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2020

Bull Skull Masks: Art, Performance and Power from Bronze Age into Early Iron Age Kition (Cyprus)



Fig.1 Performing a Bull mask
skull, 17/01/2020, by F.Stevens)

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Module Code:HPAR6003

11/05/2020

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Module Code:	HPAR6003
Title:	Archaeology Dissertation
Date:	24/04/2018
Level:	6
Credits:	60
Jacs Code:	V400

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the Archaeology undergraduate course for helping me to develop my confidence and speaking skills. These three years have been full of adventure.

I am thankful to the whole team from learning support and the programme director, lecture supervisor to lecturers for their support in helping me make my achievement happen.

I am grateful to my family, mother, and some special friends for encouraging me to keep going; this makes me realise how lucky I am.

The future is a promise to achieve more and have more adventures discovering the ancient world.

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Abstract

Bull masks, horned masks and bull skull masks were found in several temples in Kition, Cyprus in the Bronze Age into Early Iron Age. Body parts and representations including masks of horned animals, live bulls and mythic creatures were used in performance in Cypriot society during that period. The presence of a number of skulls and masks in mortuary ritual, elite tombs and buildings must have significance. The wearers of masks tried to express ideas or hide themselves. The analysis of the location includes a discussion of the architecture of the site with its five temples. The architectural space around the buildings was considered for evidence of transition from religious ritual to socio-political performance, so as to reflect upon the changing nature of the bull as representation, and ritual as performance. To investigate the significance of the mask, Performance Theory has been used. Goffman analyses the relationship between life and performance. Materiality has also been applied for the analysis of the possible functions of the mask. The wearer makes a connecting link between the person and the object. The object that is discussed in detail is a real bull's skull with repairs out of clay. The meaning of the mask moves during performances from anthropomorphic to zoomorphic, back again to anthropomorphic to mystical. Rituals and performances with bull masks had the function of consolidating the power of the elite through the impact of the performance on the spectator. The aim of the project was to experience the process of making a mask, to experience the materiality. It was also used to experience the performance with it.

1. Introduction

Body parts and representations including masks of horned animals, live bulls and mythic creatures were used in performance in Cypriot society from Bronze Age into Early Iron Age BC. The argument presented here is that the Kition elite used Bulls' skulls to control the Kition community.

Performance theory, Materiality and Phenomenology will be used to explore this hypothesis through:

- engaging with the object by making a similar object
- experiencing the materiality of this made object (Boivin, 2010; Malafouris, 2013; Steel, 2019).
- experiencing the made object through performance, observing the spectators' reactions
- investigating the locations where the Bulls' skulls were used (5 temples in Kition) analyzing the architectural space.

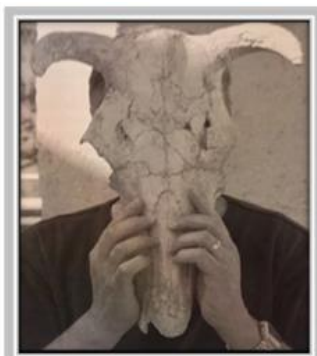


Fig.1, Skull of a cow, on floor 2 in temple 5, room 58, (Smith, 2009, p.104)

Many skulls, masks and miniature masks have been found in temples, elite tombs and buildings in Kition, Cyprus (Smith, 2009, pp.18,21,105, Karageorghis, 1993, pp.33-34 and Averett, 2015, pp.4,7,18). These have been dated from the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age (Smith, 2009).

Various ideas have been suggested as to their function, such as, industry, mystical and libation (Smith, 2009, pp.19,249), votives and religious (Karageorghis, 1976, pp.102,172 and 1993, p.35), and patriarchal domination (Averett, 2015, p.23).

Karageorghis discusses his finding of dozens of oxen skulls, grouped together 'not far from the table of offerings' near the Great Phoenician Temple (Karageorghis, 1976, p. 102). He suggests that the area was probably a sanctuary and that the skulls had religious significance. However, it is also possible to argue that their purpose was not solely religious; it is this which will be explored in this dissertation.

