brown and Catling 1980	Ashmolean
1968.1242	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993 and Brown and Catling 1980	Ashmolean
1884.39.20	B	Hollow	Cesnola (purchased at Sotheby's)	Galanakis and Hicks 2013	Pitt-Rivers
1884.39.21	B	Hollow	Cesnola (purchased at Sotheby's)	Galanakis and Hicks 2013	Pitt-Rivers

1884.39.23	B	Solid	Cesnola	Galanakis and Hicks 2013	Pitt-Rivers
1884.58.44	A	Solid	Cesnola	Galanakis and Hicks 2013	Pitt-Rivers
1884.39.22	A	Hollow	Cesnola (purchased at Sotheby's)	Galanakis and Hicks 2013	Pitt-Rivers
LB83/MIII490	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Pierides Museum
LB63/MIII107	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Pierides Museum
LB36/MIII 441	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Pierides Museum
AR143/MIII2016	B	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Pierides Museum
47	B	Hollow	George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection	Karageorghis 2002	George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection
48	B	Solid	George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection	Karageorghis 2002	George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection

LS2091	B	Hollow	Leto and Costakis Severis Collection	Karageorghis 1999; 2010	Leventis Museum
LS2100	B	Hollow	Leto and Costakis Severis Collection	Karageorghis 1999; 2010	Leventis Museum
352	A	Solid	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou
353	A	Solid	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou
355	B	Hollow	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou
1333	B	Hollow	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou
1334	B	Hollow	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou
1336	B	Solid	Hadjiprodromou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodromou

351	B	Solid	Hadjiprodrumou Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Hadjiprodrumou
No accession number	A	Solid	Glafkos Klirides Collection	Karageorghis 1993	Glafkos Klirides
MM Acc 0589	B	Hollow	Unknown	http://collections.smvk.se/	Medelhavsmuseet
NM Ant 1740	B	Hollow	Gift from L.Z. Pierides to the crown prince of Sweden Gustaf Adolf in 1925. Part of the collection was donated to the National Museum. This part came to Medelhavsmuseet in 1982, as a deposit.	http://collections.smvk.se/	Medelhavsmuseet
LA660	B	Hollow	Unknown	Nys and Åström 2005	Antikmuseet, Lund
22654	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 2003	National Archaeological Museum, Athens

14646	A	Hollow	Unknown	http://www.namuseum.gr/	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
No accession number	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 2003	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
11935	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 2003	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
11592	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 2003	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
Forgery?	B	Solid	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	A	Hollow	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House

Unknown	B	Solid	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	B	Hollow	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	B	Hollow	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	A	Hollow	Desmond Morris Collection	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	A	Hollow	Desmond Morris Collection (reputedly from the Lawrence-Cesnola Collection)	Christie's Sales Catalogue 9296/London South Kennington, 6th November 2001 and Morris 1985	Christie's Auction House
Unknown	B	Hollow	Collection of Alfred E. Mirsky; sold for the benefit of the graduate	Christie's Sales Catalogue 1679/New York, Rockefeller Plaza, 16 th June 2006	Christie's Auction House

			student programme of the Rockefeller University in New York.		
P0284	B	Hollow	Unknown	http://dpc.uba.uva.nl/	Allard Pierson Museum
4987	B	Unknown	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972	Museo Civico di Storia ed Arte, Trieste
81439	B	Unknown	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972	Museo Archaeologico di Firenze
81438	A	Unknown	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972	Museo Archaeologico di Firenze
T12	A	Hollow	Unknown (maybe Alambra?)	Karageorghis 1993	Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest

3	A	Hollow	Unknown	Merrillees 1988	Archaeological Institute, Jena
31/1918/102	B	Solid	It was collected by Claude Cobham, Commissioner of Cyprus between 1879-1908.	http://rammcollections.org.uk/	Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter
1982A976	B	Solid	Transferred by the Trustees of the Welcome Trust in accordance with an order of Mr Justice Foster, dated 21 March 1977.	http://www.bmagic.org.uk/	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
22.12	B	Hollow	Gift of Mrs. Fred Betts.	http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/	Brooklyn Museum
Unknown	B	Hollow	Unknown	https://cypriotartleeds.wordpress.com	Leeds Museum
72.154	B	Solid	Cesnola Collection	http://www.mfa.org/	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

3712	A	Hollow	Bought in Paris in 1891.	Karageorghis 2001	Danish National Museum, Copenhagen
3713	B	Solid	Bought in Paris in 1891.	Karageorghis 2001	Danish National Museum, Copenhagen
1063	B	Hollow	Bought in Paris in 1878.	Karageorghis 2001	Danish National Museum, Copenhagen
ANSA_V_3260	B	Solid	Unknown	http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
ANSA_V_1342	A	Hollow	Gift of the count Ludolf, Graf, Emanuel, Madrid; 1879 Geschenk.	http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
1984, 3434	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Praehistorische Staatsammlung, Munich

TC 6684.33	A	Solid	Cesnola	Brehme, Brönnner, Karageorghis, Platz-Horster, Weisser 2001	Antikensammlung Museum, Berlin
Unknown	B	Hollow	Said to have been bought in Smyrna	Bossert 1951	Museum of the University of Berlin
8/3281	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	R.H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California
1986.9.5	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, Atlanta
2536	A	Solid	Unknown	Decaudin 1987 and Karageorghis 1993	Château Borély, Marseille
7542	A	Solid	Unknown	Decaudin 1987 and Karageorghis 1993	Château Borély, Marseille
2537	B	Hollow	Unknown	Decaudin 1987	Château Borély, Marseille

MNC10687	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Musée de la Céramique, Paris
MNC10687.3.2	B	Hollow	Unknown	Unpublished	Musée de la Céramique, Paris
Y200	B	Solid	Gift of Allan Marquand, Class of 1874	http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/	Princeton University Art Museum
Unknown	B	Hollow	Unknown-Loan from the Cyprus Museum	Unpublished	National Archaeological Museum of Ireland, Dublin
Unknown	B	Hollow	Unknown	http://www.flickr.com/photos/wolverhampton_arts_and_heritage/	Wolverhampton Museum
SHM 58	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 2005	The State Historical Museum, Moscow
SHM 59	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 2005 – Only references are made to two additional figurines in this museum.	The State Historical Museum, Moscow

SHM 60	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Karageorghis 2005 – Only references are made to two additional figurines in this museum.	The State Historical Museum, Moscow
1913, 136	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Kestner Museum, Hannover
Unknown	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Kestner Museum, Hannover
280	A	Unknown	Unknown	Åström and Åström 1972	Department of Classics, University of Chicago.
Unknown	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Sotheby's London Sale Catalogue 11th December 1989
Unknown	A	Hollow	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Sotheby's London Sale Catalogue 10th July 1989. Formely in the Schuster Collection.

Unknown	A	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Sotheby's New York Sale Catalogue 20th June 1990.
Unknown	B	Solid	Unknown	Karageorghis 1993	Sotheby's London Sales Catalogue 11th December 1989.

Table 2: This table summarises the data on the figurines of unknown provenance.

APPENDIX II: TYPOLOGY

1. TYPE A OR 'BIRD-HEADED' FIGURINES

1.1. FEET

a) Feet pointed downwards



Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1542 from
Ayia Paraskevi

b) Feet turned slightly outwards



British Museum A52 from Hala Sultan
Tekke

c) Feet as in standing posture



Cyprus Museum A57

1.2. TOES

a) No indication



Cyprus Museum 1933/XII-13/2

b) One incision on each foot



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/11

c) Two incisions on each foot



British Museum A12 from
Enkomi

d) Three incisions on each foot



Szépművészeti Múzeum T12
(photo:
<http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/>)

e) Six incisions, feet connected



British Museum A10 from Enkomi

1.3. KNEES

a) No indication



British Museum A11 from
Enkomi

b) Double pellets



Cyprus Museum 1933/XI-29/7

c) Light relief



British Museum A10 from
Enkomi

d) Single pellet



Cyprus Museum A59 from
Katydhata

1.4. PUBIC TRIANGLE

Combinations of incisions forming the triangle:

