CAN THE CULTURAL HYBRIDISATION OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BE DEMONSTRATED THROUGH ANTHROPOMOPHIC FEMALE FIGURES? AS EXPLORED THROUGH THE SHAPE, DETAIL, AND GESTURES OF FIGURINES FROM MAINLAND GREECE AND CYPRUS

Image by Paul Butler

by

DANIELLE ANITA JAYNE COLLINGWOOD

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School of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
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Abstract

The examination of figurines is integral when attempting to demonstrate the cultural hybridity of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. With scholars attempting to understand their role within society to no prevail, this study will attempt to examine the form, detail, and gestures of both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines in order to garner a greater understanding of the intention behind their usage. In considering the deposition and context of these figurines, it may also be possible to identify similarities in regard to the function and importance of figurines, thus indicating this ideology was shared by both cultures.

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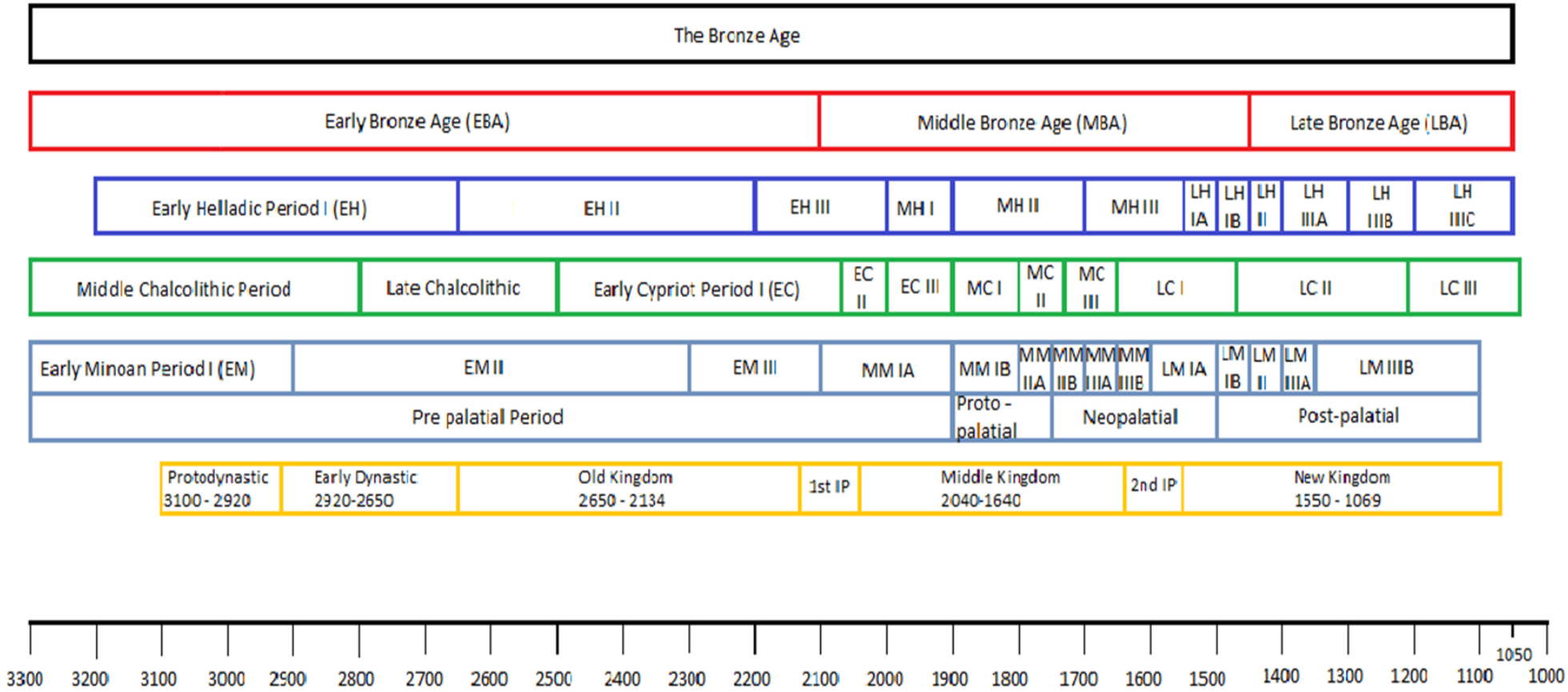
Chronology of the Bronze Age Mediterranean



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BC - Before Christ

BA - Bronze Age

EBA - Early Bronze Age

MBA - Middle Bronze Age

LBA - Late Bronze Age

EH - Early Helladic

MH - Middle Helladic

LH - Late Helladic

EC - Early Cypriot

MC - Middle Cypriot

LC - Late Cypriot

ANT - Actor Network Theory

CTB - Cyclopean Terrace Building

Φ - Phi

Ψ - Psi

T - Tau

1. Introduction

The world is made up of different countries that each proudly display their own individual heritage as a statement of their identity. With recent advancements in technology, we now have the convenience to fly or sail anywhere, thus changing the way in which we view travel. With the addition of modern technologies (including the aeroplane) it is possible to travel to the other side of the globe within 24 hours: unlike early history where journeys would have taken weeks or months as they were travelled on foot. This daily movement of both people and material goods from one place to another perhaps demonstrates that the world has become a globalised society. Globalisation provides the diffusion of ideologies between differing cultures, allowing individuals to merge their existing beliefs with incoming ones (Jennings, J. 2010). Even though it is still possible to differentiate these cultures, they may now contain traces of ideologies that can be linked to another culture because of hybridisation.

It is important to remember that interactions between different cultures should not be limited to the modern world, we can see similar occurrences on a different scale throughout the ancient world (Jennings, J. 2010). The improvement in analytical techniques allows for a more intense examination of the material world, meaning that we are able to explore how developments in seafaring aid our ability to sail more efficiently. With an increased chance of successful voyages, travel would have become more popular and the movements of people would have also increased (even if availability were limited to individuals who could afford it). The Eastern Mediterranean provides us with excellent material remains that help us to study the movements of people and culture. The size, resources, relative isolation, and different cultural traditions of the main islands located in this vicinity, make them stand out in social and cultural terms (Braudel, F. 1972: 148-62). Alongside this, Eastern Mediterranean sites are also situated along major routes of interaction and commerce, perhaps providing a better range of materiality to

examine. Therefore, is it possible that hybridisation can be evidenced through the interactions and gestures of terracotta female figurines.

Terracotta figurines, both as a collective and an individual object, have become a topic explored thoroughly by scholars. They allow us to expand our knowledge on both ancient civilisations and how these societies interacted with the world around them. Whether they were used simply as toys or interactively in ritual action. As noted in the works of modern scholars including Bonanno (1986) and Streep (1994), there is a tendency to analyse Mediterranean archaeology 'as an end in itself' instead of examining possible uses within a wider societal context (Steel, L. 2013: 7). Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the topic of figurines, examining the contexts in which they are found and consider their potential uses. Focusing on the Late Bronze Age during the 13th and 12th centuries, this thesis will also discuss the idea that figurines are material representations of beliefs during this period and can be used to demonstrate an assimilation of ideologies across different regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. To create a credible study, the focus will be on figurines from both the Greek Mainland and Cyprus. Figurines from the latter will also be separated into groups that have either been imported from the Greek mainland, locally produced Cypriot figurines, and possible local imitations of imported Mycenaean figurines. This makes it easier to determine whether outside influences have had an impact on material culture from Cyprus.

These locations were chosen due to the geographic distribution of the material culture. Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery can be found widespread across the Eastern Mediterranean, demonstrating a constant change in art, ideas, and people (Padadimitriou, N. 2012: 92). This demonstrates that a plethora of ideologies interacted here and were influencing each other (Count, D.B. 2006:5). This may provide a basis to allow us to find tangible evidence of cultural

hybridisation occurring. These changes are particularly prevalent in material culture from the Late Bronze Age, when interconnectivity was developing, and figurine production was re-emerging after the Middle Bronze Age (Vetters, M. 2016). This connectivity can facilitate the movement of culturally embedded ideas and reshape the ideals held within society (Murray, S. 2017).

It should also be noted that these two cultures have a large distance between them, around 1000km in a straight line (Distance. 2020). Interactions between these two cultures would have occurred differently than if it were between neighbouring countries (Özder, A. 2014). To travel between these two locations would have likely taken anywhere between 4-14 days if accounting for both the route of travel, weather, and rate of speed (Casson, L. 1951: 146). To make such a voyage financially viable it would likely have been conducted over a long period of time. If this is the case, then merchants would likely have spent large amounts of time in Cyprus attempting to make a profit. It is highly probable that many merchants became more integrated with the local populations the longer they remained on the island.

Through our interactions with the modern world, the merging of cultures becomes apparent as aspects such as knowledge, beliefs, wares, and individual perceptions of value are influenced by outside perspectives. With this, it may be possible to use these modern observations as a basis for examining the past since aspects of human nature appear to remain fundamentally the same e.g. the desire to learn, display goods and flaunt status (Lisle, R. 1977: 342-347; Albright, W.F. 1965: 252). By extrapolating such ideas, we can examine the available material culture through how it may have interacted with the ideologies of the local populations. From this, it may be possible to witness how ideologies have morphed through cultural interactions and

subsequent hybridisation. For instance, when one culture merges with another, ideologies begin to incorporate aspects of each culture in unison (Hodos, T. 2016: 5).

Figurines are relevant examples in demonstrating cultural hybridisation as we may be able to see characteristics transferred from one culture to another. While their role within society is not entirely known, there are many Eastern Mediterranean parallels in which we can compare. Since we find various types of figurines in all parts of the Mediterranean it is possible to suggest that their use or function was similar. Therefore, by examining three different aspects of a figurine i.e. form, characteristics and gestures, it can be argued that these aspects were used by the creator to convey information (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2002: 95). It may also be argued that the stylistic features displayed by individual figurines were also used to convey intention, either to be an active agent or to provide information to those who view them. If this is the case and they can be found in similar contexts, it is possible that they were created and imbued with similar intentions. Perhaps suggesting a set of similar ideological beliefs that were spread throughout the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of large movements of people interacting daily.

To be able to construct a thorough and detailed discussion on whether cultural hybridity can be demonstrated using female anthropomorphic figurines we first need to establish the context in which these figurines were discovered. By examining the contexts of figurines, their roles within each society and trade links between Greece and Cyprus, it may be possible to perceive cultural similarities through interactions with figurines. This could then be used to support the idea of cultural hybridity in the Eastern Mediterranean, perhaps expanding our understanding of how the materiality and cultural identity of a society in the Late Bronze Age could be affected by advancing technologies.

1.1 Defining Cultural Hybridisation

Without cultural interactions and the international relationships that subsequently formed, ancient societies could have progressed in a different direction. In order to fully explore the transmission of ideologies and how these ideologies may have been influenced, we must first understand what cultural hybridisation is. Essentially, cultural hybridisation is seen as a by-product of globalisation, which has led to the mixing of different cultures and the increasing diversity that follows (Ritzer, G. 2010: 255).

Originating during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was normally associated with colonialism. Any outside influences seen in the material culture could come from domination by another society (Stockhammer, P.W. 2011: 53). However, it is also used to describe people of different races meeting along with the suppression and resistance of these 'cultural minorities' (Young, R. J. C. 1995). This leads to the notion of cultural hybridity being commonly applied to the modern era, not the ancient world. This results in only a partial view of hybridity with many twentieth century scholars such as Douglas (1966) suggesting that culture has a clearly defined social strata. This creates the impression of a 'pure' culture whose ideologies are original and have not been influenced by the outside world or foreign cultures. The act of hybridising with another culture makes this original culture 'impure', an abomination, that has materials or qualities that are out of place (Ackermann, A. 2012). It is outdated to automatically assume that each 'culture' is a pure entity; international interactions that have been occurring over the millennia would have impacted each society, essentially making no society 'pure'. All cultures would have aspects that are derived from elsewhere, the newer interactions just further add to the mix that becomes cultural identity.

The notion of cultural hybridity should not be limited to the modern era, even if the word itself is of recent creation. We can see throughout the archaeological record that there is evidence of different cultures interacting and influencing one another such as the Byzantine, Jewish and Muslim influence on the Renaissance (Ackermann, A. 2012). Rather, cultural hybridity should be viewed as a positive force, allowing culture to be a multifaceted entity that is constantly changing. Food is a prime example of cultural hybridisation occurring as we can see cuisines have been adopted by other cultures thanks to interactions. Chinese cuisine for instance was first introduced into the UK in the early twentieth century but its popularity started skyrocketing during the 70s/80s until now where this cuisine is the most popular choice (Pieterse, J. N. 2009). Without the interactions between Europe and the East and the migration that subsequently arose from this contact, we would not be able to enjoy this resource with such availability. We can also see evidence of hybridisation in the ancient world through Egyptianisation in the Eastern Mediterranean. While genuine objects including pottery vessels, scarabs, seals, beads, and figurines were transported to the Aegean and Cyprus, it appears that some were reworked to appeal to local preferences (Bealby, M. 2014: 198). With both Egyptian and Egyptianizing examples of scarabs being found on Cyprus (Smith, J. 2013). These objects then became a fusion between Egyptian and local features. This is important to note as it demonstrates that hybridisation was occurring during the LBA when Egypt's diplomatic relations were vast (Demand, N.H. 2011: 166-67). If there is evidence of Egyptianisation occurring within the Eastern Mediterranean, then interactions between other cultures may also have had an effect on the material culture and ideologies.

Societal opinions change and notions that people had previously disagreed with can become social norms. By embracing these incoming changes as, they occur, we change the world around us, even if only on an individual level. This in turn alters the everchanging culture that

is displayed for the rest of the world. Culture needs to retain fluidity so we can grow and adapt with any incoming influences. Normally we examine the Mediterranean through internationalism and the practice of trade and exchange, without delving deeper into the residual effects of such interactions (Counts, D. B. 2006: 4-5). The availability of Greek, Cypriot and Egyptian material culture abroad demonstrates large scale international relations. Therefore, if there were evidence of hybridisation, it would likely be represented in the material culture through either the merging of recognisable features or the inclusion of foreign ideas into a local ideology.

1.2 Previous Research

Widespread research has been conducted into the interpretation of figurines and their meaning within the social sphere. They have become an interesting aspect of the material culture for academics as they can be placed in a variety of different categories including religious, tomb goods, children's toys etc. However, the inability to categorize their place in ancient society is what renews the investigation and interpretation of terracotta female figurines. In order to create a discussion on interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and how this may be demonstrated through the analysis of figurines, we must first assess the research that has been published previously.

This first section centres on discussions of figurines, possible connotations, and their integration into the wider Mediterranean. Works to be included are Schallin (2010) and Steel (2013) who both observe characteristic, use-life, and function, and French (1971, 1981) who explores typology. These sources have been used to provide a grounding in which to base this discussion, however, the most applicable research for this thesis is the work of Budin (2011) who specifically focuses on the woman and child motif (Kourotrophic) that can be found in all parts of the Mediterranean. Budin (2011) argues that the most widely accepted concept: figurines are depiction of a mother goddess, is incorrect and instead served a number of different symbolic functions. The work was an attempt to discuss the rise and transmission of Kourotrophic iconography as a way of investigating the evolution and dissemination of the imagery through different medians. While Budin looks specifically at Kourotrophic figurines, this thesis will examine Psi, Phi and Cypriot parallels, the intended outcome is comparable. So, this research provides a guide that can be used to shape and refine my own argument.

Alongside the discussion of Kourotrophic imagery, Schallin (2010) attempts to provide a collection of modern theories pertaining to the examination of Mycenaean figures and

figurines. This includes a variety of topics including function, production, characteristics, and use-life of these figurines. Whilst Schallin's main objective is to discuss the find-sites of the figurines/ quantity discovered and their intended function, it also delves into the topic of the importation of Mycenaean wares into western Crete and how some of these figurines are likely to have been replicated by local craftsmen (Winbladh, M. L, 2010). By examining how figurines are traded (and possibly copied) on the island of Crete, we may be able to witness similarities through exchanges in other areas such as Cyprus or the Near East. Due to the time it takes to travel between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, the rate of exchange is likely to be lower. If from using this research we are able to see a pattern in the transmission of ideas, we may be able to extrapolate that pattern to similar situations on Cyprus.

Another piece of work that is pivotal in the development of this discussion was that of Steel (2013). This research provides an overview of figurines including some Mycenaean figurines found in Cyprus and how they could be viewed as comparable. This becomes a starting point which would later allow a larger number of figurines to be included into the study and how they are to be analysed. This would develop the idea further, expanding it from just observing these comparable features to attempting to analyse them. We may then be able to perceive where these features may have originated and how they have spread within the Mediterranean. We may also be able to remark on how each culture has taken these features and adapted them to their own ideologies and rituals.

When examining Mycenaean figurines, it is necessary to mention French (1971, 1981) who examines the locations where Mycenaean figurines have been found within the main urban centres on mainland Greece, Mycenae, and Tiryns. There is also an in-depth study on how figurines could be organised by Typology, demonstrating how they have developed over time

and could provide more possibilities for their original function. By using the different typologies discussed within this work, it is possible to see which style of figurine became the most widespread across the Mediterranean. This would allow for the identification of a gesture or feature which likely had the most interaction with each society and became incorporated into the development of their own examples. It also provides the description of how to differentiate between the figurine types, allowing for a clear distinction to be made about which are to be analysed.

In order to be able to extrapolate any information about gestures it is necessary to understand what they are and how they are incorporated into life. Kendon (2004) examines how gestures are treated in society and how they are incorporated into everyday interactions and delves into what is considered as being a gesture and how they can be separated into different types. The breakdown in this work simplifies the analysis of gestures, showing how they impact our lives either consciously or unconsciously, allowing us to examine the universal communicative power of a simple bodily action. For instance, it is possible that some gestures that are widely understood in modern contexts, are not an entirely modern invention and are actually the continuity of a bodily action from antiquity (Nelson, M. 2017). It is important when applying this subject to material culture from the ancient world that we distinguish which type of gesture is found upon what is being examined. It provides us with different possibilities as to the interpretation of gestures found on these figurines.

While much of the research into gesture is based on modern examples, there is a study conducted by Schebesch (2013) which examined the communication of the Upper Neolithic through the body language of Neolithic figurines. Actors were asked to perform the gesture displayed by the figurine, whilst trying to reproduce its possible emotional impact. She argues

that all known Palaeolithic anthropomorphic figurines clearly display certain postures which we respond to in an emotional way as though they were alive. The study conducted an experiment to display the body language of each figurine to groups of individuals from different cultural backgrounds in order to examine the immediate thought after the gesture is made. It appears from this study that the gesture each figurine demonstrated was consistently recognised by each cultural consensus and elicited some form of emotional response. It is this emotional response that we also exchange with other individuals and is crucial for both communication and social interactions. Whilst this study focusses on a different period to the one in this thesis, it provides support for gestures being universally recognisable and inciting an emotional response. If applied to Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines from the LBA it may be possible to demonstrate a similar experience whereby gestures from these figurines were universally understood: inciting similar responses in both cultures, thus demonstrating a set of hybridised ideologies within the Eastern Mediterranean.

1.3 Theories and Methodology

In order to craft a precise and grounded piece of work it is necessary to use theories to explain and support any ideas that arise during the research process. For this thesis, the theories used to craft discussions are: Colonialism, Incorporated and Inscribed practices, Actor Network Theory and Agency.

Colonialism has been explored by scholars such as Gosden (2004) and van Dommelen (1997) in an attempt to examine the types of interactions that have occurred between cultures. Colonialism is thought to have presented the opportunity for people to both expand their world view and possibly increase any income received via trade, perhaps leading to a more globally accessible place. This accessibility meant that when cultures explored new locations, they likely left behind individuals for settlements to occupy areas that they deemed important for their agenda. The modern definition of Colonialism is when a country establishes and maintains foreign colonies in order to exploit the area for power and economical gain (Gosden, C. 2004: 25-27; van Dommelen. 2006: 139). While it is defined as a society being politically and economically dominated by another, it is also used to signify any sort of domination or assertion that comes from one group of people to another (Page, M. E. & Sonnenburg, P. M. 2003). It is thought that much of this domination is achieved through illegitimate means (Donnellan, L., Nizzo, V. & Burgers, G. J. 2016).

By combining the ideas of colonialism and globalisation, it may be possible to better understand the movement of people and how the transference of goods and ideologies can affect a society (Polyzois, A. 2006-2007: 119). One involves establishing control over a new area while the other places emphasis on developing an international influence (Lyons, C. and Papadopoulos, J. K. 2002). When examining Cyprus using this gage, we may be able to see

that it was settled due to its economic value, a resource area for copper or as a strategic location. The incoming population would likely establish alongside the native population rather than overpowering them. We may be able to see examples of both foreign and local types of pottery crafted in the same area during the same period. When applying this to terracotta figurines, it may be possible to see that the movement of people has influenced the creation, style and use of these objects. The existence of both Mycenaean figurines and local Cypriot imitations on Cyprus with similar gestures or forms would be suggestive of similar intentions and a gap in the market for specialised objects (Papadopoulos, A. 2011: 178). The similarity of Greek and Cypriot figurines could present the possibility that interactions between these societies have developed forms which are universally understood, even if their meaning or morphology vary.

An important theory to consider is agency, where objects can become agents by the intentions that are attributed to them by the individuals that create them (Hodder, I. 2000: 22). Defined by Gell (1998) argues that when analysing objects, it is necessary to focus on its social contexts such as production, circulation, and reception. In order for both production and circulation to be sustained there also needs to be other social processes such as exchange, politics, religion and kinship. With this, it needs to be recognised that objects have agency, intention and causation which means they are both effective and transformative. Objects become their own form of social agents, which are seen as an instrument of or the outcome of an individual's action. Another aspect of this theory is that there are two forms of agents: primary and secondary. A primary agent is considered an intentional being who are distinguishable from 'things' or 'artefacts' e.g. humans. A secondary agent is something through which a primary agent distributes their agency within their social sphere; examples of these include artefacts, dolls, cars and works of art, etc. Although it may seem that secondary agents do not portray their own agency as they don not initiate actions through acts of will, in fact they are "objective

embodiments of the power or capacity to will their use" (Gell, A. 1998). It is through the objectification in artefact-form that social agency manifests itself. Since agents work in a network of social relations, they need to have a patient, something that is causally affected by the agent's actions, in order to have their own agency. It should also be considered that both the primary and the secondary agents can act as the patient while the other is the agent. When an object is manufactured, they become known as indexes or their makers or artists. The recipient of the indexes is then thought to be in a social relationship with the index either as patients or agents and they have caused this index to come into existence.

In applying this theory to the subject matter, we can assume that the figurines being studied may be classed as secondary agents, as they have had intention imbued onto them by the primary agent. This is supported by the fact that they have been discovered in areas that likely relate to economy through exchange, politics and religion. Due to their creation, we can also assume that they are the instrument or outcome of a social activity even if their function has not been definitively established. From the archaeological record we can see that Mycenaean figurines have been thoroughly distributed within the Eastern Mediterranean through intentional action. While this theory suggests that figurines do not have their own agency as they do not initiate any actions, they are actually representative of gesture. If this is the case, we may be able to argue that figurines do have their own agency as they may use this given gesture to initiate some form of action such as reverence, ritual action, or a motion to be repeated. Therefore, applying this theory to the examination of figurines may be able to help us understand their placement within the societal sphere and whether they play a more active role in some of the potential activity sites they have been discovered.