Body parts and representations including masks of horned animals, live bulls and mythic creatures were used in performance in Cypriot society from Bronze Age into Early Iron Age BC (Karageorghis, 1976, p.108). This dissertation will focus on the temple and the area around the temple at Kition where a significant number of bull masks, and figurines wearing bull masks, were deposited (Smith, 2009, p.102). The subject of masks is interesting because the wearing of a mask makes a connecting link between the person and the object itself – the mask. It is the way people express their ideas or hide behind them. This dissertation will apply performance theory to the bull skull mask (see Fig.1), with the intention of throwing light on the question of the function of the bull skull masks. The presence of large numbers of skulls and masks in mortuary ritual, elite tombs, and buildings in Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age must have significance. My objective is to focus on the bull skull mask, which was found in Floor 3 of Great Phoenician Temple, of the Kition-Kathari excavation (see Fig.2).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theory and Methodology

A number of theoretical perspectives inform this dissertation, specifically Performance Theory, Materiality, and Phenomenology. These perspectives cannot be separated from the implications they have for methodology. Boivin (2010) argues that we should be using different methodologies to analyze material culture and we should not be restricted to just one method. She argues that a diversity of methodologies will help to see a better picture of: 'how the material world impacts human society and thought' (Boivin, 2010, p.227).

2.1.(a) Performance theory (Goffman, 1959) proposes a relationship between life and performance, where people are acting almost all the time. Whether at work or in their personal life people are always, or almost always, thinking how to act in a certain

situation that might they can take advantage of the occasion. In effect, life is played out as a series of roles.

Taylor's discussion of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (2013) is wide ranging. In this discussion Scott introduces the idea of the shyness of self-consciousness by following Goffman's theory (Scott, 4m21s). She points out that, for Goffman, actions are like a performance in a play; life is like a theatre. Scott recognizes that Goffman uses this dramatic theatrical perspective as a metaphor, suggesting that we are always performing in everyday life. People are always trying to create the right impression. (Scott, 2013, 02.53-3.23 minutes). She also adds that Goffman had proposed that the show must go on, we keep up and everyone must work as a team of actors (Scott, 2013, 03.54-04.00 minutes). Her argument that performance can be used to mask underlying intentions could be relevant to the discussion of Bull Masks, in the sense that they could be masking issues around coercion and control.

Peter Brook (1969) suggests that any empty space can be called a bare stage, which means that people can perform anywhere. He suggests that the science of theatre-building must come from studying what it is that brings about the most vivid relationship between people and that this is best served by some pattern or even by disorder (1969, p.65). If so, what can be the rule of the space used by Cypriots in their performance with the bull skull masks? Peter Brook (1992) approach of exploring empty space will be applied to an analysis of the masks and their possible functions. Using Brook's concept of *empty space* may add a useful dimension to the understanding of the connections between the bull skull mask and the physical space of the building.

Goffman's theory is helpful to this dissertation because it can help us to analyse the context of the bull skull mask and how they were used by the elite and priests for hidden control of the group.

Brook's work is valuable in terms of understanding about the space on the streets, workshops (metallurgy) temples and how the remaining space might have been used by priests.

Kate Soar (2014) uses Performance Theory in Archaeology to look at art and architecture of the Cretans. Soar used performance theory to analyse the Minoans' world in Crete. She uses bull-leaping evidence in pottery to analyse the Cretans' behaviours to form her hypothesis and conclusions. Soar (2014) describes Minoan Crete and its architecture, religion and the use of the bull image for performance. She analyses performance events using the Minoan iconography of Crete, with a focus on religious aspects. Soar discusses in her article that performance was used by the Cretans. This can be seen in frescoes and pottery where dance, boxing and bull fighting is illustrated. In addition, she analyses socio-political elements in order to describe power relations (2014, p.224). Archaeological material from the Minoan period of Crete, the role of depictions of dances, bulls leaping and boxing for the development of power relations and socio-political change are examined in her article. Soar (2014) concludes that both the representations of these activities, and perhaps the activities themselves, played a significant role in shaping competitive authority structures and a social order frequently influenced by competition among rival groups (2014, p.224). Soar's analysis offers a useful stepping-stone to examine the possible relationship between performance and the bull masks of Cyprus.

2.1.(b) Ingold (2013) was interested in the impact of physical engagement on understanding. He created a project with some students in which he and the students developed a project of art and architecture that was not strictly in their Anthropological areas. But the interesting thing was that they discussed and planned everything, even though they knew it might not work because they would not be specialists. However, they were willing to try (2013, pp.8-9). Ingold and the students agreed that physically engaging in the process enhanced their understanding: "Do not try to read it, as it will not inform you of what you need to know. You will have to find that out for yourself. But do read with it" (Ingold, 2013, p.15).