- a) Two incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg



Cyprus Museum A61

- b) Three incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1542**

- c) Two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg



Cyprus Museum A49

- d) Two incisions on the abdomen and four on each leg



Louvre AM2407

e) One incision on the abdomen and three on each leg



**Pierides Museum LB36/MIII
441**

f) Two incisions on the abdomen, four on the left and three on the right leg



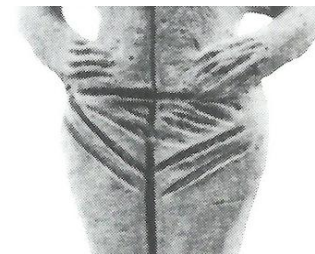
**National Archaeological
Museum, Athens 22654 (photo:
Karageorghis 2003, 83)**

g) Two incisions on the abdomen, five on the left and four on the right leg



**British Museum A12 from
Enkomi**

h) One incision on the abdomen and two on each leg



**Hadjiprodomou Collection 352
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl.
V)**

- i) Two incisions on the abdomen, three on the right and two on the left leg



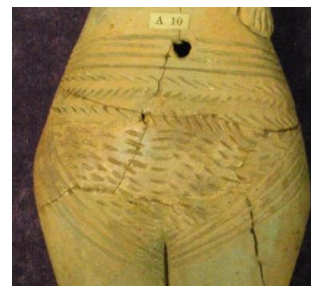
Kunsthistorisches Museum
ANSA.V.1342 (photo:
<http://bilddatenbank.khm.at>)

- j) Three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg



British Museum A36 from
Maroni

- k) Four incisions on the abdomen and four on each leg



British Museum A10 from
Enkomi

- l) Two incisions on the abdomen and five on each leg



Szépművészeti Múzeum T.12
(photo:
<http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/>)

m) Three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg



**National Archaeological
Museum, Athens 14646 (photo:
<http://www.namuseum.gr/>)**

n) One incision on the abdomen and four on each leg



Cyprus Museum 1933/XI-29/7

o) Three incisions on the abdomen and four on each leg



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/11

Motifs filling the triangle:

a) Incisions creating 'arrow-heads'



Louvre AM2407

b) Incisions that lie in the same direction



Cyprus Museum 1964/IX-8/9

c) Incisions that are irregularly applied



Cyprus Museum CS-1484/II-I from Ayios Theodoros Soleas

d) Punctures



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1547 from
Ayia Paraskevi**

**e) Vertical incisions reaching
different levels of the pubic
triangle**



**Cyprus Museum A54 from
Katydhata**

**f) Smaller incisions placed between
the main incisions forming the
triangle**



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

1.5. VULVA

a) No hole for the hollow specimens



Cyprus Museum 1818 from Enkomi

b) Hole for the hollow specimens



Louvre AO22224

c) Hole for the solid specimens



Pierides Museum LB36/MIII 441

d) Line separating the two legs



British Museum A36 from Maroni

e) Vertical incision



Cyprus Museum A61

f) A combination of a hole and a vertical incision



**Pitt-Rivers Museum 1884.39.22 (photo:
<http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/>)**

1.6. NAVEL

a) No indication



**Cyprus Museum 1021 from Hala Sultan
Tekke**

b) Rendered through a hole



Louvre AM1

c) Rendered through double pellets



Cyprus Museum A59 from Katydhata

d) Rendered through a single pellet



Cyprus Museum A57

e) Rendered through the impression of a tool with a rounded edge



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

1.7. BREASTS

a) No indication



Cyprus Museum 1933/XII-13/2

b) Pointed



Cyprus Museum 1964/IX-8/9

c) Rounded



British Museum A52 from Hala Sultan
Tekke

1.8. ARMS

a) Extended away from the body



Nicholson Museum NM47.347 from Ayia Paraskevi (?) (photo: <http://sydney.edu.au/>)

b) Attached onto the body



Cyprus Museum 4509 from Enkomi

1.9. HANDS

Position:

a) Both hands on the abdomen/waist



Cyprus Museum A57

b) Both hands on the breasts



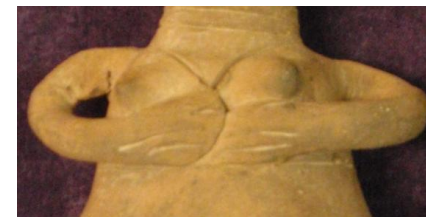
Cyprus Museum A49

c) One hand on the breast/below breast and the other on the abdomen/stomach



Cyprus Museum B1563 from Episkopi-Bamboula (photo: Benson 1972, Pl. 35)

d) Both hands on the stomach/below breasts



British Museum A15 from Enkomi

e) Both hands on the level of the breasts without touching them



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1548 from Ayia Paraskevi**

f) One hand between the breasts and the other on the abdomen/stomach



**Emory Museum 1986.9.5
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. III)**

g) Both hands on the infants



Cyprus Museum A61

h) One hand on the abdomen/stomach and the other on the infant



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

i) Infant on the left side but both hands on the abdomen/stomach or stomach/below breasts



British Museum A10 from Enkomi

j) Both hands on the disc



Louvre AM1

k) Both hands on the stemmed cup



**Szépművészeti Múzeum T12
(photo:
<http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/>)**

l) Hands in a posture like clapping



**National Archaeological
Museum, Athens Unnumbered
(photo: Karageorghis 2003, 83)**

Fingers:

a) Three incisions on each hand



British Museum A11 from Enkomi

b) Four incisions on each hand



British Museum 1871-0708-3

c) Two incisions on each hand



Cyprus Museum 312 from Kition

d) Three incisions on the left and four on the right hand



**Emory Museum 1986.9.5
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. III)**

e) Four incisions on the right and two on the left hand



Louvre AM2407

f) Three incisions on the right and two on the left hand



**Nicholson Museum NM47.347
from Ayia Paraskevi (?) (photo:
<http://sydney.edu.au>)**

g) Three incisions on the right and four on the left hand



**Cyprus Museum 1021 from
Hala Sultan Tekke**

h) Three incisions on the left and two on the right hand



Louvre AM1

i) Three incisions covering both hands



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1541 from Ayia Paraskevi
(photo:
<http://www.metmuseum.org>)**

j) Five incisions on the right and four on the left hand



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

k) Four incisions on the right and five on the left hand



Cyprus Museum A49

1.10. INFANTS

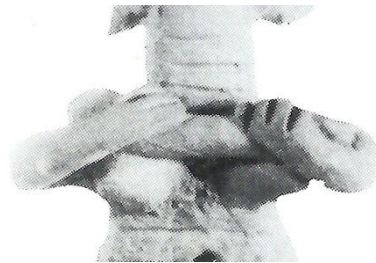
Rendered schematically:

a) Neck/head and sometimes the right arm are rendered



Pierides Museum LB36/MIII 441

b) Rendered as a cylindrical mass



Glafkos Klirides Collection Unnumbered

Rendered in their entirety:

a) Held in a horizontal position



Cyprus Museum A61

b) Held in an upright position



**Cyprus Museum CS-1484/II-I from
Ayios Theodoros Soleas**

c) Held in a diagonal position



British Museum A11 from Enkomi

Rendering of facial and bodily features: Head

Infants held horizontally

a) Head on their mother's left breast



Cyprus Museum 1818 from Enkomi

b) Head at a level above their mother's left breast



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/12 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. III)

c) Head on their mother's chest



British Museum A2 from Episkopi-Bamboula

Infants held upright

- a) **Head at the same level as their mother's neck**



Cyprus Museum 1964/IX-8/9

Infants held diagonally

- a) **Head on their mother's left breast**



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1542 from
Ayia Paraskevi**

- b) **Head on their mother's chest**



British Museum A11 from Enkomi

Rendering of Facial and Bodily Features: Eyes

a) No indication of the eyes

(No image available)

Example: Louvre AO22224

b) Eyes rendered through single pellets (through impression)



Cyprus Museum 1964/IX-8/9

c) Eyes rendered through punctures



British Museum A2 from Episkopi-Bamboula

d) Eyes rendered through incisions



Château Borély 7542 (photo: Decaudin 1987, Pl. LX)

Rendering of Facial and Bodily Features: Nose

a) Beaky



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

Rendering of Facial and Bodily Features: Ears

a) No indication of ears



**Nicholson Museum NM47.347
from Ayia Paraskevi (?) (photo:
<http://sydney.edu.au>)**

b) Rendering of ears



Cyprus Museum A61

Rendering of Facial and Bodily Features: Neck

a) No incisions on the neck



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1545
from Ayia Paraskevi (photo:
<http://www.metmuseum.org>)**

b) Five incisions on the neck



British Museum A10 from Enkomi

Rendering of Facial and Bodily Features: Arms/Hands

Infants held horizontally

a) *Left arm/hand between their mother's breasts/chest*



Cyprus Museum 1818 from Enkomi

b) *Left arm/hand above their mother's right breast*



Christie's Auction House, former Desmond Morris Collection (photo: catalogue of the auction 6 November 2001, 40)

c) *Left arm/hand on their mother's right breast*



Cyprus Museum V30.596

d) *Left* arm/hand on their mother's right hand and/or below her breast



British Museum A2 from Episkopi-Bamboula

e) *Right* arm/hand next to her left breast



Cyprus Museum A61

f) *Right* arm/hand on their mother's left breast

(No image available)