Another theory known as Actor Network theory (ANT) fashioned by Latour (2005), it builds on agency by exploring and analysing the relationship between objects and people and how this relationship is ever changing. In this theory there are both human and non-human actors, which allows us to better understand the relationship between humans, technologies and things. On the one hand, we know that technology and objects are shaped by humans, we must also accept that we as humans can be influenced and moulded by our surroundings. According to Latour, anything that is able to modify another can be classed as an actor with no differentiation between actions that were intentional and those that are behavioural. Since human and non-human actors are in a shared network, we can also infer that they are entangled and are moved by one another's actions (Hodder, I. 2012). In order to remove some of the issues from this theory it is necessary to combine it with Bourdieu and the concept of habitus (Stockhammer, E. 2012). It is not possible to see using this theory how actors and actants are motivated, as different actors can act structurally similar, however, it can be argued that actors with a similar habitus are moved by similar motivators (Bourdieu, B. 1977), for example they are found with similar material objects or participate in similar social practices. We must accept that humans and objects are entangled through a mutual dependence and while humans may communicate through objects, they also communicate with objects when in the context of social practices. We can apply this theory to the examination of figurines as many have been created with gestures that look similar and have been placed within similar contexts. Using the idea of ANT combined with the theory of Habitus, we could argue that even though the figurines are found in different cultures but have similar contexts and similar postures, we may be able to infer that the figurines act in a structurally similar way demonstrating possible cultural hybridisation.

As well as the theories of agency and ANT, we must also include theories relating to the societal practices and how we could apply these to the ancient world. These are Incorporated

and Inscribed practices; they both relate to the process of societies remembering aspects to pass onto the next generation. Connerton (1989) devised the Incorporated practices theory in an attempt to understand the way in which a society uses certain behaviours to encompass their ideologies for continuity. The theory can be exemplified through bodily practices including rituals or ceremonies. By establishing a new way in which society is viewed through their clothing and actions, a new aspect of history is formed, becoming part of the social memory for this culture.

This social memory creates a connection between the inhabitants of a society and generates a sense of community and loyalty to their heritage. Instead of being an individual process, it is considered a cultural process which encompasses the collective of a group's social memory (Connerton P. 1989). Although we are unable to fully understand how social memory is established, the idea of social habit memory may demonstrate the collaboration between both the personal and cognitive memory in order to communicate the social values that are associated with the society. It is through the examination of commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices that we are best able to establish that social memory has ritualistic elements that are necessary for societies to remember.

It is accepted that participants within a society must have already accepted the validity of a shared memory in order to create a collective memory. These shared memories form a connection between the past and present keeping the culture and traditions alive. We cannot assume a social memory is maintained purely through imagery of the past, we recall this knowledge through the use of performance, which is then sustained through continued ritualised performances. This knowledge develops into a commemorative ceremony embodying social memories that are re-enacted through bodily automatisms and repetition

becoming a habitual practice (Connerton, P. 1989). A past event is revived through the use of performative action (state, religious or personal commemorative ceremonies), becoming ritualistic through the continuous re-use of symbols (gestures, flags, music etc.) which evokes an emotional response from those who observe them. The significance of a ceremony arises from both the connection forged between the past and present through repetition but also the participants shaping of communal memories and adding to their endurance. The key to understanding commemorative ceremony and in turn incorporated practice is to place emphasis on both the symbolic nature of the ritual action and as a performative act. This establishes the fundamental principles of a community, which is then conveyed on through memory. Rather than being limited to the neurological chemical reaction, it is shared with the outside world through body in the form of certain gestures and acts.

Distinguishing between myths and ritual becomes essential when examining societal memory, the fluidity of myths contrasts with the rigid nature of rituals which remain largely unchanged. According to Connerton (1989), myth is a narrative that remains part of an individual's or community's consciousness, shaping that community over time through generational memories and becoming an aspect of a culture's social memory. This can be applied to LBA figurines from Greece where they are constructed to demonstrate similar gesture and postures, a continuing theme over this period. This continued re-use of specific gestures is suggestive of ritual action, something unlikely to change as frequently as myth. For these actions to be continued, community ideologies must require them for ritual activities even if the original memory has been altered (Kuechler, S. 1987). In a similar sense if the figurines from Cyprus use a set of specific gestures and postures then we could argue it is also evidence for a continuous ritual action. With evidence of both local Cypriot and Mycenaean figurines on Cyprus, it may be possible to suggest that the ritual action and intention behind these figurines

is alike in both Greece and Cyprus. This presents the prospect of interconnectivity between these areas and how their ritual ideologies maybe similar. While both culture's social memory likely developed further due to generational contribution, the comparable rituals could demonstrate cultural hybridisation occurring in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Alongside the theory of Incorporated Practice is Inscribed practices, referring to the repetition and integration of external ideologies that enables the spread of religious knowledge (Connerton, P. 1989). Memory exists as marks that are not conscious, but by exerting the appropriate stimuli they can be remembered long afterwards so repetitions are our only means of keeping a memory alive. It is possible that through objects we gain access to the unconscious memories through direct re-engagement, something not possible through language. Perhaps demonstrated through heirlooms and souvenirs because of their ability to evoke and continue a relationship with past experiences (Connerton, P. 1989). When an object is crafted, it becomes inscribed with past memories that are associated with either its use or ownership. It is possible that they continue to be inscribed with memories or events throughout their use-life. What links the past, present and future together through these objects is their materiality: forming their own significance through the addition of memories and commentary. This theory proposes that when we inscribe an object with past events they form their own meaning within a cultural sphere and become their own material symbol, easily recognisable within society. An example would be a war memorial: a monument inscribed as a symbol of political and emotional turmoil, the embodiment of killing, redemption and remembering all the sacrifices made for a country. In a practical manner, a memorial is an object made of stone, however, the meaning is placed upon it by individuals during its creation, developing its own function, status and role within the world.

If figurines are objects meant to be inscribed with purpose by either the maker or owner, then using the find-spot contexts may allow us to understand the intentions they embody. By examining Mycenaean figurines from the Greek mainland and Cyprus as a basis for examining their use and potential social meaning, we could then compare them to local Cypriot figurines and imitations. If sufficient similarities are available through examination of posture, gesture, and contexts, we may be able to extrapolate the discovered ideas about Mycenaean figurines to those of Cypriot design. If it is possible to demonstrate that figurines from both cultures are found in similar contexts and were inscribed with ideologies, we may be able to argue that they were crafted with similar intentions and uses. If this is the case, then it may be possible to state that the function of figurines was constantly evolving throughout the Late Bronze Age in both Greece and Cyprus. By interacting with outside cultures through, trade, travel and settling, hybridisation of Mediterranean cultures developed a universal way of interacting with the figurines.

Whilst these theories (colonisation, agency, actor network theory and inscribed practices) are all used to examine different aspects of society, they are all used to understand how people interact and affect both the world and objects around them. In order to understand how figurines could come to engage with an audience, it is necessary to understand how individuals may have originally interacted with the figurines. For example, if figurines were given agency by their creators they then become actors in their own way, potentially being understood by the community through the gestures they display. Therefore, it is also possible that figurines may have been inscribed with a set of ideologies that convey specific meanings to an audience without the need for verbal ques (Goody, J. 1968). If this is reflected in figurines from both Greece and Cyprus, it is possible to infer that there was indeed a shared ideology across the Eastern Mediterranean as the result of colonisation/ migration and thus hybridisation.

2. The Mycenaean and Cypriot Civilisations during the Late Bronze Age

To examine the idea of cultural hybridisation in the ancient world, we must first understand the development of both the Mycenaean and Cypriot civilisations and how these cultures first began interacting. By learning about their history, we may see a clearer image of how the individuals of each society interacted with the material culture around them (see figure 1).

The name 'Mycenaean' was derived from the site that was first discovered, Mycenae (Mylonas, G. E. 1966). After further excavations and comparisons with other settlements that it first become apparent that Mycenae had developed into a centre of wealth and power, a warrior civilisation that had no equal in the region (Finley, M. I. 1981). However, before Schliemann's use of the legends to bring to light the unknown, Mycenae lay in ruins consisting only of the remains of the fortification walls, Lion Gate, the Treasury of Atreus, and the Tomb of Clytemnestra. This warrants the question: how did a once great civilisation fall from the height of power in the Late Bronze Age?

It was this discovery of the first Mycenaean city (Mycenae) by Schliemann that laid the groundwork for Christos Tsountas (1897) who would systematically define what the term Mycenaean represented and lead future scholars to examine this previously unknown aspect of Greek history. In the beginning, the term Mycenaean was applied to the entirely of Aegean Late Bronze Age material until it was refined to only apply to the culture that developed on the mainland during the Late Bronze Age (Hornblower, S. et al. 2014). This refinement then led to using the stylistic diversity of Mycenaean pottery to create a relative chronology for the 600 years that encapsulates the Mycenaean period (Hornblower, S. et al. 2014). The subtle changes that occur to the material culture throughout the Mycenaean age allow us to see their development over time and variations that may occur due to regional differences.

Through the examination of artefacts from around the Greek mainland, theories arose that the Mycenaean culture formed as a result of a fusion of ideas and skills. This period is recognised for its emergence from a relatively simpler time and the acquisition of wealth which could be comparable to that of other elite players in the Eastern Mediterranean (Hooker, J. 1976). Its development occurred through the amalgamation of abilities from both the indigenous locals and the Greek-speaking invaders. For this civilisation to have rose to such a powerful player in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, we can assume that those original settlers were not just individuals that were restricted to skills in war, but they must have also possessed incomparable skills in administration (Hooker, J. 1976).

Much of the archaeological remains excavated provides evidence that indicates that Mycenae would have likely been one of the core settlements of the Greek mainland alongside the later recognised cities of Tiryns and Pylos. Excavations at Mycenae have also established that the area itself has been occupied from as early as the Neolithic period (French, E. 1996) through to the Late Bronze Age, then only being used briefly as a theatre, it was subsequently abandoned to become a tourist attraction from the Hellenistic period to present (Moore, D. et al. 2014). The continuous activity at this site is a demonstration of the importance of this site whether it was understood or not.

Alongside the examination of Greece, it is also necessary to explore Cyprus and the possibility of a hybridised ideology in the Eastern Mediterranean. By exploring the main centres on Cyprus, we can see which areas play an important role in the transference of figurines from Greece and how they may then be incorporated into society further (see figure 2). The centres to be discussed include: Hala Sultan Tekke and Sinda as they are areas which have both

concentrations of figurines and imported materials. While there may not be 'imported' Mycenaean figurines to be found within some of these areas, available figurines can help us understand their function in Cyprus and how this can compare to those from Greece. Similarities in gesture, context, and style, may suggest that there could be underlying ideologies that are comparable, leading to their function also being similar.

Cyprus has a long history of human activity, but it is during the LBA that we are best able to witness significant changes to both the social and economic spheres, which developed the Cypriot culture into how it is understood today. This, alongside evidence that there was an increasing number of settlements being established suggests that during the LBA, Cyprus was becoming progressively more involved with the other dominating presences in the Mediterranean including the Aegean, Egypt and the Levant (Steel, L. 2013: 571). Within each settlement throughout Cyprus, it is possible to see the emergence of a more complex hierarchical system which allowed certain urban centres to come into their own power during the 13th century and hold a dominating authority in the economic commerce of Cyprus (Steel, L. 2013: 574).

With the advancement of metallurgy techniques and technology during this period, we are also able to witness the Mycenaeans take advantage of Cyprus' strategic positioning in the Mediterranean and its readily available resources to establish more commercial connections (Orphanides, A.G. 2017: 7). This is exemplified by the increasing amount of Cypriot material culture that has been found elsewhere in the Mediterranean including: Greece, Egypt and the Near East, leading scholars to assume that there was an increase in the Cypriot involvement with the maritime trade networks especially during the 14th and 13th century. This is around the same time as the expansion of the Mycenaean civilisation in the Aegean and the 18th Dynasty

in Egypt which includes the renowned Pharaoh Amenhotep III (O'Connor, D. & Cline, E. H. 2001). From the examination of the material culture, we see that this period is a time of opulence, which may have helped develop the interactions between cultures and transform the social landscape through the movement of people across the Mediterranean. This transformation comes in the form of shapes and styles of both sculptural and coroplast techniques alongside pottery wares and iconography (Papantoniou, G et el. 2019).

During this period copper became a valuable resource, used in both commercial trade and diplomatic exchanges (Cline, E. 2012: 809). The large interest in copper as a trading material facilitated the development of Mediterranean trade networks. If Cyprus had not become a centre for copper production then it may have resulted in fewer settlements being established on the island, leading to a lack of Aegean influence (Kassianidou, V. 2015: 261). The extensive trade network that resulted from the exploitation of Cypriot copper is one of the aspects that allowed the Eastern Mediterranean to become more interconnected. This network connected Cyprus to the Aegean, Egypt and the Levant, promoting the flow of material culture in and out of Cyprus. This is demonstrated through large-scale production of Mycenaean pottery outside of the Aegean (van Wijngaarden. 2002: 10). The resulting interactions of this expanded network would influence all participants. In order to effectively examine Cypriot figurines, it becomes necessary to clarify the extent to which interactions occurred. A more personalised interaction may subtly change the way in which Cypriot culture is exhibited by an individual and could result in something that is a hybridisation of all the influences that citizens encounter.

In further exploring the development of Cyprus during the LBA it is necessary to examine the main centres on an individual level as oppose to grouping them on an international scale. It is then possible to see more specific changes that have occurred during this period to a settlement

and how they may have influenced individuals in their ever-developing environments. The first to be studied is the urban centre known as Hala Sultan Tekke, an urban centre located on the southern coast of Cyprus, bordering the Salt lakes, and situated not far from the modern town of Larnaca. From the archaeological material discovered, it can be argued that this was a harbour town and likely to have been one of the largest and most important in the East Mediterranean, revolving its main activities around trade. This connection to trade and the influx of individuals into the area, may allow us to demonstrate the transmission, development, and expression of ideologies within the area during the Late Bronze Age.

Sinda, the second urban centre to be studied, is located in the Mesaoria Plain east of Nicosia and contains both the remains of a Bronze Age necropolis and adjoining town (Furumark, A and Adelman, C.M. 2003:26). Its discovery was spurned from a newly uncovered partial wall which was similar to one from Enkomi (Furumark, A and Adelman, C.M. 2003: 13). The disruption and plundering left behind by locals revealed surface pottery of various periods. However, the availability of Mycenaean IIIC1b wares which were likely of local manufacture provided Furumark with the possibility of material culture from Late Cypriot III (Furumark, A and Adelman, C.M. 2003: 13). The LCIII is commonly understood to be the period where archaeological evidence is not readily available, but still recognised as a time when migration and consequently Greek colonisation occurred (Furumark, A and Adelman, C.M. 2003: 13). Even though this site may not have been as large as Hala Sultan Tekke, it provides evidence for the integration of Mycenaean citizens within the Cypriot population which in turn may help demonstrate the development of universally understood ideologies on both Cyprus and the wider Mediterranean.

3. Seafaring and Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean World

The archaeological record provides us with evidence and examples of objects including pottery that was not locally made but instead came from elsewhere (e.g. Cyprus, Greece, Egypt). This suggests that trade played a role in the social and economic development of each Mediterranean society during the LBA, expanding their boundaries to accept the influence of new incoming ideas (Lolos, Y.G. 1995). This evidence, supporting high levels of maritime activity, is thought to be one of the key factors that helps expand our understanding of the Ancient Mediterranean (Whitewright, J. 2016). The ability to transport cargo across the sea allowed both people and objects access to wider markets and assisted with the economic growth of settlements during this time (Robinson, D. & Wilson, A. 2011). We must consider how trade became synonymous with economic and political power. Perhaps leading to gift exchange, creating reciprocating relationships between cultures, with important commodities always being gained from such interactions whether that be wealth, goods, or allies (Tartaron, T. F. 2013).

If some objects can clearly be defined as foreign, this would then be evidence for trade and other economic activities occurring on a more international scale. The expansion of travel and trade routes throughout the Mediterranean, results in the prospect of economic and political prosperity for both the individual and the society being greatly improved. The economic and political incentives that come from not being limited to a localised trading area are likely the reason behind the development of both the Mycenaeans and Cypriots during the LBA. In order for commerce to grow it was a necessity to develop transportation and access areas that were either impossible to reach by foot or were financially unviable to undertake. The Mediterranean could be considered the perfect area to examine seafaring as populations are concentrated along the coastal areas (Meijer, F. & van Nijf, O. 1992). From the study of ancient civilisations, it appears to be a consistent feature that many are located within proximity to the sea, likely

demonstrating how incorporated seafaring may have become within society. This would have created a greater degree of mobility for people and resources, allowing for easier communication between settlements.

To further our understanding of sailing in the LBA, it is important to consider how commonly use this type of travel was, what routes were likely taken and the relative size of a vessel. This allows us to understand how sailing may have become the intermediary for the merging of interacting cultures. Without understanding this aspect of trade, we cannot fully understand the objects that are the result of this development in transportation. It can then be argued that objects taken abroad to be traded would likely have been deemed the most profitable (Steel, L. 2013: 138). If this is the case, then the possibility of being able to find figurines in Cyprus that are originally from the Aegean, suggests that they may have held some value as they have been transported across this distance. Understanding ancient sailing also becomes a necessity as the vessels become the physical representation of both connectivity and of the day to day interactions between people and the seas of the ancient world (Whitewright, J. 2016). A fundamental problem we encounter when examining this topic is our reliance on iconography as there are only a few shipwrecks that have been uncovered to provide more concrete interpretation.

With this, it is necessary to discuss the chronological development of sailing as it allows us to see how this advancement affected other aspects of life including trade and the movement of people. Common depictions of ancient sailing vessels are of square sails, with the earliest images being found in ancient Egyptian imagery showing a low square sail with a yard and boom (Vinson, 1994) and Minoan seals demonstrate a series of vessels carrying single-masted square sails (Basch 1987/ see figure 3). The proximity of Crete to the Greek mainland may

allow us to visualise similar types of vessel being in use. The style of this Egyptian vessel has been found to be of Levantine/Syrian origin with the imagery being dated to 1300-1350 BC, so it can be assumed that these types of vessels were commonly used (Wachsmann, S 1998). The use of similar vessel throughout the Mediterranean can also be seen in the imagery at Medinet Habu which depicts the battle between the Egyptian forces and those of the Sea Peoples in 1200 BC (Wachsmann, S 1998). An earlier vessel attested in the iconography comes from the 2nd century BC. Known as a Sprit-Sail, it has no real technological relationship to the square sail but it is likely that these vessels helped develop the square sail later on as a way of overcoming problems that arose during travel (Whitewright, J. 2018: 35, see figure 4). According to modern replication and testing, this type of vessel provides an excellent all-round performance (Leidwanger, J. 2020: 57-58). Any later changes to this type of vessel used could have been improvements for a specific need.

Examining documentation from the past allows us to clarify our conceptions about seafaring such as the cost of ventures, trading and the forms of exchange which involve this type of transportation. Since these have been written by individuals living in the ancient world, we can paint a more realistic picture instead of basing our assumption off modern comparisons. The main literary source that one would assume could be used to better understand Mycenaean seafaring is the Linear B texts. However, these texts were not intended to be held long term, and so the surviving documents were accidently preserved with fire during the collapse of the Palaces (Wachsmann, S. 1998: 123). The information that can be gained from these texts refers to coastal towns that have been visited and the number of oarsmen available for a venture, however, it should be noted that it does not refer to the voyage itself (Wachsmann, S. 1998: 123-125).

When we examine seafaring and its potential performances, we can use this to highlight periods of continuity in the way vessels were used. From this, it may be possible to understand the types of vessels that may have been used before they were recorded into the iconography and better grasp how the type of vessel may have influenced the transportation of commerce around the Mediterranean. The availability of vessels that navigate the seas brings about the possibility of uniting people, customs, and ideas, creating multicultural communities all over the Mediterranean. Any interactions, whether that be from a populated port or a traveller to a small village, can cause our understanding of the world to change and expand.

Through the examination of the archaeology, this interaction with foreign lands is likely what helped the Mycenaean civilisation to develop and become a power player during the LBA. While the Mycenaeans may have been first influenced by the Minoans (Hooker, J. 2014: 91), their steadily expanding political economy and increasing foreign trade created connections which allowed outside influences from the Eastern Mediterranean to become more prevalent within society (Schofield, L. 2007). Trading and creating exchange networks benefit both the ruling elites and the society itself as it feeds into the economy, possibly developing into a form of power.

Sources from historians such as Strabo (1932; XVII.1.13) delve into the nature of trade in the Mediterranean and show a well-established trade connection (Meijer, F. & van Nijf, O. 1992). Without such widespread trade networks, we may have instead painted a completely different picture of what the Mediterranean was like. With the archaeology providing evidence for the Aegean participation in these exchange networks as it is represented by the spread of Mycenaean objects, specifically pottery, across the Eastern Mediterranean including Egypt and the Levant (Burns, B. 2010).

Much of the archaeological evidence for maritime trade networks in the ancient world come from shipwrecks that have been discovered around the Mediterranean and are able to demonstrate Cypro-Mycenaean relations developing (Lolos, Y.G. 2003). By examining these shipwrecks, we are able to attest the types of wares that were traded, the types of objects that were kept onboard by the crews and which parts of the oceans were the most perilous to cross. Occasionally, there is also evidence of diplomatic activity suggesting that these vessels sometimes acted as agents of social exchange, not just simple trading vessels (Knapp, A. B. 2018). Our knowledge of Bronze Age maritime activity can be supported by the discovery of the Uluburun; a 14th century BC vessel which sank off the coast of Grand Cape in South Western Turkey (Cline, E. H. & Harris, D. 1998). As an indicator of a sea route for east-west trade and since much of the cargo is of Syria-Canaanite or Cypriot origin, it could be argued that this vessel was likely heading back towards the Aegean and the Greek Mainland (Bachhuber, C. 2006/ see figure 5).

The cargo on the Uluburun had large amounts of raw materials including ebony and ivory from Africa but the majority was of its cargo was copper, tin ingots and Cypriot ceramics such as white slipware and wall brackets (Hirschfield, N. 2011: 115). The quantity of metals aboard suggests that this might have been a bulk commodity that was being gifted, since it is comparable to other deliveries mentioned in the Amarna texts (Moran, W. 1992:10-15) There were about 354 ingots of Cypriot copper which is thought to weigh approximately 10 tons (Pulak, C. 2008). There was also at least 1 ton of tin recovered during excavation although this figure could be higher due to some disintegrating (Pulak, C. 2008). Alongside these raw materials, manufactured goods were also recovered including Cypriot pottery, faience beads and textiles. The pottery consists of oil lamps, wall brackets, White Shaved juglets, Base ring ware and White slip II bowls totalling to approximately 155 vessels (Pulak, C. 2008). Due to

the worth of the commodities aboard, it could also be argued that they were likely intended for gift exchange between the elites, possibly to form a diplomatic relationship (Bachhuber, C. 2006: 349). This suggestion is supported by the human remains of high-ranking Mycenaean officials aboard at the time of its sinking (Mark, S. 2005). We can also perceive from this the possibility of a Mycenaean presence in the port of origin, so integrating societies may be seen in the development of local wares. This particular shipwreck also shows clear Cypro-Mycenaean interactions and could be used to demonstrate the levels of interaction occurring, which could lead to the transference of ideologies.

It should be mentioned that the quantity of Cypriot pottery aboard contrasts significantly to those of the same type found in the Aegean (Cline, E. 2012: 868). Since the archaeological evidence remaining in Greece is limited, possibly destroyed, we may never be able to properly grasp the magnitude of Bronze Age trade in regard to Cypriot commerce abroad. If we apply this to figurines, loss of material culture could be an explanation for the limited sample pool outside the Aegean. Nevertheless, the advancement of seafaring facilitated the growth of connectivity in the Eastern Mediterranean, allowing cultures to interact on a frequent basis. This becomes relevant to the thesis, as this interconnectivity is what makes it possible for figurines to be found in foreign lands via trade, gift exchange or migration of individuals. These types of maritime activities place different functions and meanings upon figurines, which are interpreted further by exploring their contexts. The appearance of Mycenaean figurines in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age would suggest both an increase in Cypro-Aegean interactions and importance behind their function. Observable similarities between Mycenaean and local figurines would suggest comparable functions, possibly based around parallel belief systems that were influenced by the increased interconnectivity in the Eastern Mediterranean, and a result of expanding maritime trade networks.

4. What are Figurines and their Possible Role within Society?

A general opinion is that a figurine is something physical, created out of the mediums of clay, metal, wood etc. and that is representative of either an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic form (Biehl, P.F. 1996). Whilst there are many arguments for the use of figurines it is dependent on both cultural and personal ideologies. Some figurines are thought to be representative of either deities or individuals that are important to a belief whilst others have been interpreted simply as children's toys (Orlin, E. 2015).