This dissertation will follow Ingold's lead, and his work illuminated this dissertation and encouraged the use of a real bull's skull to experience materiality and phenomenology. This experiment was immensely helpful to carry on this argument of performance art and power of control in this dissertation. Thus, Ingold and the students asked themselves what would be the difference in making the discussion based on a context of practical activity without physical engagement? It is through engagement that we learn through sight and touch. So, learning experience and the result of observing and

practicing simultaneously (Ingold, 2013, pp.8-9) increases understanding through enabling an absorption of the experience. This approach guided the art project which was conducted as part of this dissertation.

Things Done by Ourselves, (Ingold, 2013) are described by Ingold as experiences combining theory and practice which will enhance our understanding. Ingold uses the example of a book written from this perspective:

Such a book would reference the world, not just other books; its lines would mingle with the writing of the world, and its pages with the world's surfaces. (2013, pp.14-15).

Boivin (2010) proposes that first the material world is important, also it cannot be comprehended using current patterns, such as text or norms and ideas. This theory evolves, in part, from concerns with phenomenology and subjective experience and the role that material objects and landscape play in constituting and mediating that experience (Boivin.2010, pp.68-70). Objects are seen as active and as having agency. Objects are seen as having the potential to change the human subject; a man mask is very different from a mask on the bench or on the wall. Using Boivin's perspective, it could be argued that it is the physicality of matter which gives the bull mask its agency. Boivin (2010, pp.166-167) described how the material around us can shape and transform our lives and all (matters) around it (2010, p.181). In the context of the bull masks, this dissertation explores what the mind and body tell us when making and holding the masks of the bull skull. It looks at the experience of weight and texture and their effects.

Ideas started sparkling after learning about Boivin's theory and it was decided to use a mixture of Materiality and Phenomenology to experiment with the bull skull mask by using the physical and abstract senses to make, use and to prepare the raw materials.

Malafouris extends materiality to include neuro-scientific evidence, in a field now called neuro-archaeology (2013, p.168). He explores the connections between the mind and the body and agency. He uses the example of a Mycenaean sword which, he argues, becomes an extension of the user's body; the act of holding the sword empowers the holder, and the impact on the holder lasts beyond the actual act of holding, because

of the retained memory (Malafouris, 2013, p.168). Malafouris selects one moment from the entire process of making a pot to illustrate his understanding of 'human becoming and the evolution of mind' (Malafouris, 2016, p.295). In the moment is a point of evolution in the transformation of the clay - It is becoming but has not yet become. There is uncertainty about the origins (the skills of potters and how they developed) and, also the endings (Malafouris, 2016, pp.295-297). This goes for both the pot and the potter. In comparison with the bull skull mask, it is possible that the form of the bull was chosen because the power of the bull can convey to people various feelings and senses that can demonstrate how they acted, as Kition-Cypriots have used the bovine symbol for many centuries. Malafouris' description intertwines cognition with material culture (2013, p.77). Malafouris writes the following:

If we accept that the mind involves and exists in the relational domain as our most fundamental means of engaging with the world, then material culture is potentially co-extensive and consubstantial with mind (2013, p.77).

Malafouris (2008) describes the perspective of Material Engagement and also essential ontological boundaries between body and mind (2008, p.1). Thus, using Malafouris' argument, it could be suggested that the Kition elite used the bull skull masks to show the boundaries between the architecture, themselves and the community.

Malafouris' theory suggested the possibility of a connection of the brain with the body, the involvement of the brain and the five senses to transform raw things into pieces of art, specifically the Bull's skull mask. Transforming the part that was alive of a bull into a mask to be made and transformed into art and performance later that seemed to be a responsible task, since using the animal's skull is a physical and abstract task that causes discomfort for many people.

Attala and Steel (2019) look at materiality in relation to body matters. They propose that the body parts work together and are presented during action and are distinct from the material world (2019, p.13). Attalla and Steel (2019) propose that body matters addressed the Cartesian tendency to see materials as inert and representations that divide the living body from the material world (2019, p.13).