Example: British Museum A2 from Episkopi-Bamboula

g) *Right* arm/hand below their mother's underarm

(No image available)

Example: Cyprus Museum V30.596

Infants held upright

a) **Right arm/hand around their mother's neck**



Pierides Museum LB83/MIII 490

b) **Right arm/hand on their mother's shoulder**

(No image available)

Example: Jena Archaeological Institute 3

c) **Left arm/hand above their mother's left breast**

(No image available)

Example: Cyprus Museum 1933/II-19/2

d) *Left arm/hand between their mother's breasts/on their chest*



Louvre AM817

e) *Left arm/hand touching their mother's left breast or in close proximity to it*



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

f) *Both hands connected like clapping*



Cyprus Museum CS-1484/II-I from Ayios Theodoros Soleas

Infants held diagonally

- a) **Right arm/hand below their mother's left underarm, left arm/hand above her right breast**



British Museum A11 from Enkomi

- b) **Right arm/hand below their mother's left breast and their left arm/hand between her breasts, partially touching her right breast**



Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1542 from Ayia Paraskevi

Rendering Facial and Bodily Features: Fingers

a) No indication of the fingers



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1545 from Ayia Paraskevi
(photo:
<http://www.metmuseum.org>)**

b) One incision on each hand

(No image available)

**Example: British Museum A11
from Enkomi**

c) Two incisions on each hand



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1542 from Ayia Paraskevi**

d) Three incisions on each hand



Louvre AO22224

e) Three incisions on one hand and two on the other



Louvre AM2407

f) Four incisions on one hand and two on the other

(No image available)

**Example: Musée National de
Céramique de Sèvres
MNC10687**

g) Five incisions on one hand and four on the other



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

h) Two incisions on one hand and none on the other



Cyprus Museum V30.596

Rendering Facial and Bodily Features: Legs

Infants held horizontally

a) Feet under their mother's right breast



British Museum A12 from Enkomi

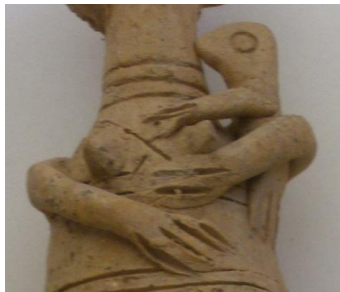
b) Feet under their mother's left breast



**British Museum A2 from Episkopi-
*Bamboula***

Infants held upright

- a) **Legs on the left side of their mother's torso**



Louvre AM817

Infants held diagonally

- a) **Legs on their mother's right side of the stomach/abdomen**



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1542
from Ayia Paraskevi**

Rendering Facial and Bodily Features: Toes

a) No indication of toes

(No image available)

**Example: Cyprus Museum
1818 from Enkomi**

b) No indication of toes –
feet divided through a
vertical incision

(No image available)

**Example: British Museum A12
from Enkomi**

c) Toes rendered through
three incisions



Louvre AM817

d) Toes rendered through
three incisions on each
foot – feet divided
through a vertical
incision

(No image available)

**Example: Musée National de
C ramique de S vres
MNC10687**

e) Toes rendered through two incisions

(No image available)

Example: Pierides Museum
LB83/MIII 490

f) Toes rendered through seven incisions



British Museum A10 from
Enkomi

g) Toes rendered through one incision on each foot – feet divided through a vertical incision



British Museum A11 from Enkomi

1.11. JEWELLERY/ORNAMENTATION ON TORSO AND NECK

Neck:

a) Three incisions on the neck



Cyprus Museum A49

b) Two incisions on the neck



**Musée National de Céramique de
Sèvres MNC10687 (photo: by P.
Mylona)**

c) Four incisions on the neck



**Ashmolean Museum AN1953.244
from Dhenia-Kafkalla (photo:
<http://www.ashmolean.org/>)**

d) No incisions on the neck



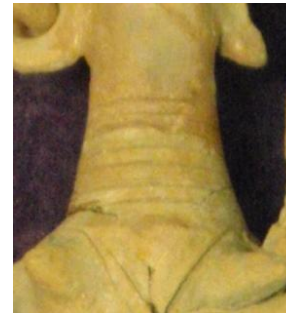
Cyprus Museum 10 from Enkomi

e) One incision on the neck



Cyprus Museum A57

f) Seven incisions on the neck



British Museum A10 from Enkomi

g) Five incisions on the neck



**Cyprus Museum A59 from
Katydhata**

h) Six incisions on the neck



**Prahistorische Staatsammlung 1984,
3434 (photo: Karageorghis 1933, Pl.
I)**

**i) Three incisions on the neck
with the space between two
of the incisions filled with
smaller diagonal incisions**



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1548
from Ayia Paraskevi**

Chest:

a) **Two diagonal incisions on the chest**



Cyprus Museum A55 from Enkomi

b) **One diagonal and one horizontal incision on the chest**



Louvre AO22224

c) **Two vertical incisions on the chest**



Cyprus Museum A59 from Katydhata

d) **Two horizontal incisions on the chest**

(No image available)

Example: Cyprus Museum 1173/2 from Hala Sultan Tekke

Below breasts/on the stomach:

a) One horizontal incision



Cyprus Museum A49

b) Two horizontal incisions



**Cyprus Museum A55 from
Enkomi**

c) Three horizontal incisions



**Cyprus Museum A59 from
Katydhata**

d) Two horizontal incisions on the stomach/abdomen and two below breasts



**British Museum A11 from
Enkomi**

Arms:

a) Applied bracelets



Cyprus Museum V30.596

1.12. FACIAL FEATURES

Mouth:

a) No indication of the mouth



Cyprus Museum B128b

b) Mouth indicated through an incision



Cyprus Museum A57

Nose:

a) Beaky



**Cyprus Museum CS 1484/II-I
from Ayios Theodoros Soleas**

b) Beaky but smaller in size



Cyprus Museum V30.596

Eyebrows:

a) No indication of the eyebrows



Cyprus Museum B128b

b) Applied strip with incisions



Cyprus Museum 1934/IV-27/23

c) Incisions applied directly on the forehead



Cyprus Museum A61

Variations of ear holes:

a) **Two holes on each ear**



Cyprus Museum 1964/IX-8/9

b) **Three holes on each ear**



Louvre AM2407

c) **Three holes with circular impressions on each ear**



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1548 from Ayia
Paraskevi**

d) Double pellets instead of holes on each ear



**Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1545
from Ayia Paraskevi (photo:
<http://www.metmuseum.org>)**

e) Double pellets with small holes on the inner pellets on each ear



**Cyprus Museum A54 from
Katydhata**

f) Three double pellets on each ear



**Pierides Museum LB83/MIII
490**

2. TYPE B OR 'FLAT-HEADED' FIGURINES

2.1. FEET/LEGS

a) Feet pointed downwards



Cyprus Museum 15 from
Agkastina

b) Seated



Cyprus Museum
A41 from Maroni

2.2. TOES

a) No indication



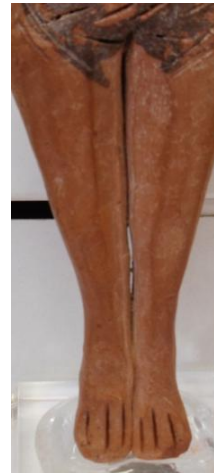
Cyprus Museum 10/19 from
Enkomi

b) Two incisions on each
foot



British Museum A39 from
Maroni

c) Three incisions on
each foot



Cyprus Museum 47 from
Ayia Paraskevi

d) One incision on each foot



Birmingham Museum 1982A976
(photo:
<http://www.bmagic.org.uk/>)

e) Four incisions on each foot



**Medelhavsmuseet NM Ant
1554 (photo:
<http://collections.smvk.se/>)**

f) Three incisions on the left and four on the right foot



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1543 from Ayia
Paraskevi**

g) Three incisions on the left and two on the right foot



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1549 from Ayia
Paraskevi**

h) Three incisions on the right and four on the left foot



Cyprus Museum A45

i) Three incisions on the right and two on the left foot

(No image available)

Example: Cyprus Museum A48 from Katydhata

j) Four incisions on the right and five on the left foot



Cyprus Museum 29 from Agkastina

k) Four incisions on the right and two on the left foot



Cyprus Museum A44 from Maroni

l) Five incisions on the right and four on the left foot



Cyprus Museum 1009 from Dromolaxia-Trypes

2.3. PUBIC TRIANGLE

Variations in the formation of the pubic triangle for the standing examples:

- a) Two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



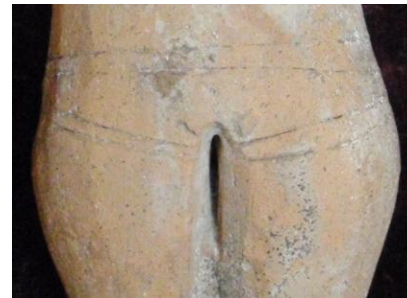
Cyprus Museum A51

- b) Two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with black paint only



British Museum A38 from Maroni

- c) Two incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; no incisions or black paint filling the triangle



British Museum A16 from Enkomi

d) Two incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



Cyprus Museum A52

e) One incision on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with black paint only



**Hadjiprodrumou Collection 1336
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. IX)**

f) Three incisions on the abdomen and three on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



**Cyprus Museum 48 from Ayia
Paraskevi**

g) Three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint

(No image available)

Example: Christie's Auction House, former E. Mirsky Collection

h) Three incisions on the abdomen; three on the left and two on the right leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



Medelhavsmuseet E003:184 (photo: <http://collections.smvk.se/>)

i) Two incisions on the abdomen; three on the left and four on the right leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



Medelhavsmuseet NM Ant 1554 (photo: <http://collections.smvk.se/>)

j) Two incisions on the abdomen, three on the left and two on the right leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



Pitt-Rivers Museum 1884.39.20
(photo: <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/>)

k) Two incisions on the abdomen, two on the left and three on the right leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint



Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres MNC10687.3.2 (photo: by P. Mylona)

l) One incision on the abdomen and one on each leg; filled with black paint only



British Museum 71/7-8/2 (photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. IX)

Variations in the formation of the pubic triangle for the seated examples:

a) **Two incisions on the abdomen, two on each leg; filled with black paint only**



Cyprus Museum A39 from Katydhata

b) **One incision on the abdomen, two on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint**

(No image available)

Example: Ashmolean Museum 1968.1542

c) **One incision on the abdomen, one on each leg; filled with smaller incisions and black paint**

(No image available)

Example: British Museum A40 from Maroni

d) **One incision on the abdomen covered by a black band**

(No image available)

Example: National Archaeological Museum, Athens 11592

e) **Three incisions on the abdomen and two on each leg; filled with black paint only**

(No image available)

Example: George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection 48

Motifs of incisions filling the triangle:

a) Incisions creating 'arrow-heads'



Cyprus Museum 15 from Agkastina

b) Incisions that have the same direction



British Museum A17 from Enkomi

c) Incisions that are irregularly applied



**Medelhavsmuseet E003:184
(photo:
<http://collections.smvk.se/>)**

2.4. VULVA

a) Hole for the hollow specimens



British Museum A16 from Enkomi

b) No indication of the vulva



British Museum A39 from Maroni

c) Vertical incision or dashed vertical incision



Cyprus Museum 1853 from Enkomi

d) Line separating the two legs



Cyprus Museum A58

2.5. NAVEL

a) No indication of the navel



Cyprus Museum A45

b) Navel rendered through a hole



Cyprus Museum 1947/VI-15/1

2.6. BREASTS

a) Rounded



Cyprus Museum A51

b) Pointed



Cyprus Museum 15 from
Agkastina

c) No indication of
breasts



Cyprus Museum 1173/5 from
Hala Sultan Tekke

d) Incised circles



Cyprus Museum A58

2.7. ARMS/HANDS

Position for standing figurines:

a) Arms attached onto the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts



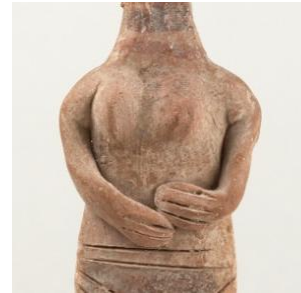
Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1549 from Ayia Paraskevi

b) Arms extended away from the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts



British Museum 71/7-8/2
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. IX)

c) Arms attached onto the body and hands on the abdomen/waist



Princeton University Y200
(photo:
<http://artmuseum.princeton.edu>)

d) Arms extended away from the body and hands on the abdomen/waist

(No image available)

Example: Christie's Auction
House, former Desmond Morris
Collection

e) Arms attached onto the body and hands between the breasts

(No image available)

Example: National Museums of Scotland KTA 11.4 from Palaepaphos-Asproyi

f) Arms attached onto the body, left hand below breasts and right hand on the stomach/abdomen

(No image available)

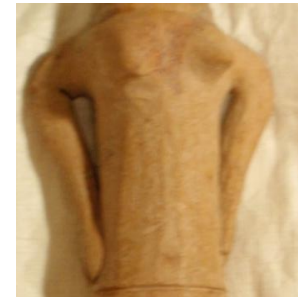
Example: Cyprus Museum KX-127 from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos

g) Arms attached onto the body, left hand on the stomach and right hand on the abdomen

(No image available)

Example: Allard Pierson Museum APM15697

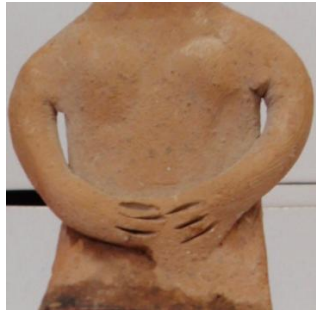
h) Arms extended away from the body, falling along the sides of the torso and hands on the waist



Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1543 from Ayia Paraskevi

Position for seated figurines:

- a) Arms attached onto the body and hands on the stomach/abdomen



Cyprus Museum A41 from Maroni

- b) Arms extended away from the body and hands on the stomach/abdomen



Hadjiprodrinou Collection 351
(photo: Karageorghis 1993, Pl. X)

- c) Arms extended away from the body and hands on the stomach/below breasts

(No image available)

Example: Ashmolean Museum
1968.1542

d) Arms attached onto the body and folded below breasts



**Cyprus Museum A39 from
Katydhata**

**e) Arms attached onto the body,
left hand below breasts and
right hand on the left breast**



British Museum A40 from Maroni

**f) Arms attached onto the
body, right hand on the left
shoulder**



**National Archaeological Museum,
Athens 11592 (photo:
Karageorghis 1993, Pl. X)**

Fingers:

a) Three incisions on each hand



**British Museum A16 from
Enkomi**

b) Two incisions on each hand



**Pierides Museum LB63/MIII
107**

c) Four incisions on each hand

(No image available)

**Example: Allard Pierson
Museum APM15697**

d) Five incisions on each hand



**Cyprus Museum 1009 from
Dromolaxia-*Trypes***

e) One incision on each hand

(No image available)

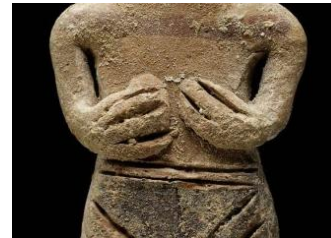
Example: National Museums of Scotland KTA 11.4 from Palaepaphos-Asproyi

f) Three incisions on the right and four on the left hand



British Museum A38 from Maroni

g) Three incisions on the right and two on the left hand



Boston Museum 72.154 (photo: <http://www.mfa.org>)

h) Two incisions on the right and three on the left hand



Cyprus Museum 1173/5 from Hala Sultan Tekke

i) Six incisions on the right and five on the left hand



Cyprus Museum A43

j) Three incisions on the right and five on the left hand



Cyprus Museum 10/19 from Enkomi

k) Four incisions on the right and five on the left hand



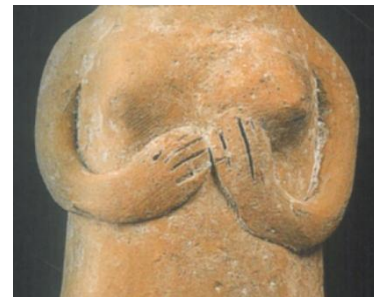
Louvre MNB365

l) Four incisions on the right and three on the left hand



Cyprus Museum 15 from Agkastina

m) Four incisions on the right and two on the left hand



Leventis Municipal Museum LS2091 (photo: Karageorghis 2010, 163)

2.8. JEWELLERY/ORNAMENTATION ON TORSO AND NECK

Neck:

a) Three bands: red-black-red



Cyprus Museum 15 from Agkastina

b) Three bands: red-slightly larger black-red



Cyprus Museum 1173/5 from Hala Sultan Tekke

c) Three bands: red-wavy black-red



Leventis Municipal Museum LS2100 (photo: Karageorghis 2010, 163)

d) Three bands: red-black-red continuing between the breasts creating diagonal bands



Cyprus Museum A52

e) Three bands: black-red-black



Cyprus Museum A44 from Maroni

f) Three bands: black-slightly larger red-black

(No image available)