In the modern world, we see that 'figurines' as either decorations in houses or dolls and action figures for children. If we can find similarities in the uses of figurines between the past and present, we may be able to apply modern notions of figurines to those of the past. Unfortunately, when studying the past, there are aspects that we cannot know for certain as there is nothing that definitively shows their use within society. Our understanding of figurines comes from investigating the relationship between figurines and cultic spaces through analysing their contexts (Albers, G. 2009: 85). What we may be able to suggest is similar between the past and the present is the notion that figurines, whatever their type, are very emotive to people.

An individual's emotional response to a figurine would likely be unique, but it is those emotive experiences that cause an individual to desire a figurine. With this, it may be argued that figurines are perhaps acquired through disposable income especially 'art' pieces that are not afforded by the average person, then they can also be considered objects of the wealthy. If this is the case, then it could be argued that only a certain percentage of the population during antiquity would have likely been able to own such an object.

Figurines from the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA have a variety of very different stylistic features such as beak-like noses with large ears as displayed by the Cypriot examples and a simplistic shape on the Mycenaean figurines (Gilstrap, W.D. 2015: 18-19). These allow us to identify possible aspects that may help unlock their apparent use and meaning within each society. It appears that there may be a common imagery that keeps reoccurring in many cultures and demonstrates the natural female body with emphasis on the breasts, the hips and the pubic triangle (Orlin, E. 2015, and Budin, S. 2011) They are also occasionally presented as being pregnant. The availability of figurines being pregnant suggests that there is some importance placed upon these feminine aspects by the participants within a society and are linked to a cultural ideology (Budin, S. 2011: 317). Though figurines such as the Cypriot bird-faced type and the Mycenaean Psi type can be definitively seen as female, we are also able to find other gendered figurines. By examining different features on a figurine such as genitals and decorative clothing we may be able to witness that some figurines were intentionally created to represent a male individual (Mina, M. 2008, see figure 6). An example of this is the 'Ingot god', a terracotta statuette of a man, likely a warrior from Cypro-Archaic 1 period (see figure 7).

These figurines are designed with specific dress and hair style that would inform that the figure is likely male, alongside the addition of weapons (Hitchcock, L. & Nikolaidou, M. 2013: 510). On the other hand, this gendering may relate to the use of weapon imagery which is normally associated with hunting or warfare and likely to be a male past time. This distinction between female and male may suggest that these differences played an important role within the social sphere, enough for objects to be gender recognisable and could be demonstrative of aspects in society that were only meant for a particular sex. By this logic, the collection of Mycenaean female figurines found within the *Temple complex* at Mycenae could infer that this space would

have been for female use. However, if we apply the argument that these apparent 'ritual' areas could have been used by elite males within the community, the reason behind these figurines being deposited here becomes unclear. If this is the case, then it could be argued that the figurines relate more to a belief present at this time than disclosing who may have used an area.

It appears many scholars consider these figurines as physical manifestations of fertility and of a 'mother goddess' (Lesure, R. G. 2011) Originally such iconography was thought to demonstrate the views that were held millennia ago about feminine beauty and how our opinions about beauty differ now. The quantity of figurines spread across the world suggests that there might be something more to them than simply a self-portrait. The effort and skill that the creator has placed into constructing such objects may demonstrate that they played some role within society on a cultural level rather than a wholly personal one. Many were created as portable objects suggesting that they were meant to be a movable feature in the environment they were to be used in (Morris, C. 2017: 659-660). On the Mycenaean figurines this can be seen through the elongated bodies, which gives the impression that this is how they may have been held when in use (see figure 8).

Figurines can be found in funerary, household and rubbish deposits, however, many of the interpretations that surround both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines provide us with different ideas about their possible use, however, there is no definitive answer (French, E. 1981). From funerary gifts to objects that may have been used in ritual performances, it appears that we cannot limit the use of figurines to a single practice. Instead, it may be necessary to view them as an object whose use changes depending upon what its possessor needs it for. If this is the case, rather than a specific use, the figurines may represent a social belief that transcends the different aspects of society allowing it to be used in multiple contexts without seeming out of

place (Cline, E.H. 2012: 219). To be able to examine figurines under the scope of 'religion' we must first understand what is meant by both 'religion' and a religious object. When we define religion, it is normally seen to be a unified belief system and practices which relate to the worship of a sacred power, which could be a personal God or gods" (Crawford, R.G. 2002: 1-6). We can see from the classical Greek period and the Iron Age on Cyprus, that there were gods being worship by the societies such as Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo etc. since we are able to find specific temples for worship (Karageorghis, V., Merker, G. S. & J.R. Mertens. 2016). It is then possible to argue that in the periods such as the Bronze Age and Neolithic, there would likely have been some form of deity that was followed with devotion. The Linear B tablets provide evidence for the worship of both male and female deities during the Mycenaean period, which is corroborated by later documentation (Schofield, L. 2007: 159). These tablets mention specific deities such as '*Potnia'* and '*Dionysos*', and subsequent offerings made to them, suggesting that there were religious activities occurring within society (Schofield, L. 2007: 160). The existence of a belief system during the BA would then shed light to the possibility of religious objects in society and their role within religion. The idea of figurines as a ceremonial object provides one possible reason as to their creation - in order to interact with the sacred world and bring about a desired effect.

By exploring the crafters of these figurines, we may be able to expand the complicated idea of why they were made. Since many of the figurines from Greece and Cyprus are thought to be wheel made (where a potter's wheel has been used to create the desired shape by applying pressure with the hands), the art of making pottery on a wheel is seen to be a difficult one where the slightest mistake can ruin the creation. We can assume that an individual using a wheel would have been a specialist who worked with this medium on a regular basis.

We can use Experimental Archaeology to investigate specific aspects of figurines such as intention, creation, shape and decoration on a more individual level rather than examining the general placement of figurines within the societal sphere. Experimental archaeology can also be used to bring a practical approach to interpretation with the attempt to replicate processes in which objects or aspects of an ancient society are created or performed. By using this approach as a method of exploration, we are provided with the capability to expand what is known about figurines and how their development could have influenced their use. Through examining the production of figurines from the perspective of a craftsman may provide insight into the processes that may have gone into a figurine's creation.

How would an individual have interacted with the medium during the creation process to imbued meaning and is it possible that the difficulty of craftsmanship meant a specific individual was necessary to supply figurines? Throughout the process of creating my own figurine, I was able to examine the possible thought process and feelings that may have imbued onto a figurine during creation. The figurine I attempted to replicate is a Chalcolithic cruciform figurine made from Cypriot soap stone (see figure 9). While this is from a different time period than the figurines being studied, it is necessary to understand the creation process to demonstrate the skill involved in the development of figurines. This in turn may show that both the creation of figurines and their function may have been important within society. Whilst the crafting of the figurine differed from original techniques as I used a Dremel tool to create the desired shape, it was possible to envision the time frame actually taken to carve such an object. From start to finish my replication took around a month to complete. It may not have the same clear well-defined lines on certain aspects of the figurine as the Chalcolithic examples, nor is it as big as some of these figurines either, but it was my first attempt at creating an object out of stone. This would be demonstrative of the skills of the craftsman compared to a complete

amateur. Alongside this we can argue that ancient craftsmen may have taken longer to create each figurine due to the tools available to them, but this would have fluctuated due to both the abilities of the creator and the size of the figurine they were intending to make. By understanding the amount of time taken to recreate different types of figurines we are able to understand how quickly these objects could be manufactured and dispersed within the community, especially when there is evidence of mass production. A quick production would suggest that there was a demand within the population for figurines and that their development is a sign of simplification to increase production.

The general shape of this replicated figurine may not have been as smooth or as round as many of the originals but that is just another testament to the amount of skill the crafter possessed. A Dremel was also used to carve the more detailed features of the figurine which included: the brow line, eyes, nose, and the necklace with a miniature figurine attached. The intrinsic nature of the additional features suggests that there were tools available to the craftsman that were fine enough to create such detail without destroying the figurine. Even though the material used (soap stone) is quite a soft material that can be easily shaped, it still takes large amounts of repetitive movements to make progress into creating the standardised form. The process of replicating a soap stone figurine has provided insight into the knowledge an individual would have required to shape stone in order to make it seem naturalistic and fluid. The amount of time and care that appears to have gone into creating this type of figurine allows us to perhaps perceive how these figurines were viewed within society. While we may not fully understand the placement of figurines within society, this experiment can perhaps demonstrate their importance, and thus we may be able to apply this perception to figurines from Bronze Age Greece and Cyprus.

5. Typology

Following previous discussion on understanding the term ‘figurine’ it is now necessary to explore the typologies of the figurines that are to be examined, thus limiting the study to specific types.

The different classifications of figurines are the result of research by scholars such as Tsountas (1888), Wace (1932), Furumark (1941) and French (1971, 1981), and are constructed from their varying physical characteristics. This attempt at classification helps us understand the stylisation changes that occur throughout the Mycenaean period. By grouping the similarities together, we are able to create a chronological timeline for the development of figurines on the Mainland. From this, it is then possible to witness the point in time that these changes occur and how this may relate to societal transformations (see figure 10).

When the classification of figurines was determined, it is likely that both the stylistic and morphological aspects of the subject were examined. If these approaches are applied to the Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines, stylistic typology may refer to the decoration of a figurine such as painted characteristics. This may provide information about ideologies during this period of time and be represented through the changes made to the decoration. On the other hand, the morphological typology would be defined by the overall shape of the figurine and how this corresponds to other figurines from the same culture. If there is a common occurrence throughout the material culture relating to morphology, then we may be able to demonstrate that a particular characteristic is perhaps important to the societal beliefs.

As previously explained, gestures are a way in which to pass on information. Since the human body can create such a wide variety of poses and gestures, it is very coincidental that two

different cultures create the same gestures in a similar medium and deposit them in similar contexts. If this is the case, then we may be able to argue for a deeper meaning behind such a gesture, one that is universally understood and is meant to demonstrate something that occurs within society possibly a religious ideology.

5.1 Mycenaean Figurines

When discussing Mycenaean terracotta figurines, the three most identifiable forms are; the Psi (Ψ), Phi (Φ) and Tau (τ) as entitled by Furumark (1941) as their shapes resemble the Greek alphabet (see figure 11). This system has been universally adopted to classify any figurines. However, it is important to remember that there are variations of each style throughout the Mycenaean period as these figurines were developed until the Late Helladic IIIC period after which it appears that they stopped being produced, perhaps in correlation to the Bronze Age collapse (French, E. 1971). The visual development of figurine styles shows that craftsmen were continually altering the way in which they moulded the figurines. It is possible to suggest that these alterations could be down to the individual influence that followed a generic outline, altering with each individual that was producing them. The variations of figurines are found in differing contexts, suggesting that the variations correspond to fluctuating beliefs. By examining these variations, it may be possible to witness the points in which local ideologies shift and these figurines begin to intertwine within society. Since it is possible to see the chronological order of when each type of figurine was crafted, we are able to understand which features were considered important and had continued use during the development of these objects. If features were of little importance, it is likely we would see a wider range of physical characteristics throughout the material culture.

While there are the three main categories of figurines (Psi, Phi and Tau), it is necessary to note that there are also other subtypes which help enhance the range of dates of each particular figurine. This study will focus on the Psi and Phi types of figurines. The earliest of these figurines are the Naturalistic and Proto-Phi, dated mainly from LHIIIA 1, and assisted in the developmental point for future figurines, setting the precedence for how such figurines are used within a community or ritualistic setting (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2002: 249/ see figure 12). These types of figurines can be identified as the arms are separate additions, rendered apart from the main body, with elaborate decorations that embellish the body and create other features. The head is also bulbous in shape with ears and eyes added separately. The shoulders were formed to be very sloping with small, widely spaced, and conical shaped breasts attached to the chest. The stem itself is thick and flares out to a wider rounded base. The body and arms are decorated with vertical waved-lines while the head is completely painted, possibly to represent either hair or headwear. The elaboration that we can see on different aspects of these figurines demonstrates that they were made to be much more lifelike than their later counterparts which appear to be quite simplistic in comparison. The simplification of these figurines as seen with those found at Mycenae from the LHIII could be due to their mass production (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2002:249).

It could also be argued that the arms became separate additions if the society hoped to express certain aspects of their ideologies since these additions provide the figurine with the ability to perform gestures of either emotion or action. This could then mean that later figurines became more standardised by not separately rendering the arms suggesting that alterations were no longer necessary. Since these gestures were likely formed by a specialist crafter, there must have been some intention behind the placement of the arms in these positions. While there are mainly three different types of gestures, we can infer that they have held some meaning for

their intended purpose, otherwise figurines could have been created to demonstrate a larger variety of different gestures (Steel, L. 2020: 7). Further gestures may have meant that their intended meaning would get diluted within society. With this, the three gestures that interact with society must be ones that are either the most recognisable, emotive or allow a particular intention to be conveyed through bodily action. For example, these early figurines were rare in tombs at both Mycenae and Prosymna, however, citizens at Pylos, Peristeria, and Chalkis deemed them to be appropriate as grave offerings because of their possible symbolic meaning (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2009).

Some examples of these early variations that had unrestricted arms can be found in a fill below the Cyclopean wall at Mycenae and are thought to be dated to the start of the LH IIIB (French, E. 1973). The remains of a third similar figurine from Mycenae, has the left hand positioned below the breast with a painted necklace on the chest. Paint covers the breasts completely, but the waved pattern is restricted to only the back and arms, possibly representing a Cretan style jacket which leaves the breasts bare. A figurine of unknown provenance can also be found at the National Museum at Athens and depicts the hands being crossed over the chest to hold the breasts (see figure 13). While many of the prominent features are emphasised by paint, the eyes are added separately, and the mouth formed simply through an incision. The decoration of this figure is hatched at the top with a waved-band across the back of the neck which resembles a necklace and the rest of the body is decorated with waved-lines.

Schliemann's excavations during the 1870s originally brought to light other known examples of naturalistic figurines (Schliemann, H. 1878), however, these had a visible difference in the thickness of the waist when compared to those previously mentioned. The breasts are covered with dots and waved-lines only cover the back and shoulders, with a few lines possibly

representing a necklace. The decoration is also suggestive of Cretan type dress. There was also a partial preserved stem and body part excavated with the right arm bent double and the hand supposedly clutching at the breast. This fragment has a tall and thick stem, with the front of the body decorated with typical waved-lines and the back having a central band with lines branching off whilst the back of the stem has an irregular line running up the centre. It appears that the fragments found by Schliemann were not consistent with each other and not properly recorded so dating and context are unreliable, however, it could be argued that they demonstrate the first signs of figurines developing over time. Since the decoration appears to mainly consist of waved-lines, it is possible to see the continuation of this style throughout the Mycenaean period. With this, it may be possible to argue that these patterns were important to the overall figurine, portraying an appearance that represents either a type of individual from society or specific clothing that relates to their purpose.

Once we have explored the earlier varieties of figurines, we can begin to examine the typology of those that are to feature in this thesis. Of the three main types, the first to be examined is the Phi figurines which can be split into two different groups as they develop a different stages during the Late Helladic (see figure 14). The first, Phi A, can be seen as the connecting phase between Proto-Phi (LHIIIA) and to those made at the end of the Bronze Age. This apparent first stage of design comprises of a low waist with many waved-lines on the stem. The second group (B) is considered to demonstrate the peak of stylisation for figurines during this period where the body is entirely circular and stem thin, only decorated with a few vertical bands (see figure 15). The changing styles shows there is development towards a standardised style, possibly to express its meaning more forwardly and appropriately. We can see that standardisation became a major aspect of later figurine production when compared to earlier examples. The variety of details becomes increasingly smaller throughout development

suggesting that during the later phase of figurine production the crafters were working to a guideline to replicate a specific desired style. Though there are examples from Chamber tombs and Cyclopean terrace building at Mycenae, alongside Prosymna, that are anomalous and make dating more difficult by going against the apparent standardised variations. While they may appear to resemble one group, they have features that are associated with the other group such as having a hair plait or decoration upon the stem.

From this, it could be argued that some of the figurines that veer away from a standardised style are figurines that have been commissioned specifically by an individual when required or desired (Pullen, D.J. 2010: 195). These individuals may have wanted different features to be exaggerated on their figurines, which may have led to these anomalies in the archaeological record. This also suggests that some figurines could be demonstrative of wealth, since figurines that deviate from a standardised typology could be the result of individuals paying more to create the imagery that they desired. On the other hand, this could be because of local variations relating to the craftsman's interpretation of the standard iconography. When examining figurines from different areas, the main variation comes from the differing decorations that were placed upon the figurine. One specific example comes from Tanagra, it can be found studied by Mayer (1892) and Winter (1903). The elaborate decoration upon this figurine consists of applied eyes, triple zigzag necklace, dotted breasts with painted areola and exaggerated waved-lines on body and stem. According to French (1971), this figurine is an irregular specimen, which implies that it is not consistent with other figurine decorations so it could be demonstrative of individuality on either a local or personal level.

Whilst many of the more unconventional examples come from the Argolid, the overall shape of these figurines are mostly considered standardised and consistent with other Phi types as it

is simply the decoration that varies with a slight polos, thin lines on the adorning arms, and horizontal lines on the body and stem. From this, we can assume that it is the decoration not the moulding of clay that allows for the separation of the arms from the body and thus gives it a similar aesthetic to the late Psi group B (LHIIIC early) while the elaboration of the decoration is closer to Late Psi group C (LHIIIC advanced). The ambiguous nature of these figurines could be demonstrative of an ever-changing style of figurines, influencing one another and only adhering to a general standardisation of shape. The decorations adorning these figurines makes them differ to each other, possibly mimicking an individual's personal style who sought to imbue their creativity onto their figure. While we cannot fully comprehend the variations that can be found on figurines, we are able to see that there was some intention behind these differences since their design generally adheres to a consistent shape. If the decoration on the figurines was unimportant or simply generic, we would likely see less deviation between patterns and a more standardised style and pattern. These analyses suggest that the decoration could be influenced by outside aspects which may not relate to the intended function of a figurine.

Another common type of figurine that is to be examined is the Psi type (see figure 16). There are a few deviations from the standard Psi typology one of which is known as the Hollow Psi type. While scholars do not normally make a distinction, there is some similarity between this type and the Tau type as demonstrated by their form and distribution. This type can be distinguished through a hollow conical or bell-shaped stem, whilst the hollow section is rendered all the way up to the waist, so it is easy to identify these fragments in the archaeological record (French, E. 1971: 126). The arms are raised in typical Psi gesture and the breasts are exposed. The waist is similar to that of Tau examples: set quite high and the stem is usually decorated with a few vertical bands (French, E. 1971:126). While there are

many similarities between these types, they do not come as standardised, instead they show greater stylistic deviations in respect to the rougher, less sophisticated style and decoration. These are thought to have been in circulation between LH IIIA and LH IIIB (French, E.1971: 127). Whilst the standard Psi style is a focal point to be examined and compared, it is restricted to figurines that have the raised Psi type arms, columnar stem and natural waistline. Uniformity is not normally associated with this type of figurine as they vary in body shape. The body has the addition of painted horizontal lines which appears to be reminiscent of clothing, although these lines can vary, a fully painted body is also common (French, E. 1971: 126). These variations could just be representative of dress which were available during this period and could demonstrate the individuality of these figurines. Like with the other types of figurines, it was in circulation between LH IIIA and LH IIIB, with the earliest examples coming from Petsas's House area and the tombs at Argos, Prosymna and Berbati. We should also note that while these figurines can be dated to the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, there are not high quality examples available from Mycenae or Tiryns, however, this could be due to the political unrest that was occurring at the time meaning any surviving examples may have been destroyed. The distribution of the Psi type is similar to that of the Phi type, with examples found in a variety of places correlating with the presence of the Mycenaeans civilisation (Steel, L. 2013).

High-waisted Psi types are the final variation of Psi figurines that are to be discussed. They appear to be an object that is easily made and are defined by a columnar stem and high waistline. The decoration varies but commonly consists of a polos, plait and a fringe alongside two or four vertical lines on the stem. They resemble both the hollow Psi and Tau examples, possibly demonstrating that each of the figurines are meant to relate to each other and are part of transferring some form of message. This group is very standardised so while we may see

some variation in decoration, nothing is so unusual to warrant an anomalous example. The variations could simply be down to artistic license or individual preference. An example from Mycenae with only one eye perhaps suggests that is a rushed creation and leads to the notion that figurines may have been mass produced at some point in time if there was a demand (French, E. 1971: 132). The distribution of this style of figurine seems to follow the other Psi types with examples mainly occurring within the Aegean region but there are several examples that have been located overseas.

We can assume that examining typology provides us with the ability to distinguish features that are readily available on a multitude of different figurines. When comparing the typologies of Greek figurines to those found on Cyprus, it is possible to discover if there are imported Mycenaean figurines in the material culture, alongside local figurines which might have similar typologies. Any typologies that could demonstrate similarities, would then be further examined through the contexts in which they were found, to identify any clear parallels between their deposition. Similarities found between both sets of figurines in regard to their typology and their contexts would suggest that they could have been made with similar intention and therefore be representative of similar concepts (Lesure, R.G. 2017: 42). While it is possible that these similarities are coincidental, parallels between cultures of the Aegean which have been previously discussed by scholars suggests that ideologies were transferring through cultural interactions. This then presents us with the possibility that the similarities found between these figurines are the result of transferred ideas through the migration of people and later incorporated into the craftsmanship. Alongside this examination, the distribution of figurines in Cyprus provides a gauge in which we are able to attest their interaction with society as a whole or just the Mycenaean proportion.

5.2 Cypriot Figurines

This research will be focusing on figurines dating to the Late Cypriot Period (1600-1050BC), examining samples of Cypriot figurines from the Chalcolithic until the LC in identifying any obvious changes in the development of these figurines. While commenting on this wider timeframe does not directly relate to the objective of this research, it may allow us to witness which figurines were solely of Cypriot influence and which may have been influenced by ever expanding interaction with the rest of the Mediterranean, specifically Mainland Greece (Begg, P. 1981: 8). The Chalcolithic is a period that is also known to have produced hundreds of figurines (Insoll, T. 2017). Made from the mediums of clay and stone, they are mostly anthropomorphic in nature with some zoomorphic examples, however, the most familiar form we find is the anthropomorphic cruciform. With its rigid shaped and clearly defined arms spread out away from the body, the head sits upon an elongated neck and is depicted with a nose, eyes and occasionally ears. The legs are slightly bent as though in a seated position and additional engraving has been added to define the legs which slope into feet. A decorative feature that is applied to a large proportion of these figurines is a miniature figurine which forms a necklace. Few features or examples are suggestive of gender, but according to scholars such as Knapp (2013:343), Bolger (2003:113-114) and Steel (2004: 101-105) they are thought to be associated with fertility, sexuality or the notion of the self within Cypriot society.

The second phases of figurines appeared during the Early Cypriot period and are known as the 'Plank figurine' with the body consisting of two rectangular pieces of terracotta joined together to form the body, neck, and head (Karageorghis, V. 1991). Whilst there are examples which have arms attached separately and placed in different positions such as across the body or down by the side, there are also examples where no arms are apparent. However, the main moulded

facial feature is the nose while other features appear to be painted on. Although this could be because of the difficulty defining a nose using paint. The only other additional decoration on these figurines varies depending on each figurine but usually consists of vertical/ horizontal line across both the body and head, possibly to portray clothing or body paint. However, it is also possible that these details represent the figurines' intended purpose. When we examine these figurines for gender indications, there are no distinctive features. With this, we can infer that these figurines are depicted as dressed instead of nude (Orphanides, A.G. 2001). If this is the case, their function in society could have been different to those that demonstrate observable gendered features.