Steel (2019) suggests that in Cyprus and Crete the manipulation of skulls is evident in remains found in tholos and tombs (2019, p.97). With the embodied interaction being

used, Steel (2019) suggests that this explains the way in which the customs of the Cyprus and Crete community had possibly been influenced by the people of the Levant. It might similarities are observed. Steel said that:

The skull was likewise the focus of post-mortem manipulation of the bones in Bronze Age Cyprus (2010, p.98).

Steel suggests that skulls were important for the Neolithic communities of the Levant, the head of the deceased continued to be a vehicle for communion and maintaining or even forging relationships (2019, p.98).

Attala and Steel's concept of materiality described in *Body Matters* (2019) is going to guide my dissertation because their studies present that Cypriots used to play with human body parts. In this way it is possible to see a link between the essence of performance theory (play) and materiality (2019, pp.1-3).

It was an important part of the dissertation to discover the interconnectedness of materiality and phenomenology, particularly the importance of the material world and how it is interconnected with humans. It is intending to develop the hypothesis that Kition's Priests used the bull mask for control and power, also they might use the live bull and the abstract power to take control of the economy of Kition, as seen in their material culture found in elite burial on excavations report from the past described by Smith (2009), Karageorghis(1976) and Keswani (2004).

2.1.(c) Phenomenology is relevant to this dissertation as it offers a way of experiencing the performance while acknowledging the spectators' reaction. It is a way of experiencing in the present experiences lived in the past, in this case the past lived experience of Bull Mask performance. It can give a simple and quick idea of how the ancestors in Kition-Cypriot possibly used bovine skull masks. In the opinion of some scholars, phenomenology has materiality and it is quite difficult to separate the two concepts (Praetzellis, 2015, p.156). Phenomenology can also help the researcher look at the landscape to take a picture of how Kition-Cypriots used their buildings for performing.

Praetzellis (2015) described that materiality which has a phenomenological aspect is concerned with how people felt in the past and today. The purpose is to get an

empathetic sense of people's concerns and sensory experiences. It can tell us how these people see, hear, touch, smell and taste. It is concerned with understanding how people experienced the activities that occurred in the area or in the "tasksenario". (Ingold quoted in Praetzelis, 2015, p.147). According to Praetzelis, this is analogous to the method of action that involves empathy taking the position of participant (Praetzelis, 2015, pp.147-8). Many archaeologists draw on this tradition, on the philosophical works of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Husserl (Barrett, 2009, p.12). Merleau-Ponty in *Theory of Perception* (cited in Critchley, 2008, p.113) argues that phenomenology is 'unveiling the pre-theoretical layer' of human experience. Tilley (2007) argues that 'to understand landscapes phenomenologically requires the art of walking in and through them to touch and be touched by' (2007 cited in Praetzelis, 2015, pp. 148-151) and Cummings et al (2004, cited in Barrett, 2009, pp.283-284.) The environment and the architecture has agency on the subject, allowing the subject to gain insights through immersion. If so, the shape of elite Kition-Cypriots buildings and their prestigious areas had an impact on them and the community too.

Praetzelis also worked on temple spaces, walking, crawling and manipulating the spaces, observing the smells, sounds and tactile impressions in order to experience, by extension, how the original people would have also experienced these spaces (Praetzelis, 2015, p.150). Praetzelis' theory provides a useful framework for looking at the building area of Kition, where the performances using bull skull masks took place, as did all types of economic activities of the community, such as metallurgy, ceremonies, festivity and religion.

This is not archaeology of description; it is an attempt to understand the feelings of people from the past. These 'New Materialities and phenomenology' - do not challenge materiality but give it additional strength. This is a perfect perspective from which to look at this dissertation experiment and the Kition area that is built on hills near to the seaside that gave to the elite strength and strategies for protection and control - of their interests.

Praetzelis illuminated archeological theory by using phenomenology. He cited important archaeologists, such as Tilley, Cumining, Barrett and others and also anthropologists, such as Ingold, who use phenomenology to study and analyze the past and present using materiality and phenomenology to look at material culture and

also landscape. The bull mask could be used from the transformation of the animal's skull into a mask and in the process of being used in the past in Kition in a performance, perhaps in a procession in the temples or streets linked to temples, or in a ceremony or even in the celebration of professions by factory workers and other activities carried out around temples and factories. However, it is not possible to experience the real landscape of Kition hills and temples where this performance might be applied, and so this theory becomes weak when attempting to analyse the landscape of the temples. Might it be a future project to experience by walking and performing in the Kition landscape?