Example: Kunsthistorisches Museum ANSA_V_1171

g) Three bands all wavy: black-red-black

(No image available)

Example: National Museums of Scotland KTA 11.4 from Palaepaphos-Asproyi

h) Two bands: red-black



Cyprus Museum 1102 from Enkomi

i) Two bands: black-red



**Cyprus Museum A39 from
Katydhata**

**j) Two bands: black-red
continuing between the
breasts creating diagonal
bands**



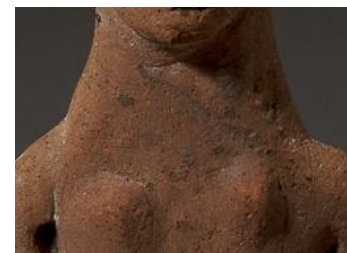
**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1543 from Ayia Paraskevi**

k) One band: black



Cyprus Museum A45

l) No bands



**Pitt-Rivers Museum 1884.39.23
(photo:
<http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/>)**

Arms:

a) **Black vertical bands on the upper arms**



Cyprus Museum 47 from Ayia Paraskevi

b) **Four horizontal bands on the shoulder and upper part of the arm**

(No image available)

Example: Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery 31/1918/102

2.9. HEAD AND FACIAL FEATURES

Top of the head:

a) Flattened with black paint



**Cyprus Museum 1009 from
Dromolaxia-Trypes**

b) Rounded with black paint



Cyprus Museum A52

c) Slightly rounded with black paint



**Cyprus Museum 226 from
Enkomi**

Back of the head:

a) **Protruding with black paint**



Cyprus Museum A58

b) **No protrusion but covered in black paint**



Cyprus Museum A52

c) **No protrusion, covered in black paint and curls in relief**



**Metropolitan Museum
74.51.1543 from Ayia
Paraskevi**

Eyebrows:

a) Rendered with black paint



Cyprus Museum 47 from Ayia Paraskevi

b) No indication



Cyprus Museum A43

Eyes:

a) Double pellets with black paint



British Museum A53 from Klavdia-Tremithos

b) Double pellets; no black paint



British Museum A17 from Enkomi

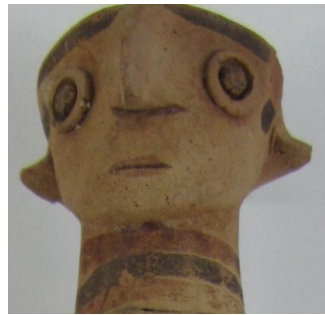
Nose:

a) **Two incisions for the nostrils**



**British Museum A19 from
Enkomi**

b) **One horizontal
incision for the
nostrils**



**Cyprus Museum 1009 from
Dromolaxia-Trypes**

c) **Two punctures for the
nostrils**



Cyprus Museum A44 from Maroni

d) **No indication of the
nostrils**



**Cyprus Museum 10/19 from
Enkomi**

Sideburns:

a) Rendered with black paint



Cyprus Museum 47 from Ayia Paraskevi

b) Rendered with curls in relief painted in black



Cyprus Museum A52

c) No indication



Cyprus Museum A39 from Katydhata

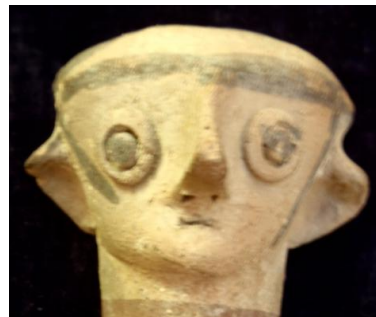
Mouth:

a) Incised and painted in red



**Cyprus Museum 1009 from
Dromolaxia-Trypes**

b) Incised only



**British Museum A53 from
Klavdia-Tremithos**

c) Painted in red only



**British Museum A38 from
Maroni**

d) No indication

(No image available)

**Example: Ashmolean Museum
1968.1523**

Ears:

a) Small and slightly folded



**British Museum A37 from
Maroni**

b) Larger with holes



**Cyprus Museum K-AD
2096 from Kalavassos-
*Ayios Dhimitrios***

**APPENDIX III:
MANUFACTURE**

Parts	Formation	Assemblage
Feet/Legs/Pelvis	Two lumps of clay rolled between the palms. The lower edge of the legs was rolled slightly more in order for the feet to be formed. The pelvis was formed as part of the legs after their assemblage.	They were assembled by pressing the two pieces together; the feet were joined and flattened, usually pushed downwards. Then, the legs were pressed in order to be flattened; the upper part was pressed more in order for the pelvis to be formed.
Torso	Formed separately.	Pressed onto the legs; the join is smoothed.
Neck/Head	A lump of clay rolled between the two palms. <i>Type A</i> head: the upper part of the head was either left rounded or was slightly flattened. <i>Type B</i> head: was flattened on top while the back of the head was pinched creating a protrusion.	Probably after the face (<i>Type B</i>) and the facial features were added onto the neck/head, the latter was assembled with the torso by pressing the two pieces together and smoothing the join.
Breasts	Produced by two small balls of clay slightly pinched.	They were added by pressing them onto the torso and smoothing the surface around them.
Infants	All the pieces were formed through small lumps of clay rolled between the two palms. There are a lot of variations in the rendering of the infant.	The assemblage was conducted by pressing the various pieces together.
Arms/Hands	The arms were made through two small lumps of clay rolled between the palms; one of the edges was pinched in order to create a wider surface for the hands to be rendered.	Attached onto the torso at the level of the shoulders.
Face (<i>Type B</i>)	Flattened oval piece of clay.	The face was most likely added on the head before the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso.
Nose	Pinched until they assume the required shape. For the <i>Type A</i> noses a larger lump of clay was used.	Probably assembled before the attachment of the neck/head onto the torso.

Eyes	Produced by two pellets; a tool was probably used in order to make a cavity on the outer and larger pellet where the smaller pellet was added.	Could be assembled after the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso.
Ears	<i>Type A</i> ears: were made by two flattened pieces of clay which were probably pierced before their assemblage onto the head. The earrings of the <i>Type A</i> figurines were made by connecting the two edges of rolls of clay. <i>Type B</i> ears: less complicated in their formation; they were made by two small flattened pieces of clay slightly folded.	<i>Type A</i> ears: were probably added before the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso. Earrings were most probably added after the figurine was leather-hard. <i>Type B</i> ears: could have been added after the assemblage of the neck/head onto the torso.
Mouth	<i>Type B</i> mouth: formed through an incision on the face.	




Table 1: This table summarises the evidence on the production sequences followed for the solid specimens.





Parts	Formation	Assemblage
Legs/Feet	Made individually. Feet: formed through two different methods, either by pinching the lower leg into a flattened foot shape or formed independently through two small lumps of clay rolled between the palms slotted into the openings of the legs.	In the case that the feet were inserted into the legs, it was probably conducted before their assemblage. The two legs are placed together and joined to the pelvis. Internally, where the top of the legs meet, a small strap of clay was often added to support this area. Bringing together these three pieces created an open vulva, which was often accentuated with the use of a tool.
Pelvis	It was formed either from extensions of the legs or from pieces of clay added to the top of the legs.	
Torso	It was produced from a single piece of clay.	The pelvis – torso were joined by slotting one into the other and pinching the join. Only the outer part of this join was sealed, while the inner section was left relatively unsmoothed, making this a particularly weak connection.
Neck/Head	Produced from a single piece of clay. <i>Type A</i> heads: only the bottom is open. <i>Type B</i> heads: formed as a cylinder open on top and bottom.	The torso – neck/head were joined by slotting one into the other and pinching the join. Only the outer part of this join was sealed, while the inner section was left relatively unsmoothed, making this a particularly weak connection.
Face (<i>Type B</i>)	Flattened oval piece of clay.	Added on the head probably before the assemblage of the neck/head – torso.
Top of the head (<i>Type B</i>)	Formed through a flattened piece of clay.	One of the last pieces added – probably after the assemblage of the neck/head.
Nose	Pinched until they assume the required shape. For the <i>Type A</i> noses a larger lump of clay was used.	Probably added before the assemblage of the neck/head – torso.
Eyes	Produced by two pellets; a tool was used in order to make a cavity on the outer and larger pellet where the smaller pellet was added.	Could be assembled after the assemblage of the neck/head – torso.