There are two anthropomorphic forms that seem to dominate the LC period. With the earlier form, the Flathead type, circulating during Late Cypriot I (1650-1400BC), its most distinguishable feature is the flat top on the head (Knox, D. 2012: 178). The other observable characteristic found on this type is the long torso tapering down into thin legs. The emphasis on the hips, while still observable, is not as prominent as that on the 'bird-faced' figure. Since the introduction of the flathead type predates and overlaps the bird-faced figure, we can infer that this preference for wider hips on the figurines may come from a new belief which has been incorporated into the already existing belief system. The arms are rendered separately and crossed over the front of the body with hands clasped as if to suggest a specific gesture or posture. Breasts are distinctly visible above the arms, represented by two mounded pieces of terracotta; these provide a very gendered image of these figurines as female. The face is quite angular with a defined brow, nose, and chin which do not necessarily appear on other types. The nose of this predecessor is narrow, and the bridge is shaped quite flatly unlike the roundness of the bird-faced figure which provides the beak like resemblance. This change in facial features from this more angular type to the more rounded version found on the 'bird-

faced' figure, could demonstrate changing interpretation of humanistic features and how they may have 'evolved' alongside an ever-expanding belief system. The decoration of this figure includes red and black horizontal lines around the neck and a dark colour on the top of the head, which likely represents the presence of hair, and there are incisions around the pelvic area as if to indicate hair and perhaps represent a pubic triangle.

The main type of figurine from this period is the 'bird faced' figurines and are found in contexts ranging from 1450-1050 BC (equating to the Late Cypriot II and III) (Knox, D. 2012: 176). The body itself looks to be made of one piece of terracotta formed rather than different sections. The arms are likely separately rendered due to their thinness and slight extension away from the body and clasped together in front with clear incisions that represent fingers. There are also examples where the figurines are depicted holding a child as though they are nursing, these appear to be the two main types of gestures that are displayed. There are also clear representations of breast on these figures which were not always defined on figurines from previous periods. The facial features are the reason behind the 'bird-faced' name, with the presence of a beak-like nose attached to the centre of the face alongside large circular eyes. At either side of the head there are two large representations of ears that contain 4 incised holes, many of which contain something that resembles an earring. The figurines are unpainted, their main decoration comes in the form of incised lines, normally consisting of three horizontal lines on the neck and a zigzag pattern at the top of the legs which is surrounded by a double triangle: this is usually representative of the public triangle.

Even though there are distinct differences between these two types of figurines, there are also clear similarities including the emphasis on the pubic triangle, the placement of the hands upon the body, and the notion that they are representative of the naked female form. It can be

assumed that there is something in these attributes that appeals to society and enable this type of figurine to play an important role within the local ideologies (Knox, D. 2016: 32-38). If this is not the case, then it could be thought likely that a larger variety of forms could be found throughout material culture. The amount of gestures that we can make with the human body is vast and likely cannot be entirely replicated through figurines. If this is the case, then it would be sensible to assume that any of the forms chosen to replicate were deemed important. These specific gestures could have become standardised practice to be able to corelate to certain actions and in turn a specific purpose. From both forms, it should also be noted that the back side of these figurines have been left relatively undecorated apart from the rings circling around the neck. This presents us with the possibility that these figures were only meant to be viewed from the front, either they were placed facing their intended audience or held with their backs towards an individual's body. We could argue that they were meant to be a focal point in their function, and acted as a representation of an action, intention, or individual such as participant or deity (Zeman-Wisniewska, K. 2016: 41).

Alongside the bird faced figures of the LC, we are also able to find examples of figurines that have been imported from other cultures including Mycenaean figurines from Mainland Greece. It is thought that the majority of these figures consist of mostly Psi and Phi types, suggesting communities had a specific use for these figures (Steel, L. 2013: 144). Their importance could be demonstrated through their inclusion in Cypriot material culture, whether this was as a souvenir for a Cypriot or through the migration of people from Mainland Greece amongst their personal items (van Wijngaarden. 2002: 23). With this, it is possible that these objects were deemed worthy enough to own, and so, we can only assume they demonstrate ideologies held by the owner. The number of figurines found on Cyprus could correlate to their prevalence

within society, which may then allow us to see whether they became commonplace or a sparsely held item.

6. What are Gestures?

Communication and speech are important aspects to examine when attempting to understand human interaction. Whereas speech is a universal concept, it is not the only form of communication used to transfer meaning and information. Throughout the material world, whether ancient or modern, we find iconography that can portray meaning for both its creators and prospective viewer. This iconography can help us expand our views of different cultures and better understand the way non-verbal communication occurs. With this, we can also assume if actions are preserved in the imagery, they then held some importance to the people that viewed it (Joyce, R. A. 2008). As humans, we have tendencies to both voluntarily and involuntarily inform each other about our intentions, interests, feelings, and ideas through the movement of either the body or limbs. These visible bodily actions are formed by individuals arranging their bodies in relation to another person or environment. We learn and develop these bodily actions from a young age, they shape the way in which we interact with the world around us and form an integral aspect of society (Novinger, T. 2001: 5). If we look into the actions that have been recorded in both the modern and ancient world, we may be able to understand the information that was intended to be conveyed.

When we examine the idea of bodily actions, we are provided with important information about how people engage with each other, their intentions, and attitudes. For this type of communication to be effective it is necessary that all participants recognise the actions they need to convey information. If only one participant is able to recognise these bodily actions, the intended message is either lost or misunderstood, meaning that the outcome of an interaction is changed. The way an individual expresses their actions could vary with some being direct, possibly unintentional, while others appear more subtly and intentional.

An example of this can be demonstrated in everyday life whereby individuals direct their eyes to reflect their interest/ disinterest in a conversation. This eye contact communicates to the recipient that they are interested or actively paying attention as it is argued that people tend to look at objects they find pleasing unless they are intentionally avoiding eye contact. This action could be considered a direct action. The different types of bodily actions are normally referred to as gestures. This label is applied to features that are either deliberately expressive or used as a visible action as part of an utterance (Kendon, A. 2004). According to Goffman (1963), when people are present among others they engage in activities designed to share information, but certain information such as intentions, involvement, social status and their own individual opinions is often shared involuntarily.

We can see that throughout time individuals have been fascinated with bodily actions (gestures) as they appear to be a universal and natural form of expression. While on one hand, some actions may seem to be created impulsively, they also appear to be regulated and subject to social norms. Previous discussions in the 17th and 18th century have explored the possibility that gesture was an intermediate stage in the development of language. It was thought that by utilising gesture, the creation of a universal language could be established (Kendon, A. 2004). This research developed into what we now know as sign language: a universal language which provides the possibility of communication to those who are unable to speak or hear (Napier, J. & Leeson, L. 2015/ see figure 17). The accessibility of sign language allows almost anyone to become independent and better included within the wider society. Individuals unable to express themselves for long periods of time may have segregated themselves from the rest of society through lack of communication. This, in turn, would have affected the way in which individuals may have understood social cues which many take for granted. Although it could be assumed that sign language is a modern concept, there is evidence to suggest that a form of early sign

language actually dates to the 5th century BC as detailed by Plato in his work *Cratylus* (1989). Since sign language is a collection of bodily actions or gestures, we can assume that societies may have always used gestures as a way of expressing themselves if or when someone was unable to speak. Alongside this the spread of information would not solely rely on verbal communication for transmission (Kendon, A. 2004).

As well as being emotive, gestures are sometimes employed to demonstrate more complex meanings such as the size or process of making an object. For example, an individual is able to communicate and indicate an object's shape or size through gesture. By creating an activity or comment that can be demonstrated through a bodily action, we are able to simplify how information is conveyed without the need to verbally communicate. One such gesture that is used commonly throughout the western world is the 'thumbs up' gesture. Since this gesture is traditionally accepted as meaning 'good', 'yes', or 'well done', it is often associated with positivity and can replace the use of spoken language to accomplish the same result. This simplification of expression is concise and provides individuals an understanding of the concept even if there may be a language barrier. Another modern emotive gesture would be the cross gesture used in Christianity (specifically Catholicism) where the hand touches the forehead, lower chest and both shoulders. It is used by individuals as either a form of prayer or an act of blessing (Givens, D. B. 2002/ see figure 18). While this is a well-known gesture, it is personal to those that perform it and those who do not hold similar values may not understand why it is performed.

Alongside the argument that gestures are emotive and can carry more complex meanings, we should also explore the idea of open and closed gestures (Kendon, A. 2004). By separating these gestures into two groups we may better understand the intention behind each gesture. In

order to explore both open and closed gestures, we must first explore both through the physicality of body language. Open gestures are often considered to be approachable, interested, non-threatening and accepting, and is associated with the 'positive'. It can be demonstrated by open arms which may be moving, open hands that represent nothing being concealed, legs open and looking around, engaging eye contact (Joyce, R. A. 2015). On the other hand, closed gestures are normally associated with defensive or threatening behaviour and are usually considered as 'negative' signals. They are normally represented by arms folded across the torso, legs crossed, alongside looking down and away from everything (Joyce, R.A. 2015). If we apply this to figurines, we may be able to witness the type of emotions associated with the different gestures. Therefore, if we are able to infer the symbolic meaning behind the creation of these gestures, it may be possible to suggest their intention, and in turn, the function of figurines.

Social interactions can be broken down into a configuration of different gestures that come together to create one fluid movement. The different combinations can express or signal emotions such as gratitude, affection, challenge, threat, submission or compliance. Sharing information is an integral part of human interaction, something that can be voluntarily controlled. Therefore, we assume actions are intentionally made to transfer important information (Inglis, D. & Thorpe, C. 2012). We could also argue that this is applicable to information that is passed through the generations. Gestures that were used to encapsulate information could then be recognised automatically by individuals from a society and apply that information to any activities they are undertaking (Andersen, M. L. & Taylor, H. F. 2000). Many adults would have likely taught their children the meaning of some gestures to pass on an understanding of their societal values. However, it is also likely that children would learn

gestures from other aspects of the society while exploring and growing (Clarke-Stewart, A. & Parke, R. D. 2014).

The study of gesture may offer insight into how social processes moulded the way in which individuals form their expressions and how they become a social shared communicative code. A code that is intended to be understood by specific individuals. However, there is little to suggest that people outside of these coded spheres would not be able to understand these gestures, it may simply take more decipherment. Gestures are an integral part of a society's communication, an aspect that brings people together both consciously or subconsciously, something that through mutual understanding and repetitive performance allows people to connect and feel part of the community (Goldin-Meadow, S. & Alibali, M. W. 2012).

This concept may be applied to gestures found on ancient figures and figurines (Wedde, M. 1999). While there is no written evidence to suggest the meaning behind the use of figurines or their gestures, the repetitive nature of the gestures used is suggestive of an invocative nature (Morris, C and Peatfield, A. 2002:105). Since the Bronze Age has limited written sources, any interpretation of a gestures meaning would be made using later or modern gestures - gestures that we are better able to attribute an intention to. While we cannot entirely extrapolate modern comparisons onto the ancient ones, they provide possible reasons as to why these gestures were used and perhaps important enough to preserve in material form. Statues or figurines that demonstrate a gesture make the action appear that it is frozen in place. Since it is only possible to place one gesture per sculpted figure, there must have been reasoning for its usage. It is possible that either the creator intended to pass on specific information relating to a communal activity or that the gesture would likely make the most impact with customers to increase expected revenue.

When discussing the idea of gesture in relation to figurines in this research, it may be necessary to assess whether the gestures shown could be seen as voluntary or involuntary. These gestures could then provide some insight into how they might have been used. It could then be argued that the limited variety of gestures would demonstrate specific meaning as they are repeated numerous times. This could then be supported if similar gestures were then found on figurines from other cultures such as Greece and Cyprus. If these cultures were interacting and using similar expressions in their material culture, it could be assumed that this demonstrates a deeper meaning behind the use of specific gestures. On the other hand, if there were large variations in the types of gestures represented, this could simply be stylistic variations caused by the crafter that would be more approved by the clientele and result in improved sales.

7. Contexts of Mycenaean Figurines on the Greek Mainland

The first aspect we must examine is the contexts in which figurines are found. This information may change the way in which certain characteristics are interpreted. Contexts are essentially events in time that have been preserved through material culture. The information collected is then used as a basis to form a context which consists of the artefact's immediate matrix, its provenance, or positioning within a site or its association with other objects. It provides us with the potential to reconstruct human activity from any specific site and can be applied to archaeological remains including artefacts, features, structures and even organic remains (Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. 2012). The types of contexts to be examined throughout this work include tombs (such as the cemetery at Hala Sultan Tekke), Sanctuaries (including Agios Konstantinos near Methana) and other larger settlements such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Sinda.

When we collect all the necessary information relating to an artefact to form a context, this is an ideal situation. In reality, sites that have been disturbed and had artefacts removed are unlikely to provide us with a clear picture of their contexts, so we have to make use of what is available. Whilst it is rare to form the perfect textbook context, a site still provides us with a vast amount of information about both an artefact and culture. Even though much of what has been discovered may not come from contexts that are well preserved, the fragmentary pieces which remain within a context still play a significant role within the study of figurines. They provide further evidence for their possible use and demonstrate the types of figurine that were possibly the most popular with individuals or settlements.

If an object is discovered in its original deposition undisturbed, this is thought to be its primary context (Renfrew, C and Bahn, P. 2012). One of the activities which disturbs sites is the act of

recycling or re-use. This is where artefacts or sites have been reused for either a similar purpose or something completely different (Abdelhamid, S. 2016). The reusing of tombs is a common demonstration of recycling from Mainland Greece and Cyprus, whereby the resident of a tomb would have been moved aside so another individual could be buried (Angus K Smith, R and Dabney, M.K. 2014). Therefore, the original context of the tomb would have been compromised and another context created, one containing two individuals and possibly more funerary gifts. Another example of recycling in the ancient world is the re-use of grave goods, where objects are used in another grave or returned into circulation. If an artefact has been recycled it may have a different meaning for the new recipient, so this would change the context (Whitley, J. 2001). Since the original context has been lost, we rely on this new context to provide us with information. This new position and layout of an artefact and its surroundings is known as a secondary context. From this new positioning we are provided a further insight into the behavioural practices from past cultures that would not be possible without the disturbance of material culture.

Another aspect of human activity that occurs throughout the Eastern Mediterranean is looting. It is a major problem that transpired in both ancient and modern times, with many artefacts being taken and used for the financial gain of the tomb looter (Muscarella, O. W. 2013). Discussions into looting have been written by Renfrew and Bahn (2012): about the impact of looting on both archaeological sites and the research which is collected. Keswani (2004) also delves into discussion on looting in Bronze Age tombs on Cyprus and how it may be linked to the exhumation and reburial of individuals in the society.

This Chapter will examine figurines that have been found in both primary and secondary contexts such as tombs, settlements, and sanctuaries which have religious connotations. This

will expand our knowledge of how individuals may have interacted with the objects, architecture, and space that they encountered throughout their lives. In turn, this may allow us to witness how material culture is imbued with intention by their creators to interact with both their surrounding space and individuals through agency. In this case, a primary context refers to the end use-life of a figurine and where it was originally deposited (potentially a rubbish deposit). On the other hand, a secondary context is where a figurine has been moved and reused within the community for an alternative purpose (Kipfer, B, A. 2000). Through the analysis of secondary contexts, we may be able to witness whether figurines are more widespread in the material culture, demonstrating they become more accessible to society after their original deposition. It is also a possibility that the discarding of figurines is an indication of the existence and spread of scepticism in the society. This new approach to handling figurines demonstrates a transformation in the way they are manipulated in communal beliefs. The transformation of beliefs may be shown through the development of figurines over the Mycenaean period and how figurines may have been adjusted to mirror changes in ideologies. A parallel could be the scepticism that developed with some of the modern religions over the past few hundred years, with individuals diverging from the general ideologies to possibly forming ideologies of their own.

I will be discussing the different sites and contexts in which figurines can be found. I will begin on the Greek Mainland starting with Mycenae, Prosymna, and Tiryns so it is possible to see how figurines were used within the Mycenaean communities then continue onto figurines found on Cyprus, both of Mycenaean origin and local creations. We can then compare both sets of information and see if it is possible to make a plausible connection between the two societies.

Previous research on figurines from both Mycenae and Prosymna lists approximately 4593 examples for this examination and offers insight into the use, re-use, and abandonment of said examples (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2009). A large proportion of this sample will not be applicable as the figurines are zoomorphic or different stylistic types. It is also important to establish that while there may be a large quantity of fragments and artefacts surveyed, there is only a small proportion of figurines that could possibly be from either a primary or secondary context. A large proportion of the figurines sampled have no available context, so they were omitted from the discussion of the study. If information is exact, then through contextual analysis it is possible to uncover multiple stages of a figurines use-life, instead of an assumption that figurines simply performed a single duty.

7.1 Mycenae

There are a few different locations in Mycenae that provide us with figurines, one of which is the Room with the Idols. Adjoined to the 'Temple' or 'Shrine of the Idols' (Room 18) and located within the confines of the citadel walls, the Room with the Idols is at the heart of the Mycenae Cult Centre (see figure 19). The temple itself consists of three rooms: a small entrance area, the Rooms with the Platforms, and finally, the Room with the Idols. The Room with the Platforms is important to note as it is linked to the Idol Room (see figure 20). In the centre of the room is a low platform thought to have been used as a hearth. Along the North and West walls were stepped platforms which possibly played some role in cultic activities. In the North-East corner there is a staircase flanked by three columns. Besides one of the columns was a single figurine with its base plastered into the platform with a small crude offering table in front of it (Moore, A. D. 1999). This is the only figurine that was found in-situ, the rest had

been moved from their original positions possibly while the room was still in use or to symbolise the end of its use. Up the staircase leads us to a landing, which has come to be known as the Room with the Idols, a concealed space, roughly 6ft² in size and built on stone and sealed off before the citadel fell at the end of the 13th century B.C. There were 8 large terracotta figurines standing between 0.5m and 0.6m, however, only three had their heads still intact and turned towards the wall (Moore, A. D. 1999). Most of the other figurines in the room were broken and scattered alongside broken pottery, which is indicative of libations. A lamp, two braziers, three tables of offerings and large numbers of beads and ornaments were also found amongst the remains (Morgan, L. 2005).

Another interesting artefact from the Temple area is a faience scarab of Queen Tiye (Moore, A. D. 1999 & Wardle, K. 2015). This artefact supports the possibility of contact between Egypt and the Mainland Greece and demonstrates an important cooperation between the two civilisations. While this does not explicitly demonstrate the link between Greece and Cyprus, it presents evidence for links between Greece and the rest of the Mediterranean. If Egypt was actively trading with Greece, it increases the likelihood of an active Mycenaean-Cypriot trading network as it demonstrates a connection between both sides of the Mediterranean. With this, we can infer that this object would not simply be discarded. Instead, because of its potential value (being brought all the way from Egypt), this item was instead treasured. If this is the case, we can suggest that there is an important reason for removing these from circulation rather than being disposed of. In the North-West corner, the rock forms an alcove which has been incorporated into the shrine, within this there were found more figurines and snake fragments. However, from the fragments found, it is likely that they are in fact related to the fragments in the Room with the Idols and have been left behind when the objects were moved from one area to another. The inclusion of an alcove into a building is similar to one found at

a Minoan sanctuary on Mt. Juktas on Crete which was linked to cult activities (Adams, E. 2017). Altogether, in the vicinity of both the main room and the alcove about 21 figurines and 15 terracotta coiled snakes were found (Pliatsika, V. 1987: 609; Moore, A.D. and Taylour, W.D. 1999: 63-65).

Similarities between the Mycenaean and Minoan religions have been commented on by many scholars over the past decades such as Nilsson (1971), Castleden (2005) and Whittaker (2014). Upon examining different aspects of both civilisations from the iconography used (including the styles of objects crafted and the evidence of trading), we may be able to infer that there are indeed similarities that overlap with these two cultures. This in turn would suggest that there may be overlaps in many aspects of their ideologies, one major aspect being religion. Because of this, we could assume that the alcoves may have held comparable uses.

Another area of deposition is North of the South house, also located in the Cult Centre (Wardle, K. 1973). Those recovered included four examples of T type figurines dated to the later part of LH IIIB. While fragmentary, there is a hollow stem with folded arms modelled from clay, a stem with arms indicated by a band of paint, one has just a hollow stem and the last is too fragmented. There were also four fragments from Psi-figurines, two of which have breasts and a third has a plait indicated by rows of dots. Due to the limited number of fragments found and the inability to form a complete figurine perhaps suggests that these fragments may be part of a refuse deposit, disposed of as part of household rubbish that can be found around Mycenaean sites.

A few examples of rubbish deposits can be found in Mycenae; one underneath the Cyclopean Terrace Building (CTB) dated to LH IIIA1 (Wace, E. B. 1954) and in a narrow space along the

south house in the cult centre dated to LH IIB1. The first deposit contained 23 fragmented figurines alongside patches of plaster, ash, and domestic pottery (Wace, E. B. 1954). The second located in what looks to be a corridor contained 22 figurines separating the South house from the Megaron. Due to its layout, this space is thought to have been a type of drainage area rather than a room or corridor (Wardle, K. A. 1973). The sheer volume of sherds found within this space suggests that they were deposited multiple times after the drain was no longer in use. Since we cannot definitively place these fragments into a stratigraphy, we cannot know for sure the dating of these material culture. This is important as if these figurines were out of use in LHIIIB (1320BC) there would be evidence for cultic activities occurring before the erection and use of the buildings (around 1280BC).

These figurines were discarded with obsidian, mother of pearl fragments, a boar's tusk, and a re-used amphora handle (Wace, E. B. 1954). It could be argued that rubbish was deposited within these areas as they were considered unimportant to the Mycenaeans. However, the objects deposited alongside the figurines is visibly different between these two sites. While both sites may be classified as rubbish deposits, there is an apparent difference in the purpose of the sites and figurines. It is therefore possible that the figurines located in the Cult Centre were used for ritual purposes, whereas the figurines underneath the CTB may have just been from construction waste for the building. This is demonstrated by the fact this deposit appeared to be an unstructured assemblage of objects that were not re-usable.

While much of what has been discussed is inside the Citadel, there are also figurines that have been discovered outside the Citadel walls. An interesting deposit called the 'Atreus Bothros' was discovered in a rock cleft which extended north and south of the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus, it was then overlaid by broken and powdered rock (French, E. 1963). It was a sealed

deposit that contained a wide date range of material culture including figurines and evidence for the little-known period, LH III A. The deposit itself consisting nearly entirely of pottery was divided into two sections: North and South (French, E. 1964). The pottery consisted nearly entirely of sherds with only a small number of pots being restorable. This is thought to be a large household refuse deposit which has either fallen or been cleared from the houses nearby. The north section of this deposit contained 31 female figurines in total; 15 of which belonged to the Proto-Phi type with one being a definite Kourotrophos where the child can be seen in the arms of the woman, one example of a miniature Phi type and other remaining examples of these female figurines were fragmented with only the heads, stems or lower body intact, though these were distinguishable as either Proto- Phi or Phi A types. Other examples of figurines in this section of the deposit include two seated figures, 12 bovines, 10 chariot horses, a bird, a dog, 3 fragmentary horns and a leg (Richardson, C. M. 2001).

The south section of the same deposit contained 7 female figures: 4 were either stems or lower bodies, of a similar type to those of the North section and the remaining 3 were just heads, without polos and decorated similarly to those of the North section (French, E. 1964). Due to the same type of figurines being found through the two sections, it is likely that they were deposited at the same time before the cutting of the dromos which caused the division. Their disposal could be due to the further development of the Phi type rendering these unfit for purpose and to be disposed of. Alongside these, were 3 bovines and 1 chariot horse, the rest was fragmented pieces of leg and horn (French, E. 1964). One could argue that due to the nature of the other objects in the refuse (cooking pots, tools, fresco fragments and food refuse), it could be possible that these figurines were connected to the whole refuse in the form of a feasting ritual, deposited together when the ritual was over. Unfortunately, since it is a refuse deposit we are unable to see the original context of the figurines, and so, instead we have to

use this site as an indication of the number of figurines that may have been used within a domestic context.