2.2. Cyprus - Bronze Age through to the Early Iron Age

2.2.1. Power and Prestige

Smith (2009) suggests that the wealth and prestige of a community can be observed through scatters and fragments of pottery and other foreign objects found in archaeological sites (2009, p.6). Evans (1930) suggests that images of performances exist in a large number in Minoan Crete (1930 cited in Soar, 2014, p.225). Since Arthur Evans' first excavations at the turn of the twentieth century, numerous representations of dance, bull-leaping and other performative events have come to light; images are found on wall-paintings, seals, figurines and in other media. Most archaeologists working to reconstruct the socio-political strategies employed during the Minoan period on Crete (1930 cited in Soar, 2014, p.225). have focused attention on power relations as articulated through architecture, artefact distributions, territoriality, subsistence strategies, demographic changes, and evidence for administrative activities. Performance, when it is analysed, is often seen as epiphenomenal to political and social organization, often consigned to the area of religious ritual (1930 cited in Soar, 2014, p.225). Soar's article discusses the role of performance in Minoan culture as being religious behaviour with social and material consequences and, also as an expression of power relations (2014, p.225). This paper proposes that wealth, prestige,

bull images in art, dance and performance might contribute to the understanding of how the bull skull mask was utilized. Further, it is possible to argue that the Kition Cypriots were influenced by Minoans as evidenced by prestigious burial goods and also the horns and figurines found in the pits in temples on Kition, as suggested by Karageorghis, Smith (2009) and Averett (2015).

Soar (2014) proposes that archaeology focuses analysis of performance upon the physicality and materiality of the human body and judges the interaction of the performers with the audience (2014, p.225). Soar (2014) suggests that performance reveals the ideologies and values of skill groups. Taylor (2003, cited in Soar, 2014, p.225), states that the bodily elements of performance can create visual impacts and transmit significance, also allowing the actors and audiences to memorize their beliefs and rehearse following their principles (2014, P.225). The bull skull seems to be an object of power because of its appearance and the impact it causes. The bull is a strong and temperamental animal and possibly gives an impression of the devil for the enemy (see appendix for devil context) that could protect against danger (Johns, 2011, p.84). In the game of performance and power, Cyprus must have been ahead as a society where the main factors were trade, exchange of power with international diplomats (Knapp, 1986, p.39-41). It must be unique from other societies. Soar (2014) mentions that early in the Bronze Age, Minoan-Cretans started using theatre in the early days of performance for entertaining and using religions as power and strategies to dominate the spectators. The Minoan-Cretans used real bulls in different contexts compared to Cypriots (2014, p. 226).

Soar (2014) refers to a good example of a fresco from Knossos which is possibly from the Middle Bronze Age with an image of bull-hunting, catching and leaping. In this example, men showed the power and skills to control beasts. The change from zoomorphic to anthropomorphic beliefs might have started to develop outside of Cyprus in this period and could have come in with foreign influence on Cyprus (Soar, 2014). According to Beekman (2000, cited in Soar, 2014), performance was used to control politics, to influence groups and develop leadership in their own favour. Soar (2014) considers performers to be members of the elite in the Late Bronze Age Minoan society, which suggests a degree of representation in Bronze Age performance. The elite used performance as the main tool for their ideologies and to express their political

dominance (2014, p.234-235). Also, Soar proposes that this elite promoted their high status in this group, allowing their dress to act as evidence of their wealth in Crete society (Soar, 2014, p.234-235). The impact of the bull skull mask in performance could be manifested in the figurines, portraits, and images as representations of the myths and real life. Soar (2014) suggests that this comes from the representations of performance, where the emphasis is on the action, rather than on a specific “winner”. While specific individuals are not represented, it is interesting that depictions of bull-leaping occur only at Knossos. Perhaps, then, bull-leaping was a performance which was undertaken only by one specific group, possibly the dominant group, a form of performance reserved for those of the highest social order, located at the largest of the palaces (Soar, 2009 and Soar, 2014, p.236).

Steel (2004) suggests that iconography displayed ivory lions, bullfights, hunting, warriors, mythical beasts, such as sphinxes and griffins which refer to Near Eastern ideologies of kingship. Keswani discusses the continued existence of an elite group that controlled the circulation of exotics, valuables, and metals in the Late Bronze Age (1993 cited in Steel, 2004, p.201).