Ears	<i>Type A</i> ears: were made by two flattened pieces of clay which are pierced before their assemblage onto the head. The earrings of the <i>Type A</i> figurines are made by connecting the two edges of rolls of clay. <i>Type B</i> ears: less complicated in their formation; they are made by two small flattened pieces of clay slightly folded.	<i>Type A</i> ears: were probably added before the assemblage of the neck/head – torso. Earrings were most probably added after the figurine was leather-hard. <i>Type B</i> ears: could have been added after the assemblage of the neck/head – torso.
Mouth	<i>Type B</i> mouth: formed through an incision on the face.	
Breasts	Produced by two small balls of clay slightly pinched.	They were added by pressing them onto the torso and smoothing the surface around them.
Arms/Hands	The arms were made through two small lumps of clay rolled between the palms; one of the edges was pinched in order to create a wider surface for the hands to be rendered.	They are either socketed into small openings on the level of the shoulders or attached onto the torso.
Items held/infant (<i>Type A</i>)	Same as the solid.	Same as the solid.

Table 2: This table summarises the evidence on the production sequences followed for the hollow specimens.

APPENDIX IV: ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

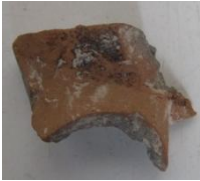


Inv.N°	Type	State of preservation	Area/ Level	Date	Room/ Feature of Discovery	Assemblages	Picture
Enk._4509	Type A, solid	Only torso survives.	Area III, Level IIA	LC IIA–IIB	Room 77, almost on floor VIII: connected with metalworking.	Terracotta loom-weight.	
Enk._1566	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Area III, Level IIIA	LC IIIA:1	Room 49, floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	Various sherds and a stone bead.	
Enk._1938	Type B, solid	Only legs survive.	Area I, Level IIB	LC IIC	Room 104, in the debris overlying floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	Terracotta spindle-whorl; fragments of an alabaster vessel; plain hand-made sherd.	




Enk_1164	Type B, hollow	Only head survives.	Area III, Level IIIA	LC IIIA:1	Room 55, in debris overlying floor III: connected with metalworking.	No associated assemblages.	
Enk_1102	Type B, solid	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Area III, Level IIIB	LC IIIA–IIIB	Room 4: confusion of stratigraphy.	No clear assemblages.	
Enk_3022	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower legs survive.	Area III, Level IIIB	LC IIIA:2–LCIIIB	Room 71, between floors III and I.	Sling bullet; terracotta loom-weight and a terracotta spindle-whorl.	
Enk_10	Type A, solid	Only neck/head and upper torso survive.	Quartier 3E	Unknown	Locus I, in a pit.	LC but mostly Iron Age sherds.	




Enk._16.51	Type B, solid	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Quartier 5E	Unknown	Locus 14, in the 'eastern pit'.	Unknown	
Enk._1818	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the head.	Area III, Level IIA	LC IIA–IIB	Room 13a, in a deposit immediately below floor IV: connected with domestic activities.	A bowl filled with earth and bones was found in the opposite corner and a spindle-whorl.	
Enk._1764	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Area III, Level IIB	LC IIC–IIIA:1	In the fill above the floor of a courtyard (Level IIB) which was turned into Room 4/floor III (Level IIIA): connected with domestic activities.	No associated assemblages.	



Enk._1853	Type B, solid	Only lower torso and upper legs survive.	Area III, Early Level IIB	LC IIC	On the bedrock of an open space covered by a layer of slag.	No associated assemblages.	
Enk._1477	Type B, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the head.	Area III, Level IIIA	LC IIIA:1	Room 42, between floors III and II: connected with domestic activities.	Two beads.	
Enk._3912/3-4	Type B, hollow	Only two pieces of the legs/pelvis survive.	Area III, Level IIIB	LC IIIA:2–LCIIIB	Room 42, between floors II and I: connected with domestic activities.	A LH IIIB cup; a stone grinder; a terracotta loom-weight.	

Enk_19.55	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Quartier 4E	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
Enk_19.56	Type B, hollow	Only front part of the head/face and neck survive.	Quartier 3W	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
Enk_226	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Quartier 3W	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
K-AD 524	Type A, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Central Area	Unknown	Surface find.	Unknown.	


K-AD 2226	Type B, hollow	Only part of the back of the head survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC III – Archaic (?)	In a level belonging to a later period (?).	LC sherds.	
K-AD 1145	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower leg survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC IIC	In a trial trench, north of Building X.	Sherds and a metal sample.	Not available
K-AD 2266	Type B, hollow	Only upper legs survive.	North-East Area (Building X)	Probably LC IIC	Pottery dump (?)	Sherds.	
K-AD 2264	Unidentified, hollow	Only upper part of the torso survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC IIB–IIC	In the fill of a drain.	Sherds.	

K-AD 202	Type B, hollow	Only right upper part of the torso survives.	South-East Area (West Complex)	LC IIC	In the fill of the floor of a room of an unknown function.	A stone spindle-whorl; a stone with depression; a wall bracket and sherds.	
K-AD 2093	Type A, hollow	Only upper left part of the torso survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC IIB into LC IIC	In the fill of a pit located in a street.	Sherds.	
K-AD 2096	Type B, hollow	Only back part of the head survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC IIB into LC IIC	In the material of 'floor' removal of the vestibule.	Sherds.	

K-AD 561	Type B, hollow	Only lower part of the legs survives.	South-East Area (Between Building IX and North Complex)	LC IIC	Below the bulldozed surface and above the uppermost floor in the western extend of a yard/street.	Sherds; slag lumps; a bronze pin; scrap of metal sheet.	
K-AD 562	Type B, solid	Only head survives.	South-East Area (Between Building IX and North Complex)	LC IIC	Western edge of the yard/street; unclear if it was found on floor.	Sherds and a bronze fragment.	
K-AD 1465	Unidentified, hollow	Only lower leg survives.	North-East Area (Building X)	LC IIC	In the building collapse above a street.	Sherds.	

Kit._365	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Area I/Floor IV	LC IIC–IIIA	Room 44, on floor: possibly connected with metalworking.	A head and part of the neck of a LH bovine figurine; imported and local pottery; a cylinder seal; a bronze pendant; a fragment of glazed ware; a rubber; and a fragment of a faience bowl.	
Kit._312	Type A, solid	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only the neck/head.	Area I/Floor IV	LC IIC–IIIA	Room 43a, on floor: connected with domestic activities.	Loom-weights and sherds.	

Kit._552	Type B, solid	Only legs survive.	Area I, Floor IV-III A	LC IIC–IIIA	Room 40, between floors IV and IIIA: the former was connected with metalworking while the latter was related to domestic activities.	Sherds.	
Kit._742/1	Type B, hollow	Only front part of the face survives.	Area I, Floor II-I	LC IIIA–IIIB	Room 15, between floors II and I: the former was a room of an unknown function while the latter was a courtyard.	Sherds.	
Apl.Kar._A12.8 (1-2)	Type B, solid	Only heads/necks survive.	House A, Phase II	LC IIIA	Room 8, on floor: domestic character; possibly connected with metallurgical activities.	Two body fragments of the BR female figurines; fragments of BR zoomorphic figurines; slag and a polisher.	

Apl.Kar._A12.8 (3-4)	Unidentified	Only parts of the torso survive.	House A, Phase II	LC IIIA	Room 8, on floor: domestic character; possibly connected with metallurgical activities.	Two necks/heads of BR female figurines; fragments of BR zoomorphic figurines; slag and a polisher.	Not available
Apl.Kar._Opencast	Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Opencast; additional details are not provided.	Unknown	Not available
Episk.Bamb._B1565	Type B, hollow	Only front part of the head and front right part of the torso survive.	Area D, Stratum A	LC IIC and maybe LC IIIA	'Cellar' (Trench 16), on the floor: mostly used for storage.	Pottery of both local and imported types; head of a BR bull figurine; left leg and neck fragment of a LH bovine figurine; two bronze fragments; a faience fragment; Cypro-Minoan inscriptions; fragments of bath larnax; a tripod	<p>B 1565</p> 

bowl; a stone bowl;
and a crucible
fragment.

Episk.Bamb._B1566

Type B, hollow

Only front part of
the head survives.

Area D, Stratum A

LC IIC and
maybe LC
IIIA

'Cellar' (Trench 16),
on the floor: mostly
used for storage.

As above
(Episk.Bamb._B15
65)

B 1566



Episk.Bamb._B1562

Type B, solid

Only neck/head and
torso survive.

Area B, Stratum B

LC IIB

Trench 15, in the
fill of a floor:
possibly connected
with domestic
activities.

Sherds; a pestle; a
bronze needle and
possibly other
items that are not
specified in the
publication.

B 1562



Episk.Bamb._B1567

Unidentified,
hollow

Only part of the
upper leg survives.