There were also other smaller excavations that revealed other rubbish deposits; 5 figurines were discarded on the causeway (Wardle, K. A. 1973), 5 in the Prehistoric Cemetery East (Pakenham-Walsh, M. & A.J.B.W. 1955) and 20 figurines in Trench L against the Great Poros wall (French, E. 1969). Like with the deposit found underneath the Cyclopean Terrace, these three sites appear to contain an unstructured assemblage, so it is unlikely that they were ritually discarded. This is important as it demonstrates that even though many observations of figurines may propose that they held possible prestigious or religious value, much of the evidence implies that they may have held a more multi-purpose role within society. Essentially suggesting that if it was found necessary to dispose of them (because of breakage, ritual disposal or simply unneeded), that there was no debating - they were just discarded.

7.2 Prosymna

Excavated by Carl Blegen over three seasons between 1925-1928, it focused on tombs throughout Prosymna, with a total of 52 tombs being excavated (Blegen, C. W. 1937). However, from Blegen's examination of this site we can see that figurines were not found in all of the tombs (Shelton, K. S. 1996). According to Tzonou- Herbst (2002), out of the 52 tombs excavated there was only 22 that contained figurines. This suggests about 42% of tombs contain at least a figurine, so while not a main addition to an individual's grave goods, there may have been a large proportion of the population which believe they are something to be placed with the deceased.

One of the main tombs that has been excavated with figurines is tomb 33, containing two separate assemblages that are important. In the first assemblage there was only a single figurine, a complete Phi figure discovered under the lowest part of the wall blocking the stomion (Blegen, C. 1937: 105). The blocking wall had then been built on top of it suggesting that it may have been placed there as a purposeful deposit, possibly as an offering. The second assemblage discovered inside the chamber had the floor strewn with artefacts. All together there were 16 Phi figurines collected. Alongside cups, kylikes, jugs and roughly 200 blue glass beads (Blegen, C. 1937: 115). This collection of artefacts including those of Mycenaean origin may be suggestive of ritual activity such as libations within the tomb. This may demonstrate that figurines played a role in ritual activities but also that these ideologies have transmitted between Greece and Cyprus (Markou, A. 2016).

It should be noted that the figurines within this settlement are found in tombs and due to the large quantities of small vessels found alongside them are thought to be associated with children. According the Blegen (1937), a total of 19 burials contained juvenile remains and of these burials, 11 contained both skeletal remains and child-related objects (Wardle, D and Wardle, K. 2007: 29). It is still possible that even if there are no skeletal remains available, the placement of child-related objects may still suggest a child's burial as demonstrated by Tomb XXII at Prosymna. Here there was a striking amount of child related objects found: 4 animal figurines, a model chariot with horses, feeding bottles and a small stirrup jar but no juvenile bones were recovered (Wardle, D and Wardle. K 2007: 29). If figurines at Prosymna are associated with child burials, are figurines meant to have a more important role within the societies ideologies or were simply children's toys? Even if their role is unknown, they became a regular part of the Mycenaean repertoire in settlements, tombs and cult contexts (French, E. 1971), so we are not able to definitively argue either theory.

7.3 Tiryns

At Tiryns, there was a large collection of terracotta figurines discovered within the limits of the city (see figure 21). Some of these small shrines were located in the Lower Citadel, dating to the LH IIIC. The most distinguishable feature found at these shrines was the addition of a bench along one of the walls which had terracotta figurines placed on it (Kilian, K. 1981). The placement of the figurines suggests they played an important role within the shrines, enough to have been kept separate and up off the floor. There is also a deposit from the Upper Citadel which contained 7 examples of Tirynthian Argive figurines alongside standing females, mounted warriors and dancing figures. While these figurines are not presented the same way as those from the smaller shrines, there are 4 different types, which could be due to them being used in ritual. Especially since they are located in the Upper Citadel, most likely reserved for individuals that held status within the community. The presence of these figurines could demonstrate that there were pockets of cult activity during the Thirteenth century in both the Upper and Lower citadel.

While there are Mycenaean figurines at Tiryns, there are also roughly about 500 handmade terracotta figurines from later periods. This context again shows that there was continuation of female figurines beyond the Mycenaean period, suggesting they could have played a more multi-purpose role, which was involved in the household, funerary and religious spheres of society. Which would account for their periods of popularity over the Mycenaean period and beyond.

Other deposits can be found in parts of the Unterburg in wall chambers between the Curtain wall and small rooms such as Bau V and VI. Since much of this area is not fully excavated, it

is not possible to establish a clear picture of how the figurines may be distributed. However, from the structures that are cleared, there is evidence of figurines being clustered throughout. A particular site, Bau VI, includes Room 214 that contained a hearth alongside a large number of figurines, mainly bovine. A second important find within this area are pieces of a large wheel made female figure, missing the head and parts of the upper body; it is thought to resemble the 'Lady of Phylakopi'; a large wheel-made female figure from West Shrine in Phylakopi LHIIIA (Richardson, C.M. 2001: 48/ see figure 22). There is a courtyard also in association with Bau VI which also contains a large number of figurines scattered throughout. Around one hearth were 8 female figurines, 6 bovines, 2 chariots and a little to the south a further 3 more figurines (Richardson, C.M. 2001:47). In the southern end of the courtyard there is another cluster of 7 females and 8 bovines (Richardson, C.M. 2001:47). This area has a rich collection of figurines all in close proximity to hearths. This perhaps suggests that this site was used for cultic operations and was therefore important during the Late Helladic period.

8. Analysis of Mycenaean Figurines

The use and possible connotations behind gestures are important to examine when discussing figurines especially in contexts relating to Mycenae and Prosymna. Beginning with the Phi type, we see that there is little variation between the actions they demonstrate with the figurines' arms folded over the centre, covering the breasts (see figure 23). Recreating this gesture, the arms appear to rest in front of the stomach, emphasising a closed expression as though protecting one's body. This is reminiscent of the way expecting mothers cradle their stomachs during pregnancy as if to reassure and soothe themselves (also ensuring that their child is safe) and could potentially be seen as a reassuring gesture or protective symbol. This idea is supported by evidence of figurines holding what appears to be a small child in their arms (Budin, S. L 2011: 271). The addition of a child could therefore suggest a relationship with maternity or motherhood meaning the standard Phi typology could be interpreted using these same beliefs. If this is the case, we could then argue that these figurines are demonstrative of more maternal ideologies as the emphasis on breasts genders them as female.

Another possible explanation for this gesture is that it represents a ritual stance meant to be performed by a specific individual. Earlier variations of Phi figurines have more definition on the arms and hands which encircle the body with the hands held clasped together as though cradling each other. Instead of appearing to resemble a protective action, it appears more like a gesture used as part of some modern religions' meditational practices which provides the performer with a focal point upon which to concentrate, such as the prayer stance (closed hands gesture) used in Christianity (De Jorio, A. 2000). The main difference is that Phi figurines are depicted as standing and not crossed legged so it is possible that this was an action that occurred while moving. It could then be argued that this related to a form of ritual performance and was imitated to infer a meaning or intention. Performing this gesture creates a stiff posture, pulling

back the shoulders, something that is not considered a natural position and would be uncomfortable to retain for long periods. From this, we could infer that the figurines represent an individual performing this gesture, an idea that had a generally understood intention behind it. We could argue that this gesture was used in a similar way to the act of praying, however, it should be noted that these correlations are based upon modern acts of devotion. Therefore, in order to possibly determine any intention behind such actions it may be necessary to combine this analysis with the analysis of a figurine's contexts to provide evidence for their use within society.

The Psi gesture is another action widely evidenced by Mycenaean figurines. This form of gesture is depicted by the figurine having its arms out to the sides and raised above the head (see figure 24). We should note that this gesture is considered an open gesture, both in a sense that the body itself is open but also that it could be seen as more relaxed than the Phi gesture. It is therefore likely that the individual depicted is fully involved with the action or activity they are taking part in. Upon examining this gesture there is a resemblance to modern religious gestures which suggest worship or devotion, so it could have been intended to involuntarily invokes thoughts of reverence. Perhaps the intention of these figurines is to demonstrate reverence towards a known deity and invoke an emotional response from those who view them; a response that would only be clearly understood by the individuals who originally interacted with them. If this is the case, then the general function of such figurines may never be definitively understood as they instead relate to an individual's personal beliefs and differ with each situation they are placed in.

Unlike the Phi gesture, when the Psi gesture is recreated it feels more natural to hold one position and use no other movements. This modern recreation of the gestures would not be able

to accurately demonstrate what the Mycenaeans thought of each gesture but could suggest that individuals may only perform it for specific reasons, which could relate to and be supported by the context of such figurines. If the gesture were part of a ritual and was to continue for periods of time, placing it in figurine form would take away the necessity of human participation and allow for the ritual to be performed nonetheless. This could be supported by the fact that these figurines are occasionally found in tombs, where disturbance would have been unlikely, but they would still represent their intentions. However, figurines have also been found in waste deposits so contradict this possibility. It is still possible that the figurines in these instances served their purposes and thus been disposed of.

The emphasis of gestures on these figurines encourages scholars to speculate the meaning behind their use and function. When examining figurines, it is as though they are frozen in time and are able to perhaps demonstrate a precise moment or action. With this, our interpretations are based on what the gesture itself could possibly infer.

Whilst there appears to be a lack of variation in the gestures displayed by figurines (limited to mainly Psi, Phi, Tau) it could be argued that these particular gestures hold some importance and it is necessary they are preserved to convey this information (Steel, L. 2020: 7). Their importance may also be demonstrated by the variety of decorative features that cover each figurine. We may be able to infer that mass-produced objects would have more uniformity in decoration and is unlikely to have the same attention to detail that these figurines display. Alongside this, there is also the apparent uniformity that relates to the appearance of the figurines. While we can see that it has changed and developed over time, the figurines have continued to display specific gestures and retain an overall similar form (French, E. 1971). This may present the idea that meaning is exemplified through the gestures and represented by the

decoration. Whilst stylistic alterations could also reflect each crafters individual style. The differences that are available in many of these figurines suggests that while their shapes may have become standardised, their decorations set them apart; like the differences found in people. It is possible that they could be a representation of a specific individual or adhere to a specific dress code that sets them apart in society (Steel, L. 2020: 12). It is entirely possible that their role could simply be that of a child's toy, however their existence cannot be limited to this one explanation due to the varying contexts in which they can be found which suggests they are multifaceted (Pilali-Papasteriou, A. 1998: 30). Through their ability to incite an emotional response, it could be assumed that they are intended to cause a reaction each time they are viewed, people then interpret the information that is present and adjust their mannerism or behaviours to act accordingly.

There are many objects in modern society that we are able to understand as soon as we are presented with them, so our inability to understand the nature of these figurines may simply come from their discontinuation within society. Our ability to understand the meaning behind both the figurines and their gestures may also be influenced because every individual interprets social ques differently. Instead it is likely that there is no incorrect answer and that the interpretation and use of a figurine is solely down to personal preference, adjusting to suit an individual's needs. From this, we could then argue that figurines are a multifaceted object, whose agency is constantly change depending on the situation and personal belief. This then leads to the prospect of a universally accepted ideology, created through the expanding interconnectivity of the Eastern Mediterranean. Even though figurines can have varying interpretations, the underlying beliefs appear to remain the same throughout the different cultures.

The shape of the figurines should also be explored in providing insight into their potential use. The most significant feature is perhaps the lower half of the body with a tapering at the waist, ending down at a slight flair out on the feet. The way this is shaped gives the impression that this was intended to be held and carried by an individual to fulfil its intended function (Budin, S. 2011). The continuation of this throughout the Mycenaean period seems as though it was incorporated to make it easier for these objects to be carried. If it was a necessity to carry these objects, then we could assume it likely relates to their intended function. The ability to transport an object to different areas suggests its involvement with many different aspects of society or with the processional movement of people from one place to another. This can also be supported by the fact that this feature can be seen in a majority of the figurines available.

It appears that from their introduction into society figurines were mainly confined to use within settlement and refuse deposits, only becoming part of the funerary sphere by the 14th century (Insoll, T. 2017). This could be due to them being created with no specific purpose, so they were used any way deemed fit. Altering our views to see figurines as a disposable object rather than an important re-usable ritual artefact. However, this could instead be modified depending upon where the deposit is located, as it is possible that as different ideologies emerged over time, their roles also evolved, similar to the development in stylisation. As Psi and Phi figurines can be found in both settlement and tomb contexts during the LHIIIA/IIIB (Bintliff, J. 2012: 194) we are able to infer that as the Mycenaean culture expanded, they were used as much in daily life as they were in the afterlife (Olsen, B. A. 1998: 388).

The first deposit found within the Cult Centre at Mycenae is known as Room 3, it had a large deposit of around 25 terracotta figurines alongside a smaller number of other finds (Wardle, K. 1969:294; Tzouno-Herbst, N. 2002:118). The number of figurines available in this area

suggests that it was a quite commonly used deposit. If this was a rubbish deposit, then we could argue the value of these objects was not high enough to warrant saving. Unfortunately, this site appears to have been used over multiple periods, meaning much of the archaeology has been mixed together. It is not possible to clearly define either the stratigraphy or the specific periods of deposition. Because of the value placed upon some of these some objects in the deposit (with some made from potential valuable materials such as obsidian and boars' tusk, we can infer that the figurines also had some worth. It could be argued that their importance alongside a set of ideological beliefs meant they remained close to the area in which they were intended to be used, hence their deposition in the Cult Centre, an area thought to be associated with cultic activities (Morgan, L. 2005).

The multiple phases of deposition suggest some form of ritual activity as a waste deposit would have likely be opened and closed once filled. However, this area was consistently reused insinuating that it could be a significant site, hence why objects are deposited here. With this we could also assume that figurines hold some importance as they are deposited alongside other valuable objects. If they were just broken and had no importance we may simply find them scattered in different places to demonstrate people's indifference to these objects. Instead, they are concentrated in the one area, providing support for there being some importance and meaning behind their existence.

The deposits discussed previously, under the Cyclopean Terrace Building (CTB) and the Atreus Bothros seem to conform to what would be expected in a refuse context. Both appear to contain a mixture of materials including pottery, ash, plaster, other domestic objects, and figurines. It is possible that this deposit contains fragments of objects that were broken before placed in here as there are only two pottery vessels that are able to be completely reconstructed.

This would suggest that the intention behind this deposit was to remove these fragments from society perhaps showing that the relationship between society and figurines is one of indifference.

On the other hand, the Atreus Bothros is located close to the Treasury of Atreus and contained large amounts of pottery vessels thought to be household refuse. This could suggest that some sort of feasting ritual occurred, and this is the ritual deposition of such activity. This could be supported by the notion that the Treasury of Atreus is a tomb, leading to opinion that this deposit might be an offering (Wright, J. C. 2004: 85-88). If the figurines represent a belief or ritual action, then their appearance in a deposit associated with a tomb could infer ritual connotations to both the figurines and the deposit. The dating of these figurines consistently seems to be LHIIIA and they are mostly of Proto-phi types alongside a few zoomorphic figurines, chariots, and seated figures (Olsen, B.A. 1997: 386). This may suggest that the deposit was likely used when the Proto-Phi figurines were in circulation which began in LHII. At the point of this deposit it may be that the Proto-Phi were out of production, so they were placed here to be removed from circulation but possibly still continuing their function.

The previously discussed Room with the Idols found within the Cult Centre at Mycenae had the figurines segregated and concealed away, suggesting they were involved with ritual activities. However, the way that they have been removed from circulation and are confined to a room with only figurines perhaps suggests that they had an important meaning. Why would it be necessary to seal them away in an area supposedly associated with cult if they did not hold any importance?

The Prosymna tombs provide us with another context which suggests they are grave goods. It is also supporting the versatile nature of figurines as we can find them interacting with most aspects of society. Because of this, it is possible to assume that they were crafted with the intention to support ritual action or activity. If this is the case, what type of beliefs would affect both the living and the dead? Since we are able to see that out of the 52 tombs excavated only 22 contained figurines (Blegen, C. 1937), it is likely that the ideologies behind their creation were not held by everyone within the community. However, differences like this can be seen in societies today with people varying how they demonstrate their beliefs, so it is still possible that figurines are representations of such a belief system. Tomb 33 which had a single figurine hidden at the entrance away from the main assemblage (Shelton, K. S. 1996), also supports the notion that there was importance to their creation. Objects that are deposited near to entrance ways can normally be associated with the protection of the site (Gallou, C. 2005: 53). So, it is also possible to suggest that this was the intention of this figurine, to provide ritual protection for the deceased by displaying the Phi gesture.

Through the appearance of a large assemblage of mostly intact figurines from the Cult centre at Mycenae some might argue that figurines held some sort of prestigious value, however, this would depend on our view of what is wealth and prestige. The variety of different contexts in which figurines can be found indicate that social status was likely not a defining aspect of their use. If they were designed to suggest status, they would likely be found in a majority of wealthy tombs, but it is only in 17% of wealthy tombs from Mycenae and Prosymna that figurines are found (Tzonou-Herbst, I. N. 2002). If this is the case, it may be misleading to suggest that they were used as symbol of social status as there is simply not enough evidence to support this notion. Whilst we cannot say that figurines are definitely prestigious objects, they also cannot be classified as an item of little regard or poorly produced, or likely, as part of mass production.

This is because the figurines have been found alongside prestige objects such as the Amenhotep III inscribed faience plaques (Cline, E. 1990/ see figure 25) and ivory objects under the Megaron in the Cult Centre (Krzyszkowska, O. 2007: 51). The presence of elites also comes from administrative documents including Linear B tablets and sealings (Arena, E. 2015) and an apparent palatial religion sites like the Temple at Mycenae (Whittaker, H. 1997: 37). The fact that figurines are found in a variety of places, some of which impart a prestigious meaning, may suggest that individual analysis of figurines is necessary rather than as a collective. Depending upon the context examined, it is possible that all figurines held different values such as prestigious, every day or ritualistic, and conditional on what they were made for.

Although it appears that figurines were originally used as grave goods and confined to a select group of locations throughout the Mycenaean period, it has since been argued that these figurines, were also thrown into rubbish deposits and their main re-use was as temper in mudbrick (Cline, E. 2012: 217). This context changes how we view the figurines and their use in everyday life. Since approximately 1/5 of figurines that have been documented are from construction fills, it is likely they were given no regard and treated as re-usable rubble (Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2009). The objects have been discarded unceremoniously meaning that it is unlikely that ritual deposition was occurring. Being discarded or re-cycled demonstrated that the figurines had come to the end of their original use-life and alternative uses had been found for them. While some individuals may have kept figurines they no longer needed, this may not have always been the case. It is also possible that because figurines often appeared in main household activity areas like the kitchen or storerooms, that they may have been broken during daily activities and instead of being repaired they were simply thrown out. Therefore, whilst these figurines may have had a purpose prior to their breakage, it was nothing important enough to warrant repairing and instead they could just replace the figurine if necessary.

There is little to suggest that there was a common denominator in regard to the treatment of the terracotta figurines. Throughout the excavations that have taken place on the Mainland, it is possible to see that there are as many figurines found in rubbish deposits as there are in possible votive deposits (Wardle, K.A. & Wardle, D. 1998). There is nothing to deny the suggestion that through the multiplicity of contexts, we have both many meanings for the figurines and ways in which individuals interacted with them. We are also able to see that there were possible alterations in the significance of figurines throughout the Late Helladic, as there seems to be both ritual deposition and unstructured disposal. If this is the case, it demonstrates there were differing attitudes towards the function of these figurines and an indication of discontinuity of figurines among Mycenaean society. The phrase "one man's trash, is another's treasure", adapted from a poem written by the Roman philosopher Lucretius, is perhaps applicable to this notion.

From context analysis, it is likely that figurines performed a ritual role within society. Ritual objects are normally deposited in a controlled manner within. There are frequent association of figurines being found alongside different forms of drinking vessels in both settlement and tomb contexts. However, in a settlement context this could be due to people discarding rubbish. A tomb context is more likely to have had thought placed into what objects were deposited for the deceased, so drinking vessels are unlikely to have been placed unnecessarily. It is possible that they were intended to be involved with either a funerary ritual or offering meal for the deceased (Carstens, A. M. 2001). Due to the association between drinking and ritual practices it makes it all the more likely that there were ritual connotations for objects that were associated with these drinking vessels.

By analysing Mycenaean figurines separately, we are able to grasp a possible understanding of how they interacted with society whether that be as a funerary, household, or ritual object. By understanding their possible use and intention, we are able to see whether there are any parallels that can be made with Cypriot figurines. Similarities between the gestures, contexts and functions of figurines could demonstrate hybridisation occurring as interactions between cultures became more frequent. Any evidence of Mycenaean style figurines being created on Cyprus would further lend itself to hybridisation occurring.

9. Contexts of Figurines from Cyprus

Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines have been found in a variety of contexts across the Mediterranean including Greece, Egypt, and the Near East (Karageorghis, V. 2006). Whilst the concentration of figurines can vary depending on region, it is possible that their place within society was significant and that their function bridged these boundaries. Whilst the potential for similarities in both use and function may demonstrate that there was a resemblance in collective beliefs during the LBA, it is also possible that these similarities are coincidental. However, if we are able to witness the spread of a specific belief system, it may be possible to argue that these beliefs were introduced by interactions caused by population migrations during the LBA. Thus, reflecting the hybridisation of the Eastern Mediterranean during this period. It is also possible that to some extent these beliefs already existed as local ideologies, making the integration of outside populations easier and the adaptation of beliefs possible.

The examination of Cypriot contexts will include both local designs, local imitations, and potential Mycenaean imports. The examination of Cypriot figurines in conjunction with those from the Greek Mainland may allow us to better understand how figurines were used and in what settings they are likely to appear. Perhaps demonstrating whether it is possible that figurines from Cyprus eventually developed under a hybridised belief system which was influenced by outside cultures. The chronology used to form a comparable dating system is known as the Late Cypriot period which ranges from LC IA (1650-1575 BCE) to LC IIIC (1150-1050 BCE), providing a more specific timeline in which to examine sites and material culture.

9.1 Hala Sultan Tekke

Initially excavated by the Swedish Archaeological Mission during the 1970s it is now considered a major urban centre during the Late Bronze Age (UNESCO. 2016/ see figure 26). Located near the Larnaca Salt Lake, there is evidence of stone anchors and large amounts of Mycenaean pottery so it is possible that this centre once connected Cyprus to the rest of the Mediterranean (Astrom, P., Bailey, D.M and V, Karageorghis. 1976: iv; Steel, L. 2004:69-70). As a Late Bronze Age cemetery was excavated nearby, it is also thought to link to the urban centre and neighbouring villages (Fischer, P. M. 2011).

Terracotta figurines, most of which date to the Late Bronze Age, have high volumes of naked female bird-faced figurines evidenced here (Åström, P. 1991/ see figure 27). However, a British expedition led by B. Walters in 1897 uncovered Tomb 8 and discovered a large number of artefacts (Karageorghis, V. 1976). Alongside a figurine was gold jewellery, local ceramics, and Mycenaean pottery including stirrup jars, bowls, and flasks. A similar tomb known as 'Tomb 2' was excavated in 1976 by V. Karageorghis and also contained a female bird faced figurine. From both tombs, it can be argued that they were re-used frequently between the 15th and 13th centuries since around 250 objects were recovered alongside the figurine including; large quantities of Aegean pottery and local ceramics, faience, cylinder seals, gold and bronze jewellery (British Museum, 2017; Karageorghis, V. 1976: 71). There was a final fragment of a bird-shaped figurine found at the site (Area 8) which is part of the apparent city quarters, however, the context of this figurine is currently unknown as the material has consequently been left unpublished (Åström, P. 1991).

Throughout the excavation, the discovery of Mycenaean figurines suggests they were objects desired by either Mycenaean settlers or the native population. A commodity that was either specifically imported or brought in with other personal possessions as individuals migrated. Both these suggest there was an importance to these figurines as they have travelled from Greece to Cyprus, which is unnecessary when local craftsmen are also making figurines.