Area A, Stratum F1




LC IIIB



Unknown

Unknown

B 1567



Maa.Pal._19 (Court.A)	Unidentified, solid	Only torso survives.	Area I, Floor II-I	LC IIC–IIIA	Courtyard A, in the fill of a pit.	Unknown	
Maa.Pal._19 (Court.B)	Unidentified, solid	Only torso survives.	Area I, Floor II-I	LC IIC–IIIA	Courtyard B, in the debris overlying the floor of the courtyard.	Sherds.	
PK15 421 (Unpublished)	Type B, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only parts of the face/head.	Sector 5	LC IIIA	Sherds were found in layer 00122 (on top of the bedrock/floor 00128) of Room 3. Some additional sherds of the figurine were unearthed in Room 8, just to the south of Room 3, in Layer 00127 (on top of floor 00131). The area of Room 3	Room 3 contained 5 vases, 1 weight, fragments of 2 alabaster vases and a lead object. The figurine was discovered underneath the sherds of other vases together with the fragments of one of the alabaster vases. Room 8 revealed a large	

					and 8 could be disturbed since an electricity cable was installed.	black vase, some stone objects, a krater in Pictorial Style and a small pithos.	
Py1.Kok._92	Unidentified, hollow	Only foot survives.	Area II, Unspecified	LC IIIA	Unspecified	Unknown	
TC99 (Toumba tou Skourou)	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	House D, Phase II	LC II	Square J-K 7, between the row of curbstones and the later walls of the house: connected with pottery production (?).	Upper part of the head of a BR bull figurine.	





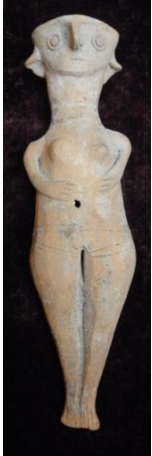


Hal.S._N207	Type A, hollow	Only head survives.	Western Area, on the border between colluvial soil and the first layer of occupation (Stratum 1)	LC II	Trial Trench 14B, between colluvial soil and Stratum 1.	Unknown.	
Hal.S._N215	Type B, solid	Only neck/head survives.	Western Area, Stratum 1 (material, however, is older than Stratum 1)	LC II	Trial Trench 14B in locus 377 which is just below the colluvial soil.	Head and neck of a LH IIIA–IIIB horse.	
S-Mas 232/A14 (Sanidha)	Type A, hollow	Only infant survives.	Area 14, surface	Unknown	Surface find.	Unknown	Not available
Idal._Unpublished	Type A, solid	Unknown	Administrative centre	Cypro-Classical	Unknown	Along with material of a later period.	Not available

Table 1: This table summarises the evidence concerning the archaeological context of the figurines found in settlement structures.



Inv.N°	Type	State of preservation	N° of tomb and site	Exact position of the figurine	Associated assemblages of the figurine	General assemblages of the tomb	Picture
29	Type A, solid	Survives almost in its entirety– lacks only the ears.	C19/Enkomi	On the chest of the topmost burial of the bench.	A Monochrome bowl discovered under the elbow of the right arm of the deceased and a LH IIIA:1 cup placed on the feet.	Pottery.	
A55	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety– lacks only lower left arm and hand as well as the head and torso of the infant.	Tomb Unknown/ Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	



10	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	S19/Enkomi	Surface find.	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; a bronze chisel; bronze rings; four bronze hair-rings; six bronze earrings; a bronze mirror; bronze bowls; a silver bracelet; three gold hair-rings; gold finger-rings; five gold earrings; a gold mouthpiece; a faience bowl; a faience bead; a stone mace-head; a stone spindle-whorl; two stone bowls and two stone pestles.	
11	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	S19/Enkomi	Surface find.	Unknown	As above (10/S19).	Not available (lost)

A16	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	B69/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; Red Lustrous arm-shaped vessel; Red Slip zoomorphic rattle; LH <i>rhyton</i> ; a bronze finger-ring; a chlorite shallow tripod bowl; a rectangular glazed composition dish; a glazed composition lentoid flask; a gold bead; gold diadems and mouth pieces; gold earrings and hair-rings; a gold finger-ring; gold beads and a glazed composition forming a necklace.	
A14	Type A, solid	Survives in its entirety.	B91/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; a gold diadem; a gold mouth piece; and a neck of travertine vessel.	


A18	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head and torso survive.	B88/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	<p>Imported and local pottery; two chlorite biconical spindle-whorls; glass beads; a glass flask; a blue frit disc; a glazed composition bead; 42 glazed composition beads of various forms probably forming one necklace; 36 glazed composition beads probably forming a necklace; three glazed composition bowls; a glazed composition figure of a lion; glazed composition <i>rhyton</i> in the shape of a horse head; a blue frit spacer bead; a gold mouth piece; a gold disc; a BR bull-<i>rhyton</i>; a terracotta spindle-whorl.</p>	
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A20	Type B, hollow	Only legs and pelvis survive.	B88/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A18/B88).	
A19	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head and torso survives.	B88/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A18/B88).	



A17	Type B, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only right hand.	B88/ Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A18/B88).	
A13	Type A, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb Unknown/ Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	

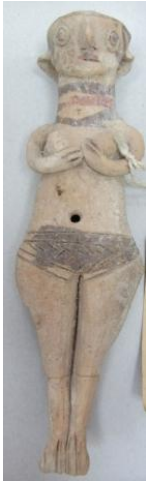

A21	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Tomb Unknown/ Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
A11	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	B67/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	<p>An agate bead; an amber bead; a bronze finger ring; a chlorite cylinder seal; cornelian beads; glazed beads; gold beads; gold diadems; gold discs; dress pins; gold earrings (almost 30); gold fingerings; gold hair-rings or earrings; mouth pieces; a gold pendant; gold scaraboid fingerings; hematite weights; LH pottery; LH bull-<i>rhyton</i>; WP rattle; two silver fingerings; a travertine amphora from Egypt.</p>	

A10	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	B67/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (B67/A11).	
A15	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	B93/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	<p>Imported and local pottery; a cornelian bead; a cornelian ring bead; a glass juglet; 18 glazed composition beads; a faience scarab; a rectangular piece of hammered gold sheet scrap; gold beads; 18 gold beads forming a necklace; 29 gold beads forming a necklace; gold diadems or mouth pieces; gold dress pins; fragments of gold Vapheio cups; a great number of gold earrings; gold hair-rings or</p>	

						<p>earrings; gold finger rings; a frontlet of very thick gold sheet; two gold ingot bar fragments; four gold ingot droplets; two gold mounting caps for a cylinder; gold mouth pieces; series of gold beads forming a necklace; two gold pendants; gold scraps; gold toe rings (?); a copper cylinder seal; gold and cornelian bead necklace; parts of gold pectoral; hematite cylinder seals; an intaglio of lapis lazuli; a silver armlet, silver finger-rings; a silver earring; a LH IIIA:2–IIIB:1 terracotta chariot group.</p>	
A12	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only the left ear.	B93/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A15/B93).	



E.003:184	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	S3/Enkomi	In the innermost niche of the first burial of the tomb. Along with a concentration of items.	Imported and local pottery; eight strips of gold leaf; seven gold beads; a gold circular earring; a gold spiral hair-ring; a gold crescent-shaped twisted earring; fluted biconical bead of yellow faience; and a circular ivory lid decorated with a wheel-ornament on one side.	Imported and local pottery; silver-lead rings; silver pins; silver earrings; silver fragments; a gold leaf; gold strips; a gold diadem; gold mountings; a gold nailhead; gold beads; gold fragments; a BR bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; faience beads; a faience bowl; a faience vase; a faience cup; glass bottles; stone loom-weights; stone beads, ivory pins, ivory discs and ivory varia.	
UCD598	Type B, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only the top of the head and feet.	Tomb Unknown/Enkomi	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	


CS-1484/II-I	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 2/Ayios Theodoros Soleas	Unknown	Unknown	Local pottery and faience beads.	
15	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 3/ Agkastina	The figurine was found close to a Bucchero jug in the middle of the tomb, slightly isolated from the rest of the finds.	The closer group of finds is a Plain Wheel-made ware bowl and a LH IIIB two-handled bowl.	Imported and local pottery; fragment of a bronze ring; a cylinder seal; three bronze earrings; a gold bead; a cylindrical bead of gold sheet; two bronze rings; a paste button; a stone bead; two bronze bracelets; a plain ivory disc; 89 beads in paste of various sizes, colours and shapes; two cylinder seals; two stone spindle whorls; fragments of bronze rings.	