Area 23 contained tombs that were excavated between 1974 and 1975. Three of which contained figurines, the most notable in Tomb 20 (Åström, P.et al. 1983: 147). Much of the roof has collapsed leaving it impossible to find which direction it was situated due to destruction by agricultural activities. Even so, it is possible to establish that looters had already raided the tomb during antiquity leaving only loose earth, boulders, remnants of bone and charcoal (Åström, P. 1983: 145). The discovery of a fragment belonging to a terracotta figurine (13.97cm long and 2.54-3.175 cm wide) is thought to be the upper body of the figurine with a solid, cylindrical body, tapering downwards and covered by a lustrous, pinkish-buff slip (Åström, P. 1983: 147). The decoration consists of red lines hatched on both sides of the upper body and a horizontal line separating the upper from lower body. Alongside this figurine were other fragments relating to LBA funerary contexts including pot sherds which were found throughout the area and constitute the largest proportion of material culture. This enables us to see the large variety of pottery deposited within this tomb which ranges from white-slip, red lustrous ware, plain and base-ring ware. Some of the pottery sherds are classified as Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB and providing a possible dating for the figurine in question (Åström, P. 1983: 146). Since this pottery corresponds to sherds of Late Cypriot IIA-C dating, we may also be able to infer that this was the main period of use for the tomb. This demonstrates that both Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery was in circulation together during this time. Perhaps

suggesting either high levels of trade activity or individual movements occurring which might reflect cultural interaction and the resulting hybridisation.

To the East of Area 23 (the tombs), is area 22. This appears to be a settlement context rather than an industrial area with the surface finds including sherds and a stone slab. Excavating down to layer 'two' revealed a building complex containing at least 15 rooms (Åström, P. 1983: 1). The stratification of layer '1' mainly consisted of loose clay-silt mixed with stones. It is probable that ploughing likely disturbed the layer and the material culture was thus bought to the surface layer. Significantly, this layer contained a partial female Mycenaean figurine with only the lower part from the chest remaining. Consisting of a conical hollow stem decorated with 4 red vertical bands from breast to navel, this example was made from a pink-colour clay (Åström, P. 1983: 147). Examinations conducted on site suggest it belonged to a Mycenaean Hollow Psi branch of figurines. Alongside this discovery was another female figurine, an example of plain white ware. This figurine was rectangular in shape and it was suggested by excavators that it is likely of Syrian or Phoenician origins with other finds including: a bronze chisel, a piece of worked limestone and a terracotta wall bracket. (Åström, P. 1983: 124).

Layer '2' of the strata contained large amounts of pottery sherds, mostly in fragmentary form including a piece that demonstrates a Mycenaean bull leaper motif. Alongside this there was also a sherd deposit discovered in the Eastern part of the site under a pile of small stones (Öbrink, U. 1979: 2). Containing approximately 860 sherds (mostly of Mycenaean, Base-ring and White slip ware) the actual proportions cannot be confirmed due to the simplicity of data available (Öbrink, U. 1979: 2). Similar materials to the trial trench mentioned previously can also be seen in Room '6' of Area 22 whereby the smaller finds included: several pieces of copper slag, yellow ochre, and mother of pearl (Öbrink, U. 1979: 5). The main figurine found

in layer 2 was the lower part of a female Mycenaean figurine, with a solid, cylindrical based figure which spread at the base, made of buff clay and a slip (although only decorated with a group of three vertical bands). In total, 7 figurines were discovered within this area, and out of that number, 5 of these were of Mycenaean origin (Öbrink, U. 1979: 47). Due to the quantity of sherds (perhaps belonging to separate vessels), and the high percentage of Mycenaean to Cypriot figurines available, we can infer that a large Mycenaean presence was residing in the area during this time. From this, we may also assume that the influence of Mycenaean culture was evident because of repeated interaction with the local population, supporting the notion that cultural hybridisation was occurring as a result of interconnectivity.

Area '6' plays an important role as it provides us with imported Mycenaean figurines. The focus begins with Trench Ecd – e 395-9, where the stratigraphy of this trench demonstrates significant quantities of Mycenaean IIIB sherds throughout from layers 1-6, demonstrating wares likely to have been in circulation during this period (Åström. P. 1983: 61. One of the objects collected alongside the sherds from this area was a female terracotta figurine. Designed with a cylindrical body, conical base, and pierced underneath, it is reasonable to suggest that this figurine was once attached to another object (Åström, P. 1983: 69). Like with Mycenaean figurines, the decoration consists of a red slip with vertical strokes over the upper body and horizontal strokes from the waist down which is suggestive of clothing similar to those depicted by the Mycenaeans. Some of the style deviates from original Mycenaean examples through its modelling and material, so this is thought to be a Cypriote imitation of a Mycenaean Phi-shaped figurine.

Area '6' was later renamed by the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition as City Quarter 1 and was moved 15m southwards (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). This excavation demonstrates that

occupation occurred in multiple phases between the 13/12th century with the layer just below the colluvial soil (1A) divided into two sections. Due to an apparent feature being within the layer (thought to resemble a retaining wall) it only contained Late Cypriot pithoi fragments including red-on-black ware fragments and the leg of a figurine of white painted ware (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). The other part of this stratum known as Stratum 1B contained two compounds separated by an open space which is assumed to be a courtyard. There are similar finds in both compounds consisting of pottery sherds such as white painted wheel-made ware, Canaanite jars, coarse wares and cooking pots (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). Stratum 2 demonstrates an earlier phase of occupation and contained substantial remains of ash in 3 different places alongside a stone platform (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). The finds from this space include lower part of a jug of white painted wheel-made ware, a sphendonoid hollow case weight filled with 30g lead, a decorated wall bracket and the head of a bull figurine of white painted ware (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017: 58). The vast array of materials found here alongside the evidence for organic remains perhaps suggest that this area could have potentially contained a merchant's stall. The fragment of figurine could have been part of the commodities and got broken, rendering it useless to the original owner.

In addition to Area '6', another site was opened during 2013 to the West known as Area '6' West (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014). Three test trenches were established known as trenches 13b, 14b and 15a. The most relevant, 14b explored rectangular man-made structures that had been indicated by ground penetrating radar (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014). Of its 5m x 5m dimensions, only the upper most layers were explored and contained three partly preserved Late Bronze Age figurines (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014: 77). Using stratigraphy, it is possible to associate all three objects with the Late Cypriote IIB-C or Late Helladic IIIA-B. Since they appear to have been intentionally positioned close together, we could also infer that

they had use lives that coincided with each other, thus presenting the possibility that they may have been used at the same time, interacting with each other in some way. The first discovered was the head of an anthropomorphic figurine on the border between stratum 1 and the loose colluvial soil. Crafted from handmade Base-ring ware with only about 3cm preserved, the top of the head is flat, and the nose is long with a beak-like appearance (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014: 93). The ears are only partly preserved with the right broken off and only half of the left remaining. From these indicators, we can imply that this figurine was a 'bird-faced' female figurine like those excavated in the tombs of Area 23. These types of figurine usually date to approximately the Late Cypriote II period when it also becomes possible to see more variation in types of figurines appearing into the material culture.

The second fragment was the partial head and neck of a figurine excavated in Stratum 1. The figurine is an example of handmade base ring ware, which had a light brown slip instead. The fragment itself was 3.3 cm high with a width of 2.7cm (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014: 93). Unlike the previous figurine, this fragment was decorated in a bichrome pattern: its eyebrows and the top of the head are painted black while the mouth is red, and the neck has 2 red and black bands possibly to be symbolic of jewellery (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014). Thought to be of local origin, this fragment belongs to a group of figurines that are normally classified as females (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014).

The final fragment is the head and neck of an animal figurine and was also found in Stratum 1. Unlike the other 2 examples, it is made of a fine light red fabric with a light red-yellow slip (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2014: 94). Although only a partial fragment, it still measures in at 3.8cm long and 2.2cm high, with red to brown lines on the left side of the fragment. It is also likely that this figure belonged to an imported Mycenaean group figurine (Fischer, P.M. &.

Bürge, T. 2014: 94). This assumption is based upon the decoration which is only found on the left side of the neck as the right side is where it would have been likely attached to the group.

Whilst these figurines can be found across Cyprus, the likelihood of them occurring in the same trench, in similar stratigraphy, could be considered unlikely. Instead it could be suggested that the intended function of these three figurines were so similar that they could be used together, hence their deposition together. It could also be possible that they held some significance for the area, especially since they were contained within a man-made structure. Further excavation and analysis of this trench would be needed to determine any additional correlation.

Near City Quarter 1 is a 1ha large plateau that was first excavated during the 1950s. Here workers discovered rich undisturbed tombs in a channel which were not reported to the local authorities (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). The archaeology from these tombs was likely lost to the black market, however, the 1960s erosion exposed two more tombs that were properly excavated in 1968 (Karageorghis, V. 1976). The pottery sherds in both tombs establish that Mycenaean IIIA pottery is the most common alongside scatterings of other pottery dating to LH IIIB/LC IIC suggesting that its main use was towards the end of Late Cypriote I, the 13th century (Karageorghis, V. et al 1976). Tomb 1 likely dates to LC IIB whilst Tomb 2 dates from the LC IB period. These sherds infer that Tomb 2 was in fact likely built first but was continuously re-used throughout the LC period. However, Tomb 2 can be viewed as more useful because of the discovery of a bird-faced figurine. Made from base-ring II ware, this bird-faced figurine can be compared to other figurines dating to the LBA. So as to examine whether it is possible that figurines could have been influenced by social interactions across the Eastern Mediterranean and thus are the result of cultural hybridisation.

Unfortunately, the area today has been used for intensive farming meaning much of the archaeological remains have either destroyed or brought to the surface (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017). Field surveying to collect the remaining material led to the discovery of other such anomalies including wells and an offering pit. By excavating the offering pit, the concentration of sherds increased dramatically. Alongside these sherds were at least 60 fragmented vessels (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017: 53). Initial impressions of the sherd material suggest that these vessels were intentionally broken before deposition, demonstrating that the intention of this pit possibly relates to the nearby tombs and thus ritual activities. With this, it should be noted that some of these vessels were cut to form cups before deposition, providing another way in which individuals may have used them.

The most important find for this study, intermingled with the other sherd pieces was a Mycenaean Psi- figurine partially preserved with only the lower body/ right half of the upper body and right arm remaining (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017: 60, 66). There was also a Mycenaean horse figurine, part of a chariot group, located together with the Psi figurine (Fischer, P.M. &. Bürge, T. 2017: 60). Since these figurines could be found alongside complete vessels in the same pit it is likely that they were also placed into deposition during the pit's use period. Therefore, the appearance of Mycenaean figurines on Cyprus in such contexts infers that they were part of a ritual activity, thus promoting the idea of cultural interactions through their incorporation within Cypriot material culture (Knox, D. 2017). This incorporation could be the first signs of hybridisation occurring as the figurines represent a parallel ideology which is understood by everyone.

From the sheer volume of sherds deposited here, we can perhaps envision a society that was a centre for trading where the transference and merging of ideologies was an infinite possibility.

If large amounts of people from different cultures begin to interact and then share aspects of their own culture through the use of gestures, goods, or conversations, we then begin to see the emergence of cultural hybridisation. Repetition inadvertently blends one individual's ideology into another, eventually developing a new universal ideology: one that has aspects of both cultures but can be wholly understood by everyone.

9.2 Sinda

The name 'Sinda' is mentioned as early as 1903 by Eugen Oberhummer and is located in the Mesaoria Plains, about 20 miles East of Nicosia. To the West of this village is a ravine known to contain a large number of 'holes'. These holes are actually the remains of Bronze Age chamber tombs that have likely been plundered in both ancient and modern times (Gjerstad, E. 1926). The North side of the village contains numerous tombs belonging to the Hellenistic and Roman times, however, the main period of excavation was during the 1940s where the remains of a Bronze Age town was discovered (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C. M. 2003: 26).

The remains of a wall enclosing part of the site (forming an irregular polygon) suggests that this could have been a large settlement during its occupancy similar to that Hala Sultan Tekke (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 26). The significant aspects of this site relate to the North-West area which contains the largest remaining part of the city wall, and the South-West part of the town area. The three main areas of excavation are centred on: the North-West corner of the town, the main gate with adjoining buildings, and an area in the South-West part of the town where house walls have been uncovered.

The North-Western corner of the town also displays evidence of clandestine digging and has revealed interesting finds such as Mycenaean, leading to the assumption that a tomb was in the vicinity (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 29). Tomb 1, situated in the Eastern part of the North-West area, falls outside the excavation grid so the material culture from this section remains largely undiscovered (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 35). However, surveying indicates that the tomb is of a kidney shape, formed from two chambers with a long dromos that slopes southwards with three rock-cut steps leading into the tomb. The dromos appears divided in half by a solid cross-wall which gives the impression of two entrances (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 35). Due to the relation of the wall to the rest of the dromos, it is likely a secondary feature added after the tomb was completed. Further excavations revealed the two chambers (South and East) were likely more self-contained than originally believed as they had their own entrances due to the dividing wall. This later addition of the tomb suggests that its original purpose changes and the alterations were a result of its new use.

The South Chamber is smaller in size and on a lower level in comparison to the Eastern chamber, however, the back of the South Chamber also contained a niche with a bench that had a trough-like cavity cut into it (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 36). The passageway contained a well that was carved in the centre as if to provide water access for the visitors of both chambers and a shaft cut directly above it which led to the surface. Even though the original purpose of this tomb may have changed, the situation of a water source in close proximity to these chambers suggests it was an important aspect of these tombs. With the trough-like cavity found in the South Chamber, one could argue that these features were involved with incorporating water into the tombs or ritual activities. If this is the case, then there maybe evidence for the use of libations and ritual action in this chamber. The addition of the well suggest that while the tomb was active during the first occupation of the town possibly

as a refuse pit, it is likely that the tomb was constructed before the town. This would also provide an answer as to why there is a tomb found within a settlement context inside the city walls.

With little evidence of burial remains within the tomb, the examination of the strata also denies its incorporation into the funerary sphere with the pottery sherds being typical of fill contexts. Alongside these pottery sherds, an accumulation of ashes can be found in the lowest part of the dromos in both stratum V and I, where they continue below and beyond the dividing wall and a collection of terracotta figurines including a Mycenaean Psi figurine (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C. M. 2003: 38, 118-119). The available Mycenaean pottery sherds alongside this figurine correspond to Mycenaean IIIC wares (LCIII), which suggests that the figurine also dates to this period. However, Mycenaean sherds in both the south and east chambers of tomb are also thought to be from Mycenaean IIIB wares (LCII). With this, even though we can assume from the surrounding material that the figurine would be LHIIIC, there is the possibility that it may be IIIB, having been re-used and deposited later on.

Even though there are other figurine fragments in the tomb, the most relevant is the Psi figurine found in the Dromos wall. This female figure was discovered only partially preserved with just the upper part of the body remaining. It was crafted with a flat disc shaped body and a long cylindrical neck that merges into a face. The headdress has a pronounced rise in the centre unlike most psi figurines which have a flat headdress. The figurine had a light buff slip all over with horizontal and vertical lines all over the torso and headdress that portrayed a jacket like dress, a necklace and hair and head decorations (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C. M. 2003: 118). It is possible that this is actually a Cypriot imitation of a Mycenaean figurine and the differing headdress is to demonstrate its hybridised nature. In the excavation report, no comments were

made about the fabric used for this figurine or many of the others, apart from one which is base ring ware. So, we are unable to properly compare the fabric used on this figurine against that of the Greek Psi figurines.

The other figurines found in the Dromos wall include quadrupeds (horse or donkey fragments), bull figurines (remnants of the bull's head, body or partial legs), and broken boat figurines where it is possible to see traces of another attached object (Furumark, A. & Adelman, C.M. 2003: 119). While it has not been stated where these figurines may have originated, they hold large similarities to those that can be found in mainland Greece especially when comparing the reddish-brown decorations. With this, it is possible that they were crafted in Cyprus by either a crafter that was Mycenaean or could imitate Mycenaean works. Perhaps meaning that they are another demonstration of a hybridised style that was becoming more common during the Late Bronze Age.

10. Analysis of Cypriot Figurines

Much like the Mycenaean figurines, the gestures demonstrated by Cypriot figurines are the focal point for this analysis. The Chalcolithic figurines mostly portray a single posture with the legs slightly bent and the arms spread out parallel to the ground (see figure 28). There are many notions that emerge, one being that these figurines demonstrate a sitting or crouching individual. These different ideas could interact together and demonstrate an action that was important to society, one that can be performed without the accompaniment of human actors to accomplish a necessary activity (Merker, G. S. 2000). These gestures can be described as being open. They appear to demonstrate both movement and involvement with the performance even if the medium itself is rigid. It is possible that this stylisation occurred because of the material or mediums used, so the difficulty of working and shaping stone may have influence the end product. However, it could also be argued that the variety of sizes found in these figurines and the small intricate details added that a lot of time and effort went into their production, something that would only occurred if they were deemed important to society.

The plank figurines perhaps reflect another major development in style during this period. It is necessary to briefly analyse these figurines as they represent an aspect of Cyprus' terracotta corpus and demonstrate how figurines have developed, possibly highlighting aspects which may relate to cultural hybridisation in the LBA. Many of these types of figurine have no indication of arms which might suggest that the arms are not an aspect relevant to their intended meaning, instead they are possibly held flush against the body (see figure 29). If this is the case, we could then infer these types of figurines are standing straight, stationary. This would support the argument made by Knox (2012), and the decoration supports, that these figurines are placed into the earth to keep them upright. By giving them the possibility of staying upright

through insertion into the ground, they remained in a single place, meaning that there must have been some intention behind their placement, otherwise they may have been created to have a more transportable figure (Knox, D. K. 2012). It appears there is a division in the typologies with some being designed with their arms over the stomach while others are seen to be holding a child. This could be used to represent different stages of a cycle. When further analysed, these gestures appear to portray a closed off individual or even a self-protective behaviour. The examples of plank figurines with children perhaps hold them close to the body as if for protection or insinuating they should be kept safe. If we assume that these types of figurines are all representing women and those carrying a child are a stage, we could argue that the figurines with their hands over their stomach are representations of pregnant women. By applying both the ideas of protection and pregnancy to these figurines then we could argue that they are intended to provide protection to both children and their pregnant mothers (Merrillees, R.S. 1980: 184). The ability to have these figurines standing anywhere suggests that they had versatile contexts. From this, we may be able to see that these figurines could be an early demonstration of some form of fertility cult, intended to provide protection for the family unit (Morris, D. 1985: 161-62). It may also be possible to see that the characteristics of the face such as the prominent nose and some of the ears with the holes pierced through maybe a precursor to the late Cypriot bird faced figurines. We may be able to see how later crafters were influenced by their predecessors to incorporate certain ideologies and aspects into their work.

Even though the LBA figurines are the focal point of this work, it is necessary to examine earlier examples to understand what changes have occurred over time. For instance, the bird faced figurines are a prominent part of Cypriot material culture with their distinctive facial features setting them apart from other figurines in the Eastern Mediterranean. When these figurines are examined, we can see there are a few varieties of different gestures available (see

figure 30, 31, & 32). The first gesture is the arms crossed over the stomach. There are then examples of a child being held, with the child clearly defined as a separate addition to the initial figure. The third example sees the arms rounded out to the side and the hands placed upon the hips and the final variation of figurine is where the hands are placed underneath the breasts as though they are being cupped (see figure 32). Since the variety of gestures on these figurines is limited to only a few, it is possible to argue that these particular actions reflect an ideology important to society during this period.

One feature that is consistent across all of these figurines is the lower half of the body: the legs and feet are kept together only being distinguished by incised lines that shape each leg. By having the legs kept together it gives the appearance that these figurines are stood still, stationary, while performing these actions. If we compare this to other figurines or statues such as those from Egypt, they often have one leg placed slightly ahead to suggest bodily movement or walking (see figure 33). If it could be found that these figurines demonstrate ritual actions, then it could also be argued that there is either little or no movement occurring alongside. It is also possible that the figurines themselves are demonstrations of an ideology, requiring no human intervention to pass along either a specific meaning or ritual activity. Likening them to some sort of charm where they are placed into relevant contexts to support an individual's emotional and spiritual need, this would then likely result in their meaning changing depending upon the individual's needs.

If we further examine the gestures available, we see that much like the previous examples, they appear to portray closed gestures, keeping the hands close to the body as if for protection. However, the figurine with the hands on the hips seems to demonstrate a more defiant gesture, with this more open type gesture it may be possible to understand that there are various

meanings behind these artefacts. If their meaning were limited to one specific ideology, it would be likely that we would see less variations in the gestures available and they would be either closed or open gestures not both.

These assemblages also provide us with examples of Mycenaean figurines, suggesting that either Mycenaeans were living in the vicinity or that these figurines had been imported. It is likely there was some importance placed on these figurines in order to spend time acquiring one, whether it be based on personal or societal belief. The availability of these figurines in the Cypriot archaeological record suggests that they played a more substantial role within society and cannot be relegated to an object that is simply disposed of after use. The possibility that these figurines were introduced to Cyprus via trade perhaps suggests that they were not just simply objects, but items of importance. With merchants exploiting a desire for exotic wares in order to financially benefit. This possibility of figurines being procured through trade is also supported by their presence at sites associated with maritime activity such as Hala Sultan Tekke. Although rare there are also indications of local Cypriot imitations of Mycenaean figurines. These provide evidence for them being required by individuals within Cyprus.

It is easy to see that Mycenaean pottery was an integral part of LCII material culture, but the number of possible Mycenaean imports is incredibly small, so we cannot conclusively determine the reason behind their appearance within Cypriot contexts (van Wijngaarden. 2002: 190). Nevertheless, there must have been individuals in these societies that considered these figurines significant. If these figurines were to some extent considered unimportant, then you could assume there would be little to no evidence obtainable on Cyprus. There is the possibility that the archaeological record that we see today is only a small proportion of what it originally was (Stockhammer, P.W. 2015). The increasing interconnectivity of the Mediterranean during

the LBA, allowing trade further afield, could mean that the Aegean once contained an abundance of Cypriot materials. With this, it is possible to infer that there were more Mycenaean figurines in circulation during the LBA than remains today. If there were an increase in the number of figurines found it would alter the way in which they are analysed. With the evidence we have, they are seen to only be owned by a few individuals on Cyprus which would insinuate that they were considered a personal object.

Since there have been figurines found in tomb contexts it is possible to suggest that they were incorporated as either a grave offering or part of a funerary ritual. The first group of tombs from Area 23 have signs of continued re-use as many of the objects are not in their original strata. However, the large quantities of Mycenaean IIIA/B pottery allow us to narrow down the dating of the figurines to this period. This dating suggests that the figurines were introduced to Cyprus before the collapse of the Mycenaean period, when it is likely there was an influx of people from the Aegean; it also coincides with their circulation on the Mainland (Steel, L. 2013). This may allow us to understand that these figurines were more popular than can be seen in the archaeological record and that their expansion on to Cyprus shows their importance to a Mycenaean individual. These contexts are important as they demonstrate either significant trading activity between the Aegean and Cyprus or large population of Mycenaeans were settling here which would be able to influence the local ideologies (Teissier, B. 1984: 97; Papadimitriou, N. 2015).

The tombs on the opposite side of Hala Sultan Tekke provide possible evidence for ritual activities, with pottery sherds dating these tombs to the late 13th century, with use as early as the 12th century (Fischer, P. M. & Bürge, T. 2017). There were likely considerable amounts of international activity during these periods that would justify the substantial quantities of

pottery available. Though it is important to note that this area provides us with both Cypriot and Mycenaean figurines. Although these examples were deposited in separate tombs, the similarities between the assemblages are suggestive of these figurines holding similar beliefs and functions within the society. Since there is an abundance of drinking vessels alongside these figurines, it is possible that libation or other ritual activities occurred. The sherds deposited amount to 60 completed vessels, if they were simply broken and discarded it is unlikely we would be able to restore any vessels (Fischer, P.M. & Bürge, T. 2017: 61). Since there is also a figurine located alongside these vessels, we could assume that their intended purposes relate. An indication of ritual activity would suggest that figurines may also play a role with such activities (Fischer, P. M. & Bürge, T. 2017: 65, 74, 84). The idea of a universal or transferable ideology could mean that these figurines could be used interchangeably by both the Cypriots and Mycenaeans as they could represent similar ideologies. However, their physical differences could simply be down to cultural differences and be an attempt to represent their respective cultures. This could also explain why we find both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines in burial contexts on the same site.