29	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 5/ Agkastina	The figurine was found closer to the earlier burials; however, it was not discovered in the pile of skeletal material and burial goods concentrated on the north side of the tomb but it was found slightly isolated.	The nearest finds are a BR bull- <i>rhyton</i> and a White Slip II bowl.	Imported and local pottery; bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; a bronze earring; two bronze bracelets; a pair of bronze earrings; a cylinder seal of black steatite or marble; a cylinder seal of white paste; a stag's horn.	
47	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 6/Ayia Paraskevi	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; fragment of a bronze ring; a cylinder seal; three bronze earrings; a gold bead; a cylindrical bead of gold sheet; two bronze rings; a paste button; a stone bead; two bronze bracelets; a plain ivory disc; 89 beads in paste of various sizes, colours and shapes; two cylinder seals; two stone spindle whorls; fragments of bronze rings.	

48	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 6/Ayia Paraskevi	Unknown	Unknown	As above (47/T.6).	
1021	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 2/Hala Sultan Tekke	Unknown	Unknown	<p>Imported and local pottery; a faience jug; fragments of two faience vases; three faience beads; two possible faience seals; a gold bead; two boat-shaped bronze earrings and one spiral ring; two pieces of lead, two funnel shaped ivory attachments; an ivory rod; a carnelian bead; a clay loom-weight; a stone anchor; a fragmentary mortar; three cylinder seals, one of paste and two of haematite; a</p>	

						rectangular seal in the form of an amulet and a finger-ring of enamel paste with an engraved bezel; a fragment of an ostrich egg; seashells.
1173.5	Type B, solid	Only neck/head and torso survive.	Tomb 1/Hala Sultan Tekke	Unknown	Unknown	<p>Imported and local pottery; animal bones; a prism-shaped fragment of a bone; a faience bead with gold caps; an ivory circular disc; an ivory attachment; 18 bronze fragments from which seven might be of a vessel; two gold pendants of the form of a female hippopotamus; two gold rings; two ring beads; three gold strip fragments; eight pieces of ostrich eggshell; two fragments of whorl-shell; three pieces of minimum two alabaster vases, maybe three; an alabaster vessel; an alabaster flat base fragment; an upper fragment of an alabaster jug; a cone-shaped chalk object; a haematite cylinder seal; a</p> 

						lump of ochre; a leg and a horn of a terracotta; a Psi type figurine.	
1173.2	Type A, solid	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only the neck/head.	Tomb 1/Hala Sultan Tekke	Unknown	Unknown	As above (1173.5/T.1).	
A52	Type A, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb VIII/Hala Sultan Tekke	Unknown	Unknown	LH stirrup jar; glazed pottery jar; calcite chalice; gold finger rings and hair rings or ear rings; two gold cylinder caps; silver finger rings; a bronze spear-butt or terminal of a staff; a cornelian bead; an alabaster disc; a glass vase; fragments of bronze; a plain gold diadem.	

466	Type B, Unidentified	Unknown	Tomb 100/ Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Not available
B1563	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 19/ Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	The BR figurine was found on the south side of Burial B close to a concentration of stones, four skulls and a few bones.	The rest of the finds contained in this burial are concentrated on the north-west part; a LH III handle jar; four White Slip II bowls; a BR II bowl; a Plain White jug.	Imported and local pottery; bronze fibula; steatite spindle-whorl; dome-shaped seal; a necklace of a glass bead, glass loop and 17 sea snails; a bronze pin; a loom- weight; a bronze bracelet; two glass beads; a small faience bead; a bronze rod; an ivory disc; an ivory button; an ivory pin head; a glass bead; a cylinder seal; a paste cylinder; two dome- shaped seals of steatite; a cylinder seal of steatite; a bronze ring; a bronze bowl; a bronze needle; an oval ivory disc; a gold bead.	

A2	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only the right leg.	Tomb 57/ Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery (4 vessels); a BR infant in a cradle figurine.	
A3	Type B, hollow	Only neck/head survives.	Tomb 50/ Episkopi- <i>Bamboula</i>	Unknown	Unknown	A stirrup jar; a fragment of a glass flask; a gold spacer bead or dress attachment; two hollow hold spacer-beads or dress attachments with pairs of piercings composed by two yellow gold and red gold rectangular plaques accordingly; an ivory disc; a LH stirrup jar; a glass vase.	

1009

Type B, hollow

Survives in its entirety.


Tomb 1/
Dromolaxia-
Trypes


It was discovered with the only concentration of skeletal remains found in the tomb on the south side of the chamber. It was found close to three skulls.


Fragments of pottery were also recovered close to the three skulls while two beads, two fragments of bronze and a Coarse Monochrome bowl were found east and west of the figurine.



Imported and local pottery; a terracotta bead; terracotta spindle-whorls; a terracotta loom-weight; a terracotta pendant juglet; four bronze earrings; a bronze hair-ring; three bronze tweezers; one bronze needle or pin; three bronze fragments; three iron lumps; one gold earring of the stylised bucranium type; two crescent-shaped silver earrings; one carnelian bead; two ivory beads; a stone cylinder seal; a stone spindle-whorl; a stone bead; a stone plaque or lid; a paste bead; a faience bead and a bone bead.







A59	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the right ear.	Tomb 100/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; a bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; two stone pestles; a pair of bronze and a pair of gold earrings; a stone spindle whorl.	
A54	Type A, hollow	Survives almost in its entirety – lacks only the left ear.	Tomb 100/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A54/T.100).	


A48	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 100/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A54/T.100).	Not available
A39	Type B, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 28 (?)/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
Unknown	Type A, unidentified	Survives almost in its entirety— lacks only the head.	Tomb 81/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; neck and part of shoulder of a faience bottle; a bone lid; a bronze knife; a bronze needle; fragments of a bronze ring or bracelet; a gold earring of bull's head; a gold bead; a gold ring; a paste cylinder; a bronze cylinder; a terracotta figurine of a sow.	Not available



Unknown	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 17/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; a loom-weight or a bead; a button or a spindle-whorl.	Not available
Unknown	Type A, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 18/ Katydhata	Unknown	Unknown	Three objects from the tomb were illustrated: a female figurine, a coarse Monochrome jug and a Plain White Wheel-made I wide bowl.	Not available
A44	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 25/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	Imported and local pottery; a bull- <i>rhyton</i> ; three bull figurines; three gold earrings; a faience pyxis inside which was found a small faience vase; two basalt cylinders; an ivory and 41 faience beads; bronze rings and fragments; a small faience bowl with astragalos patterns on rim; a faience bowl with patterns in brown, yellow and green; fragments of a faience bowl; ivory oblong plaque pierced with two holes; two bronze hinges; a stone whorl; and a ram's head.	

A41	Type B, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 25/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A44/T.25).	
A38	Type B, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 17/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	Two faience bowls (with Egyptian glazed compositions); an amphoroid krater of LH IIIA:2; a gold pendant of earring; a fragment of a stern from pottery vessel; a silver finger-ring; a steatite stamp seal; foot and part of bowl from a stone tripodic mortar.	

A37	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 15/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	LH pottery; two bull- <i>rhyta</i> ; two bull figurines; an Egyptian blue bead; a picrolite pendant in the shape of a human figure (Chalcolithic period); two gold and an ivory bead.	
A40	Type B, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 14/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	Two gold beads; two carnelian beads; three faience beads; a faience figure fiddle-shaped; three fragments of similar figures (Chalcolithic period); fragments of ivory and faience; ivory disc with rosette; two glass vases; two basalt cylinders; ivory vase in the form of fruit with four leaves on top; <i>rhyton</i> in form of hedgehog; askos of tea pot shape; a small LH jug; a bronze ring; an amphoriskos; two glass beads; a glass pendant.	

A36	Type A, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 14/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A40/T.14).	
A39	Type B, solid	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 14/ Maroni	Unknown	Unknown	As above (A40/T.14).	

122	Unidentified, hollow	Only legs survive.	Tomb 105 Chamber B/ Palaepaphos- <i>Teratsoudhia</i>	In the general fill of the tomb.	Unknown	The material ranges from Chalcolithic to the Archaic period: stones of varying sizes and types; animal bones; vast quantity of postsherds; zoomorphic terracotta fragments; stone tools; copper slag; charcoal.	 B. 122
26	Type A, unidentified	Unknown	Tomb 4/Boghaz	Unknown	Unknown	Three BR II spindle bottles; BR I jug; BR II lentoid flask.	Not available
Unknown	Type B, unidentified	Unknown	Tomb 1/ <i>Dhekelia-Steno</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Not available

A53	Type B, hollow	Only the neck/head and half torso survive.	Tomb Unknown/ Klavdia- <i>Tremithos</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
AN1953.244	Type A, solid	Survives almost in its entirety—lacks only parts of the ears.	Tomb Unknown/ <i>Dhenia-Kafkalla</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	


KTA 11.4	Type B, hollow	Survives in its entirety.	Tomb 2/ Palaepaphos- <i>Asproyi</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
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Table 2: This table summarises the evidence from the investigation of the archaeological context of the figurines found in burials.