The excavation report from Area 22 suggests that figurines are widespread across the site. The collection of several figurines from the same trench suggests they may have had similar purpose (ritual, commerce, or decoration). The high quality of some available sherds in this deposit such as those with bull leaping imagery is suggestive of more prestigious objects. According to scholars, this type of imagery is commonly associated with authority or enjoyed only by royalty (Kyle, D. G. 2014). This allows us to infer that figurines hold value as they can be found alongside prestigious objects. But also, that the owner of such objects may have held a higher standing within the community, again suggesting that figurines may not have been a common object. The Mycenaean figurine found in this context was a hollow Psi type, whose

production period was from 1300 to 1190BC. From this, we can then assume it was transported to Cyprus during this period: before the development of the Late Psi types and the collapse of the Mycenaean world. This could perhaps demonstrate the hybridisation of cultures occurring throughout the Bronze Age due to Mycenaeans choosing to settle in Cyprus. The possible Syrian/Phoenician figurine also demonstrates that this interaction was not limited to the Aegean (Öbrink, U. 1979: 46). It could then be argued that these figurines present both similar meanings and emotional responses in the individuals interacting with them. The presence of a Levantine figurine suggests that future research could expand to incorporate more parts of the Mediterranean to investigate how far potential hybridisation could be taken.

An important observation is that all figurines discovered in Area 22 have been uncovered alongside large quantities of pottery. A figurine deposited alongside approximately 860 sherd pieces of pottery cannot be thought of as random (Öbrink, U. 1979: 2). Whether we are able to understand an individual's reasoning or not, there is still the reality that if figurines played no role or held no value within society, we would likely be unable to find them in so many different deposits. Owing to the large number of sherds, it is reasonable to assume that the figurines deposition relates to the deposition of the pottery. In total, this area revealed 7 figurines, higher than most areas so it could be argued that there was a greater requirement for figurines here. The quantity of figurines in this area could be likened to that of the 'Room with the Idols' at Mycenae, offering the potential of ritual actions to this group. Since it is thought to be a settlement, this would sway the function of a figurine towards daily life use, and because they are solid, ceramic objects, we could also argue that they could be more associated with a charm. This would also account for figurines being found in a variety of different contexts as they became objects that people could imbued with different ideologies or intention. The fact that 5 of these figurines were of Mycenaean origin may signify that the inhabitants of this area were

predominantly Mycenaean. Consequently, the presence of figurines with different origins, presents the possibility of fusion between different cultures through their incorporation of material culture.

We are able to see this merging of ideologies through some of the figurines that can be found at Hala Sultan Tekke. The example from Trench Ecd – e 395-9 where the Mycenaean figurine is thought to attached to a vessel, is comparable to other vessels found in Cyprus during the LBA. Since this is the case, it is not implausible to suggest that replicas of Mycenaean figurines may have also been attached to vessels at some point. If this particular example could be proved to be of Cypriot origin, then we would be able to see that there are two different cultures mixing together to form this object. It is possible that this could have been more aimed at a Mycenaean citizen living in Cyprus. By demonstrating the hybridisation of ideologies from two cultures, it may be used by both to represent one specific meaning that was replicated within each individual culture. Since it is thought to resemble a Phi shaped figurine, it could be argued that the unknown meaning behind the gesture is the reason for its imitation. If it were an ideology also understood by Cypriot citizens, this could make it more likely to be replicated, and in turn removed the divide between the different cultures as they coexisted in Cyprus. However, it is possible that it was only demonstrated through certain objects.

Alongside this example of a possible imitation, the example of a figurine found in Sinda perhaps suggests there could have been a market for imitation copies of Mycenaean type figurines (Furumark,A & Adelman, C.M. 2003; Astrom, P et al. 1983) Since the headdress of this figurine differs to what we find on most Mainland figurines, we might argue that this was created with the intention of being used by a local Cypriot or a Mycenaean migrant, someone who found aspects of both cultures applicable to their lives and chose to merge the ideologies.

It is also sometimes argued that figurines are thought to be representations of the individuals who own them (Orphanides, A.G. 2001). If this is the case, it could be argued that this figurine maybe intended to represent a Mycenaean individual who has adopted Cypriot ideologies, creating a new typology of figurines that is a hybridisation of both cultures. Unfortunately, this unique figurine has been overlooked by the excavation report, further examination could have provided possible proof of how cultures influenced each other. As interactions began occurring on a regular basis, the cultures would have become more hybridised.

The lack of both Cypriot and Mycenaean evidence for figurines infers that they are objects which are required for specific purposes, and are not needed for everyday life,. While we have a lack of figurine availability here, close by in trench 14b there are 3 figurines located close together in a single stratum. This would suggest they likely interacted with each other during their use or life. The possibility of them interacting together is made more interesting by the fact that they are three different figurines including a Cypriot bird faced figurine and a Mycenaean figurine. You would assume that in order to perform a specific function, then each of these figurines would have needed to already be related to that function. If this is the case, then we could argue that the function of these figurines was already very similar and that their original meaning did not need altering to be deposited together.

Whilst this collection of three figurines (bird-faced figurine, Mycenaean figurines and local female figurine) found together might cast doubt upon the idea of cultural hybridisation, it is important to remember that expanding trade routes and interconnectivity brought about the presence of Mycenaean material culture on Cyprus. While these figurines may have already promoted similar ideologies, it is only through the interactions between people would this have come to light and presented the possibility of them being deposited together. This does not

provide evidence for the cultural hybridisation of material culture between Greece and Cyprus, but it does provide support for interactions between these two cultures and in turn the likely transference of ideologies.

11. Mycenaean and Cypriot Figurines: A Comparison

In order to further this analysis, it is necessary to compare the findings of both the Mycenaean and Cypriot bird-faced figurines. By compiling this data together, we may be able to establish a set of similarities and differences that exist between the two data sets, thus making it possible to perceive whether the assimilation of ideologies from both of these cultures occurred.

By comparing the catalogue of gestures demonstrated by these figurines, it appears that the bodily actions displayed by figurines are restricted to a set few variations. By using such a limited amount of gestures, it may be possible to infer that these gestures were chosen to demonstrate meaning within the society. It is also possible that these gestures would likely have been understood by communities on both Greece and Cyprus. Whilst similarities between the figurines from both Greece and Cyprus could also be used to infer that parallel intentions were imbued onto the figurines, thus presenting the possibility that figurines were not confined to their original origin and could be manipulated by either Mycenaeans or Cypriot citizens to fulfil a specific purpose.

The most comparable gesture attested by both the Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines is the arms circle round to be placed onto either the hips or the stomach. However, the main visual discrepancy is that the Phi figurine has a more simplified shape whereas Cypriot examples have their arms clearly defined. With this, we can assume that the limbs of the Phi figures adhere to the edge of the form and conclude at the apex of the legs whilst the Cypriot figurines instead portray a more realistic representation of the anthropomorphic form, one where we can clearly define the placement of the hands. Since both figurines have comparable forms, it is possible to infer that the Phi and Cypriot figures were intended to display similar gestures. If accepted,

this form of figurine from two separate cultures could suggest that their meaning can also be comparable. Since the human body is able to create a vast amount of bodily actions, the likelihood that these gestures were used by different cultures in the same medium could be considered unlikely. However, this may suggest that there is a universal knowledge that is understood throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, incorporated into each society and is demonstrated through these figurines.

Since early Phi figurines are better defined on the arms, it is important to recognise that these examples are comparable to both the bird-faced figurines and the flat headed figures. These Cypriot figurines appear to hold their hands either over the stomach or slightly under the breasts as if signifying an action or intending to deliver a message to those who observe these figurines. With this, we can infer that there must have been some importance imbued onto these gestures in order for them to be incorporated into the coroplasts. Since we are able to see some possible variation of these gestures on both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines, we may be able to establish that a group of bodily actions have implications within each society and could be understood throughout the Eastern Mediterranean via a universal understanding. The development of Mycenaean figurines into a more simplified form possibly demonstrates the need for clearly defined gestures dwindled as the overall form was able to portray the intended meaning efficiently.

Another comparable aspect of Cypriot figurines is the beak-like addition to the face. If we then compare these to the Mycenaean figurines, it is possible to attest the similarities in appearance since these figurines have also been crafted with intentional emphasis on the nose. Since this characteristic is found on figurines from both Greece and Cyprus, can it be argued that a common ideology is the foundation for the parallels found in figurine forms within the Eastern

Mediterranean? Another possibility is that the bird-like properties seen on both the Cypriot and Mycenaean figurines could potentially relate to ritual activities and be representative of either masks worn by a participant or, potentially, an animal anthropomorphised (Kristiansen, K and Rowlands, M. 2005: 125). Either interpretations suggest that these figurines performed some form of role within society and their similarities express the possibility that these figurines held comparable roles in both Greece and Cyprus.

One of the most distinguishable gestures demonstrated by the Mycenaean Psi figurines is the 'upraised arms' gesture. It is thought that this bodily action invokes an emotional response to those who observe it, so these figurines could encompass aspects of societal beliefs. Replication of this gesture in another culture's materiality could therefore demonstrate either the existence of already similar ideologies or the merging with existing ones. When examining LC material culture, there is no evidence to suggest that this Psi gesture is commonly used. We can find possible examples of this gesture on figurines from the Chalcolithic and the MC which may infer an existing similarity within beliefs that is not demonstrated during the LC. Using these earlier periods as a basis in which to see the development of Cypriot figurines through to the LC presents better scope to witness any changes which could be linked to cultural hybridisation. Since the Chalcolithic figurines have their arms extended outwards as if parallel to the ground, it is possible that this is an early variation of the upraised arms gesture, perhaps designed to incorporate and overcome the difficulty that came from shaping the stone. In the MC, we observe this gesture displayed on a figurine of a mother and child. Normally, the child would be held in the mother's arm, however, in this instance, we see the child positioned lying down on the mother's lap while her hands are raised. From this gesture (the raised arms of the mother figure), we could infer that this has meaning for society and was intentional, otherwise we would likely see the generic form. Another interesting factor is that the facial shape/ the

way its ears are formed bear resemblance to the later bird-faced figurines and thus it is possible that this is the transitional phase between the plank figurines and the bird-faced figures. This could also reflect the possibility that the 'upraised arms' gesture may have been demonstrated by Late Cypriot figurines. However, because of the lack of material evidence from this period we are unable to provide physical evidence for this notion.

Although this gesture is not clearly defined by the Cypriot figurines created during the LC, we cannot completely rule out its existence or possible meaning. The existence of Mycenaean Psi figurines and possible imitations on Cyprus suggest that this gesture was, to some extent, incorporated into societies iconography even if this was instigated by the interactions between Cyprus and the Aegean. With this, the limited availability of these figurines may suggest that it had been a fledgling ideology and was not assumed by the majority of Cyprus. This could be supported by the fact that Mycenaean figurines are mostly confined to the South-East of the island (an area that likely contained the largest Mycenaean population), this would then be the area in which was most exposed to new incoming ideologies. It is likely that further examination would be required to investigate whether figurines with the upraised arms became more integrated within society after the end of the Bronze Age. If this does occur, it may then be possible to witness the establishment of this gesture during the LC period, before becoming predominant both in the material culture and a fundamental part of the societal beliefs. This could also be influenced by a possible influx of Mycenaean citizens after the collapse of Greece, bringing with them ideologies that would become amalgamated with the local beliefs.

Both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines can be found in comparable contexts, perhaps inferring that they are employed by individuals to function in similar ways. For instance, tomb contexts provide a possible interpretation for figurines and their role within the funerary sphere. In both

cultures' figurines are not included with every inhumation. With this, we are able to assume that they are not a general funerary object (Tzonou-Herbst, I.N. 2009: 6). However, they are common enough to suggest that some individuals chose to have them placed within tombs. Since individuals likely chose to have them included in specific burials it is also possible to assume that figurines may have also interacted with these individuals during life. This may then explain why the quantity of figurines remaining is limited. Nevertheless, the fact that we are able to find figurines in tomb contexts should suggest that they were considered necessary to these individuals.

The discovery of figurines within settlement contexts in both Cypriot and Mycenaean cultures poses further questions. It could be thought that if figurines were merely supposed to be funerary objects, then we would only find them in such contexts, however, this is not the case. This could infer that their possible functions became diluted or that these figurines are instead multifaceted objects that can be entangled with many different aspects of society. By being included into settlement context we can argue that these figurines were involved with daily activities as they would come into contact with this aspect of society most frequently. This is contradictory to the previous analysis which places them in tomb contexts as these figurines would have been removed from circulation and sealed away to retain the specific function they provided for the deceased. A continuous re-use in daily life would suggest that the figurines either held a function that was applicable for the routine of daily life or their function was changeable depending on what an individual deemed necessary.

Another comparable context to be considered is rubbish deposits which perhaps suggests figurines had a disposable nature. This notion presents us with the idea that importance could be linked to usefulness. If figurines are performing a function, then they are required by the

individual and once that function has concluded, they become unnecessary. If we follow this notion, it would be assumed that if all figurines had the same function and level of importance, then we would likely find them all within similar contexts. Since there are different contexts, the likely reason for deposition in such different environments could be related to personal attachment to the figurines. Some individuals may have a more emotional response to their figurine as opposed to others, meaning that even after their intended function has ended, these figurines may not be disposed of and instead become an heirloom.

Since figurines can be found in both settlement and rubbish contexts, we can argue there were similarities in the way people interacted with figurines in both Greece and Cyprus. Therefore, if there was no similarity in the way these figurines were used, why would they be found within similar contexts in each culture? If this is the case, then it is possible to suggest that a similarity in ideologies can be demonstrated through the use of these contexts (i.e. settlements and rubbish deposits). Whilst it is possible cultural hybridisation can be demonstrated by these contexts, we are also presented with the idea that similar ideologies had already existed within these cultures. This concept would allow interaction, exchange, and integration to occur more naturally meaning the transference of ideologies would be subtle (such as Mycenaean figurines being introduced into Cypriot material culture).

12. Conclusions

From the evidence gathered in researching this thesis it is now possible to apply the existence of connections between figurines found on Cyprus and those from Mainland Greece. These correlations can be exemplified by the use of gestures, form, and the contexts in which the figurines were discovered. By analysing these similarities, it is then possible to suggest that the relationships between Greece and Cyprus developed, becoming more interconnected throughout the LBA. The possibility of intertwining beliefs within each society thus brings forth the idea of cultural hybridisation and its demonstration in the material culture through gesture.

The gestures displayed by the figurines examined are confined to a limited variety. Whilst this limitation still occurs in regards to both the Mycenaean and Cypriot figures, when we sample the gestures of a single set of figurines (e.g. the Mycenaeans) we could argue that there is some significance behind their creation as the identity of the figurine and use of gestures remains consistent throughout the Mycenaean period. If there were no implications intended, the variation of gestures and forms available would likely be much higher, removing the trait that makes them distinct in the archaeological record. Developing this notion further is the data provided by Cypriot figurines as it is possible to argue that parallels can be made through similarities in regard to the features and gestures exhibited by these figurines. From this, we can also infer that there could have been correlations the function and meaning of such figurines.

Similarities between Greek and Cypriot figurines cannot simply be coincidental. If these similarities are not the result of cultural hybridisation and thus the merging of ideologies, could

it then be explained merely as human nature? The addition of these specific gestures could suggest that figurines become agents in their own right in order to circulate an intention or piece of information, they become an intermediary between both humans and their beliefs.

The appearance of Mycenaean figurines in Cyprus can be used as evidence for the integration of Mycenaeans within Cypriot society. This demonstrates that there were instances of interactions between these two cultures that may have been more prolonged than commercial exchanges, which can be supported through the possible existence of local imitation figurines. Alongside the substantial quantities of Mycenaean pottery, the possibility of a large Mycenaean population in this area possibly suggests that these two cultures were interacting on a daily basis. The probability of foreign information not influencing an individual's ideologies is doubtful as if you are exposed to certain principles on a daily basis they would likely influence and merge with an individual's own ideologies. These imitation figurines could be hybridisation taking physical form and being understood by both the Mycenaean and the Cypriot cultures. However, in supporting this argument we would need to widen the scope and timeframe of this study. Perhaps by exploring the use of figurines during the Iron Age, it may then be possible to provide a clearer image of how hybridised the Eastern Mediterranean became over a larger timeframe. By examining evidence only from the Late Bronze Age, it reflects activities or actions of this time which may only contain fledgling examples of hybridisation occurring.

It also appears figurines at both Greece and Cyprus are normally discovered in one of these different contexts: tombs, settlement, sanctuary, or waste. This is suggestive of figurines having specific uses, if they were a general item then they would likely be found within most contexts. The examination of waste contexts does not provide us with information about the function of

figurines, however, it does help clarify whether these objects could have been considered important. This is still difficult to ascertain as the contexts examined provide conflicting evidence to suggest that they were both important and disposable. It could then be argued that figurines were considered both important for their respective function but once that was completed, they could be disposed of. It is possible personal fondness that permits them to continue being in use and become found in other contexts. These contexts provide the possibility of intention surrounding figurines ranging from: ritual offering, statues representing people or even toys. Unfortunately, there is no distinctly defining aspects that allow us to definitively understand the function of figurines. Nonetheless, these contexts demonstrate that figurines were likely a multifaceted objects that could perform in many aspects of society (including: ritual, domestic, funerary), adhering to an individual's requirements when deemed necessary. Since we are also able to find contexts in Cyprus that held both Mycenaean and Cypriot figurines, it is also possible to see that they were created with the same intentions and function, this would explain manifestation of them in similar contexts. Therefore, through the examination of function it may be possible to understand why specific gestures were incorporated within Cypriot and Mycenaean figurines, allowing us to better comprehend how these ideas could be transferred and understood between these cultures.

With any type of archaeological research, the main issue arises when we cannot know for certain whether the contexts available to us are the true representation of how they originally were. There are many different factors which could disrupt any sites examined, so the interpretation we are able to form may still not an accurate illustration of what these figurines meant to a society. It is entirely possible that the material representation left for us to examine is nowhere near as abundant as it once was. Likely destroyed over time, we are possibly missing artefacts that would help provide a clearer view of how different cultures developed and

integrated alongside one another. As our image of the Late Bronze Age or the purpose of figurines continues to expand, further examination could allow us to understand the complexity of international relationships and the potential hybridisation that may occur from such interactions.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that female anthropomorphic figurines are able to demonstrate cultural hybridisation of the Eastern Mediterranean through the examination of form, decoration, and gestures. Whilst this research could be further explored and tested through expanding the assemblage of figurines studied (such as figurines from Crete and the Levant), it may be possible to provide a data set that would cover the majority of the Eastern Mediterranean. This would provide a greater scope from which to create a grounded argument in support of these assumptions. With this, it may become possible to identify whether similarities between gesture, form and decoration occur, perhaps suggesting a possibly widespread ideology or international style throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

13. Bibliography

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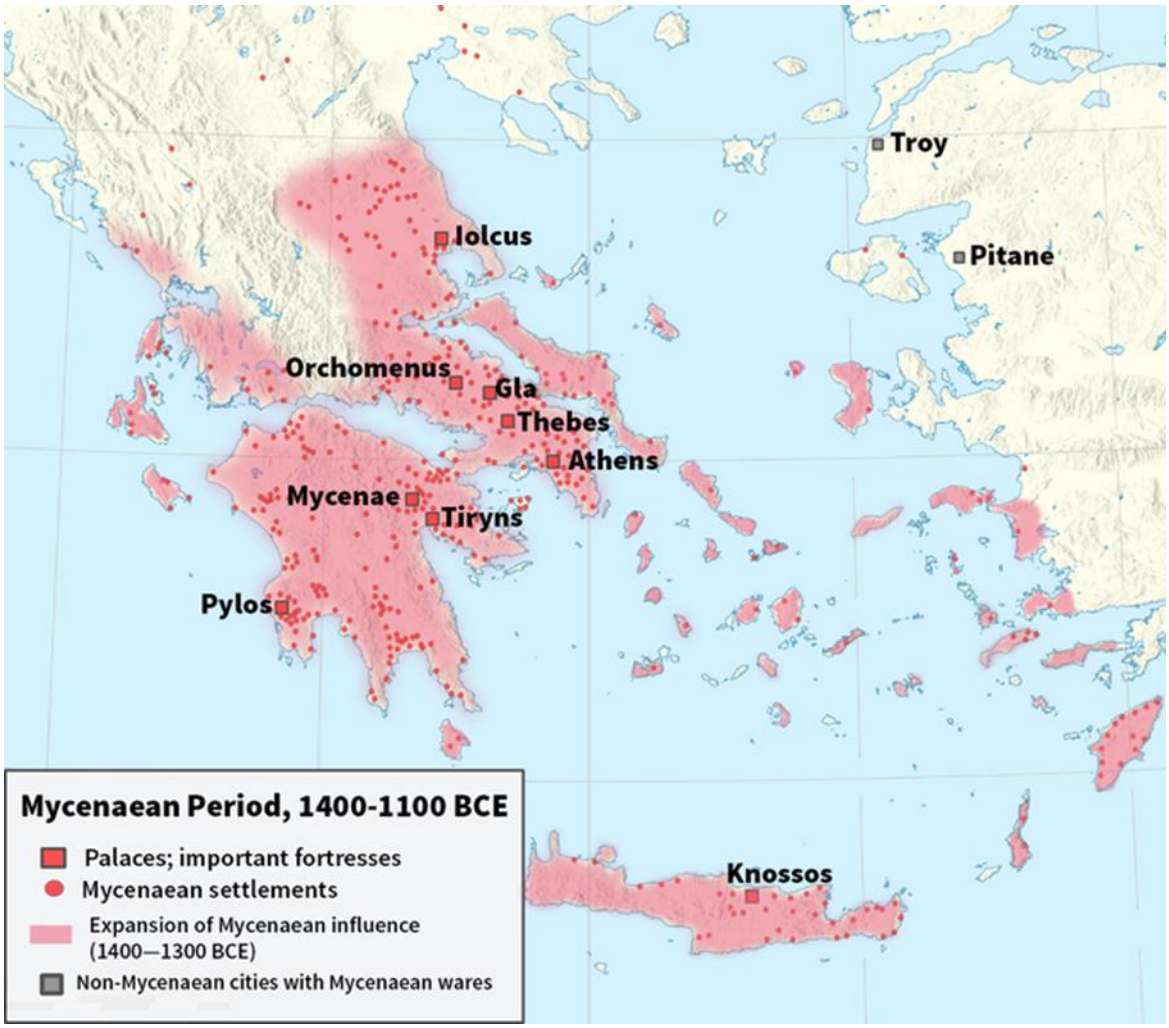

Figure 1: Map of the Greek Mainland, highlighting the main Mycenaean centres.

Source: Alexikoua. 2017. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, Εκδοτική Αθηνών, τ. Α' χάρτες σε σελ. 263-265, σελ. 290, 292-293

Figure 2: Map of Cyprus during the Bronze Age

Source: British Museum.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/ancient_cyprus_british_museum/enkomi/introduction.aspx.

Figure 3: Depiction of Square sailed vessel.
Source: Whitewright, J. 2017. Ancient Depictions as a Source for Sails and Rigging.

Figure 4: Relief demonstrating a Sprit-sail
Source: Whitewright, J. 2017. Ancient Depictions as a Source for Sails and Rigging.

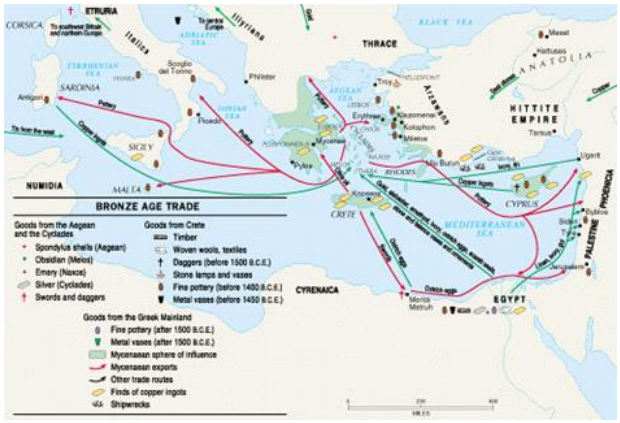

Figure 5: Map of Bronze Age trade routes.

Source: http://wps.ablongman.com/wps/media/objects/419/429222/thumbs/ch03_053.html. Date accessed: 24th September 2019.

Figure 6: Terracotta Statuette of a man, likely a warrior.

Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession number: 74.51.1614

Figure 7: The Horned Ingot God from Enkomi.

Source: A.B. Knapp (courtesy Cyprus Museum) https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Ingot-God-statuette-from-enkomi-nicosia-Cyprus-museum-French-mission-1963-no-1616b_fig9_270136615

Figure 8: Collection of Psi and Phi figurines; they have elongated lower bodies that could represent their ability to be held.
Source: Joy of Museums.
https://joyofmuseums.com/museums/europe/greece-museums/athens-museums/benaki-museum-athens/mycenaean-female-figurines-of-phi-and-psi-type/

Figure 9: My attempt at creating a Chalcolithic figurine.

Source: Danielle Collingwood. 2019.

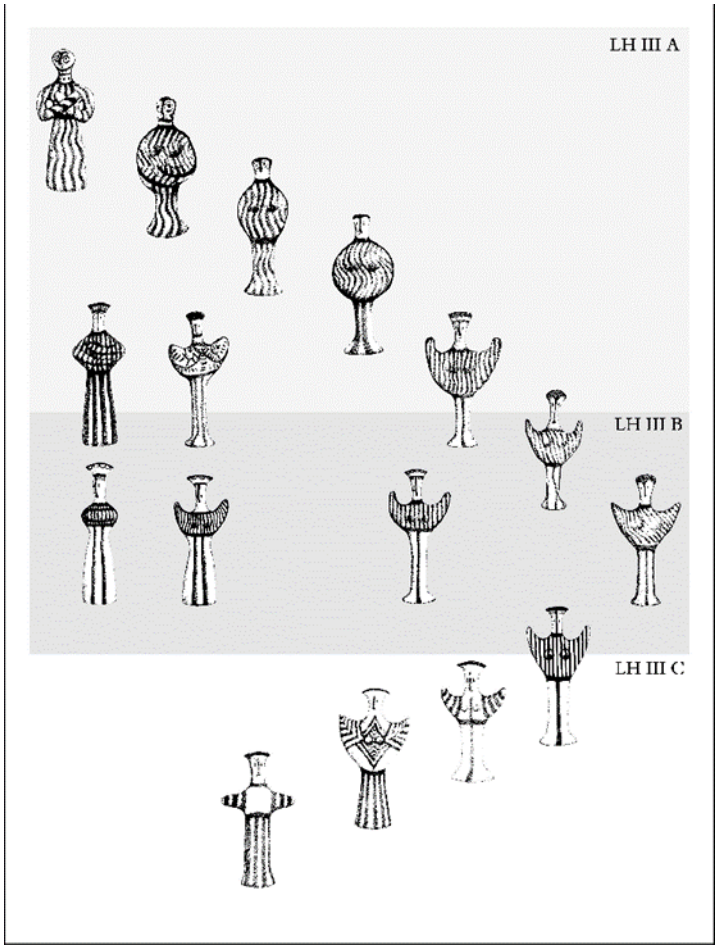

Figure 10: Development of Mycenaean Figurines throughout the Late Helladic.

Source: French, E. 1971. The development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 66: pp. 101-187.

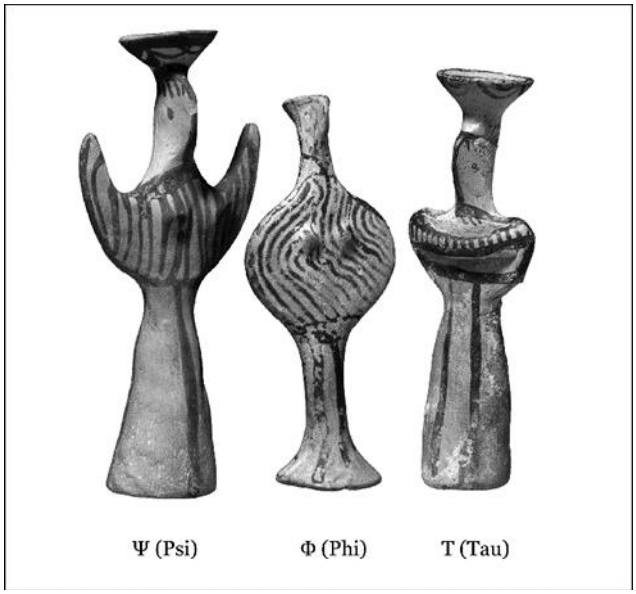

Figure 11: The three main identifiable Mycenaean figurine types: Phi, Psi and Tau.

Source: Vianello, A (2010). *Problems of Identity for Mycenaean Figurines.* From the British Museum.

Figure 12: Proto-Phi figurines

Source: Museum of Cycladic Art. https://cycladic.gr/en/exhibit/kp0009-ginaikio-idolio-tipou-proto-f. Accessed: 24th September 2019.

Figure 13: Figurine of unknown provenance from the National Museum at Athens.

Source: French, E. (1971). 'The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines', The Annual of the British School at Athens, 66, pp.110.

Figure 14: Greek Phi figurine

Source: Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin. Accession number: 79.23.55

Figure 15: Mycenaean Phi B figurines.
Source: Museum of Fine Art, Boston.

Figure 16: Mycenaean Psi type.

Source: Waldemar Deonna. 2019.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psi_and_phi_type_figurine#/media/File:Psi-shaped_figurine-MAHG_011625-P6130493-gradient.jpg.

Figure 17: Letters of the Alphabet in Sign Language

Source: https://www.disabled-world.com/disability/types/hearing/communication/

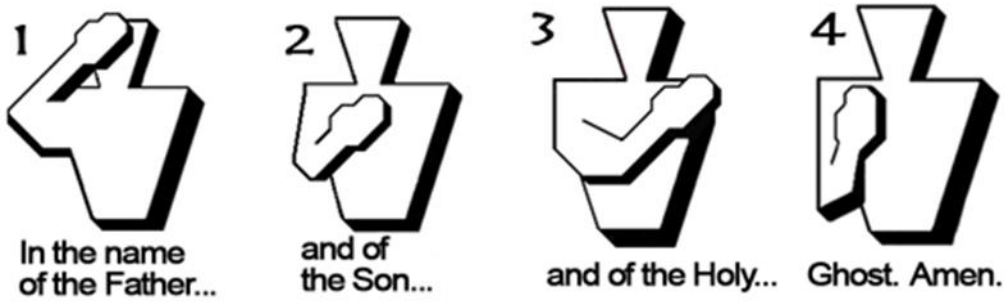

Figure 18: Demonstration of the Cross Gesture
Source: https://fuelforpilgrims.wordpress.com/tag/liturgical-gestures/

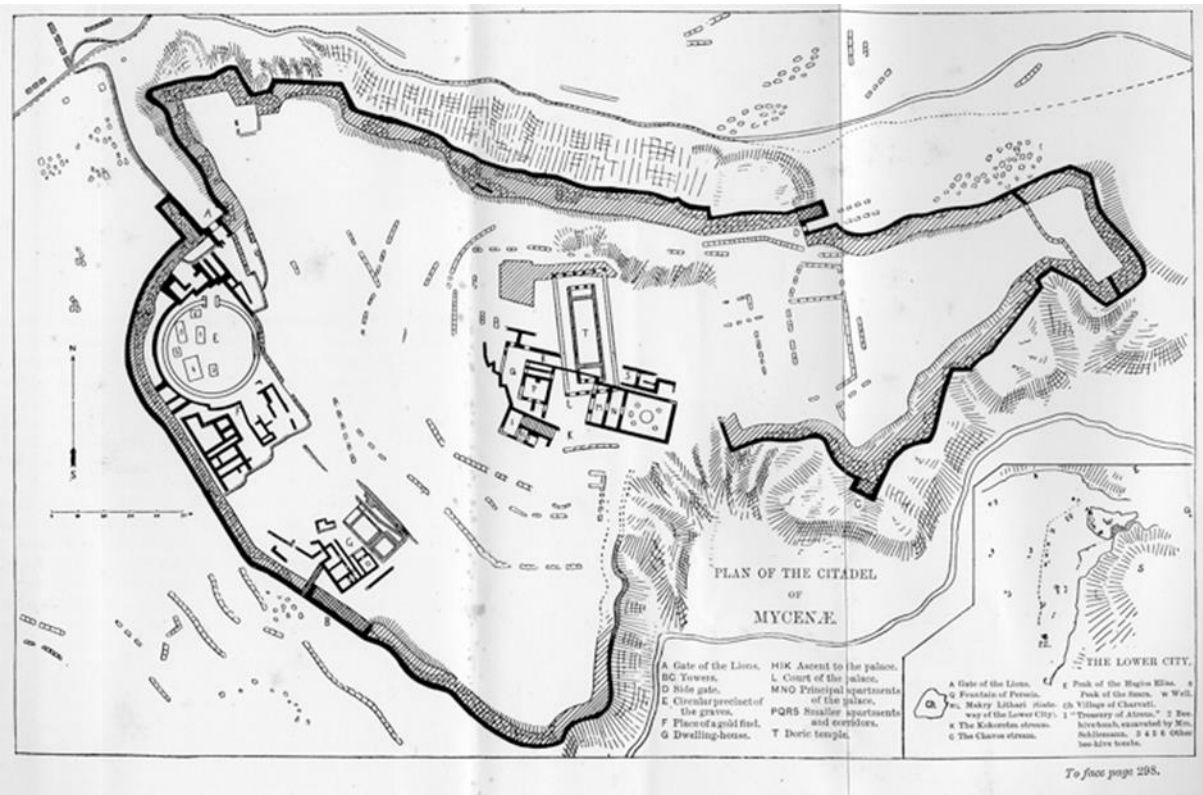

Figure 19: Map of Mycenae

Source: Brown University. https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Joukowsky_Institute/courses/greekpast/4797.html

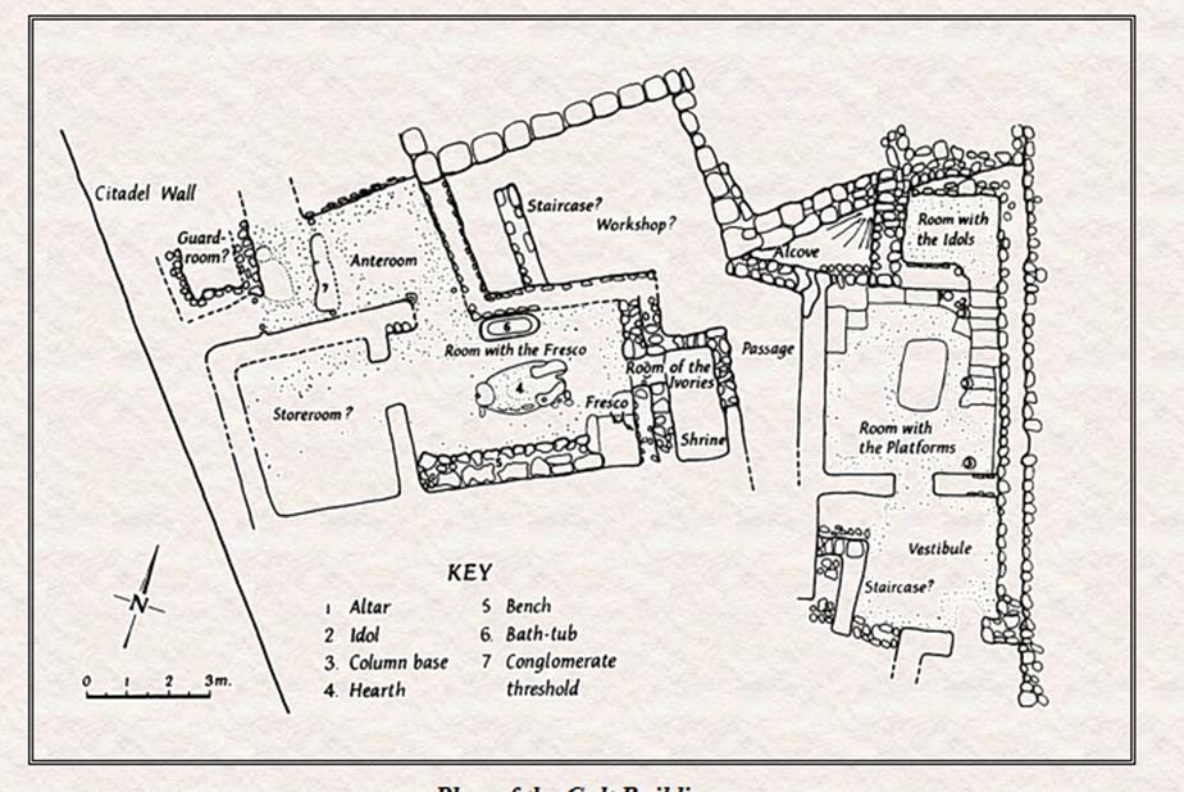

Figure 20: Plan of the Cult Centre at Mycenae

Source: Odyssey, Adventures in Archaeology. https://www.odysseyadventures.ca/articles/mycenae/article_mycenae04-cultcentre.html

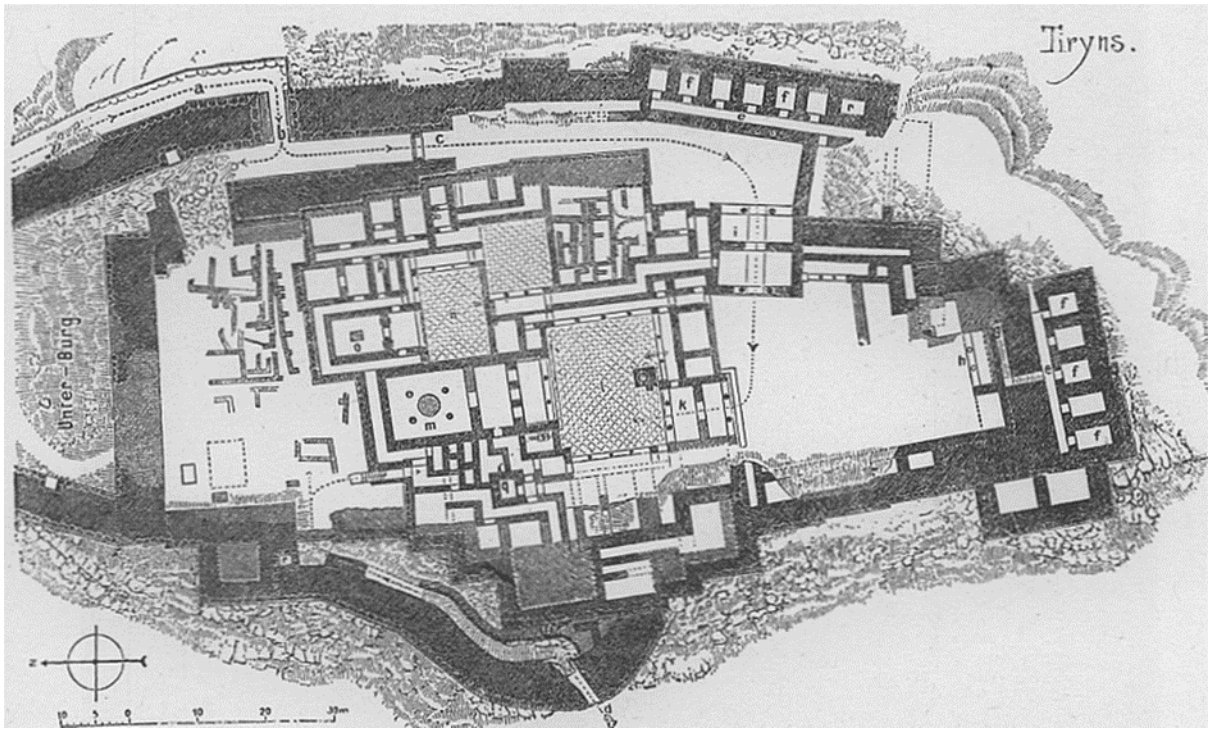

Figure 21: Map of Tiryns

Source: Gustav Ebe. Selbst eingescannt aus Gustav Ebe: Kunstgeschichte des Altertums, Düsseldorf, 1895, S. 219.

Figure 22: The Lady of Phylakopi

Source:
Melos, Archaeological Museum 653.
Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ARF.

Figure 23: Psi figurine with no breasts visible.

Source: Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.
Accession Number:
259007

Figure 24: Mycenaean Psi figurine.

Source: http://scalar.usc.edu/works/ancient-art/cerminara-ancient-greek-figurines ,http://scalar.usc.edu/works/ancient-art/media/psi.jpg

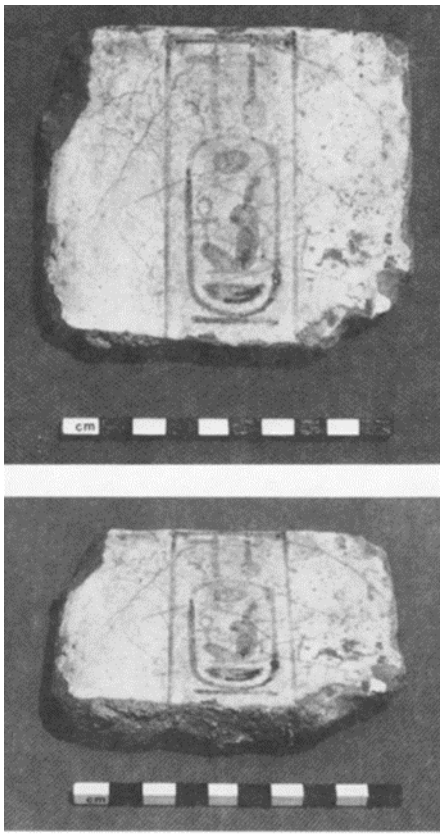

Figure 25: Amenhotep III faience plaque from Mycenae.

Source: Cline, E. (1990). An unpublished Amenhotep III Faience Plaque from Mycenae. *Journal of the American Oriental Society 110(2). pp. 200-212.*

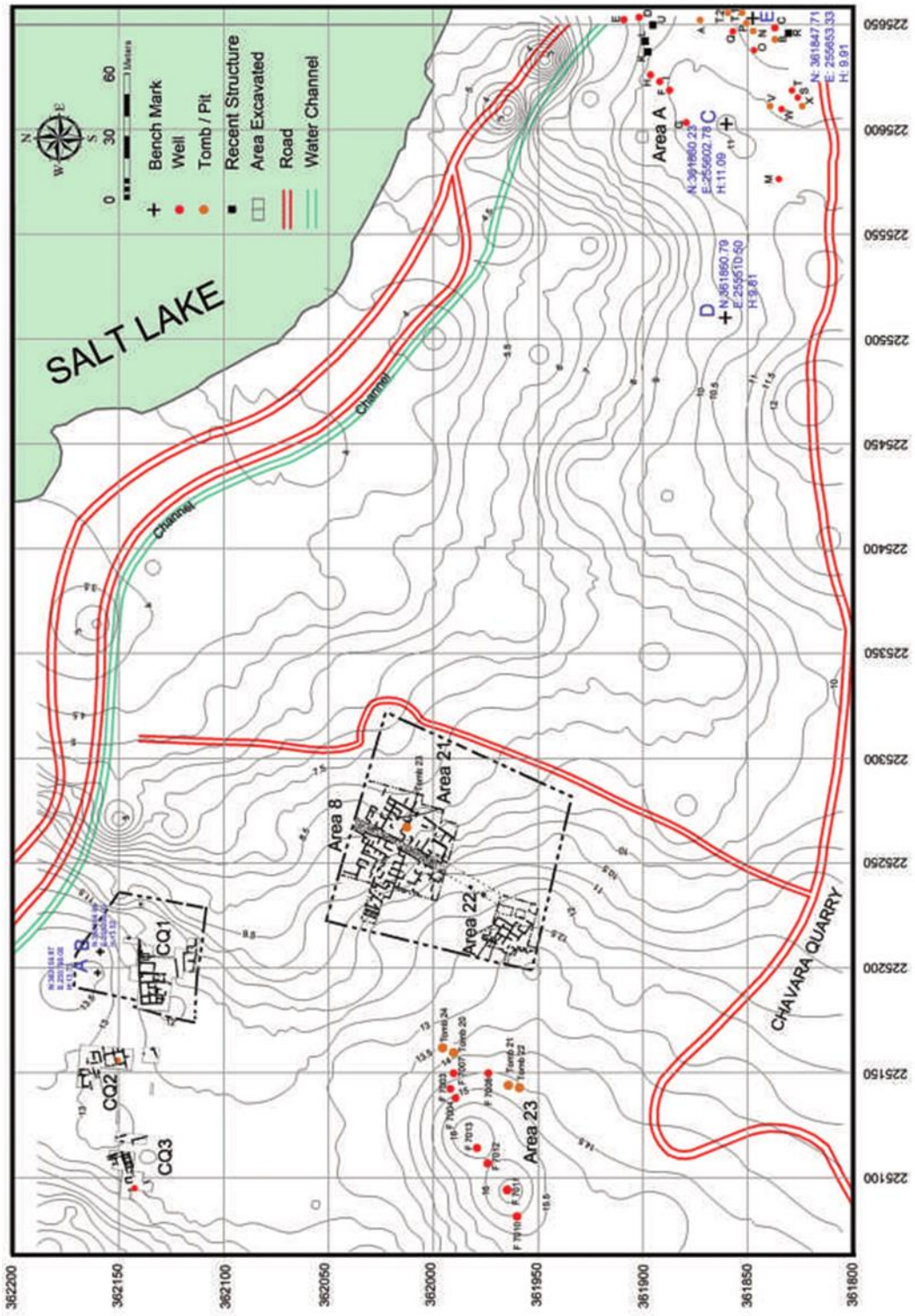

Figure 26: Map of Hala Sultan Tekke

Source: Fischer, P.M. 2017. Tombs and Offering Pits at the Late Bronze Age Metropolis of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus

Figure 27: Cypriot Bird faced Figurine.

Source: ©British Museum

Figure 28: Chalcolithic Figurines from Cyprus.

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 51.11.6

Figure 29: Early Cypriot Plank Figurine.

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 74.51.1534

Figure 30: Cypriot Bird faced figurine with hands on hips.

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 74.51.1547

Figure 31: Cypriot Bird Faced Figure with hands across stomach.

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 74.51.1541

Figure 32: Cypriot Bird Faced Figure with hands across breasts.

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 74.51.1548

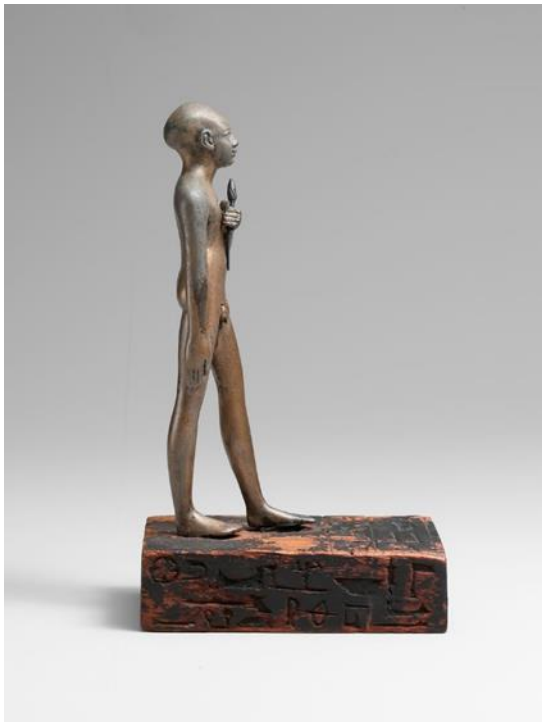

Figure 33: Statuette of the Child Amenemhab,ca. 1550–1479 B.C

Source: Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number: 26.7.1413a, b