2.2.2. Art and Architecture

Karageorghis (1976) proposes that in Kition the buildings of floor 1 (temple 3) were constructed above the new buildings (temple 1) that had a connection with temenos A



Fig.2, Fig. 2 Bull skull ,in floor 3 from the great Phoenician Temple, (Karageorghis, 1976, p.155).

and also temenos B. Temple 2 is connected to temenos B by doors. It shared a wall with temple 1. Opposite temples 1 and 2 and temenos A and B is the foundation of what were the temples 4 and 5 which seem to have had a workshop in between it. There was no violence or destruction found on the buildings' remains (1976, p.73). Smith (2009) proposes that Cyprus did not have palaces with all the glorious buildings compared to the other empires they traded with, such as the Near East, the Greek mainland and Egypt (2009, p.4). Smith (2009)

suggests although Cyprus did not have palaces, it did have a seat or a throne which could have been made for a rulership (2009, p. 4). The altar was located in the centre, and on top of it was placed a cult symbol in the shape of an oval stone with a few



Fig. 3, Clay figurine from the precinct of temple of Apollo at Kourion showing priests or worshippers wearing bull's mask, (Karageorghis, 1976, p.156).

similarities with temple 5. It also has two small rectangular rooms erected, which the excavators identified as enclosures for sacred trees (Smith, 2009, pp.228,230). Thus, an area was screened off from the rest of the temenos, creating an inner courtyard.

Temple 1 was rebuilt above temple 3 after being colonized again. It seems that temple 1 was linked to temenos A and B, as well as temple 2,4 and 5. In this quarter, connected by alleys, there were also foundations of the factories. Which perhaps proves the hypothesis of this dissertation that Priests during celebrations and

festivities wore bull's skull masks to thank the gods for prosperity and socio-political activities.

There were also possible signs of a garden (Smith, 2009) in temple 1 in pit 10 where bull figurines and other objects were deposited. There is a suggestion made by Smith (2009) that these deposits are closely aligned with activities in the temple focused on maintaining social and political power and control. There were also human figurines wearing bulls' masks, probably representing the priest's performance at a ceremony. Karageorghis (2002, cited in Smith, 2009, p.209) refers to the fact that such figurines have also been found in the sanctuary of Apollo in Kourion (see Fig.3). However, in tombs at Amathus, there is evidence that they shared meals, the control of exotic objects for having a mark of their power (2009, p.209). This might link to how the Cypriots developed such broad knowledge and skills and became wealthy through of the Bronze Age into Early Iron Age period.

2.2.3. Cattle and Cypriot Culture

Smith (2009) suggests that a bull is a significant living thing that is represented in Kition and by their community. Images of bulls were capturing scenes of controlling, slaying and using animals, particularly cattle and goats which formed the foundation of all activities undertaken at Kition. As such, bull skull mask and bull mask are seen in many figurines and pots from excavations. It is part of the Kition's identity, similar to people who are Catholic being recognized by a cross necklace or a wreath on their doors. In workshops, the tasks performed with by-products of animals were shared activities (Smith, 2009, p.142). Swiny (2008), Steel (2004) and Knapp (1990) suggest that cattle were part of the "secondary products revolution" where cattle were bred and had a symbolic meaning for Cypriots. (2008, p.43). The streets were full of cattle iconography, skulls, bull figurines of all sizes were everywhere on the islands, possibly because it was a secondary space that transformed the existing breeding of cattle from a subsistence economy (2008, p.43).

Steel (2004) suggests cattle were bred as a sign of wealth, such as skin to make clothing, milk, meat and decoration. Steel (2004) suggests that Cypriots introduced the breeding cattle that transformed the economy. This skill and knowledge of acquiring cattle could make this group become an elite with powerful influence (2004, p.126).



Fig.4, Vounous Bowl (Steel, 2013, p.52)

The introduction of cattle is maybe the most significant development of the prehistoric period in the Bronze Age in Cyprus and this transformed their economy and power. Steel suggests that Cypriots had customs which were practiced during group assemblies of the elite. These practices might have differed from those from different groups in the Bronze Age. For example, in the "Bellapais Vounous model" discussed by Steel (2013), could show how the Cypriot elite would have liked to be seen or acted in their assembly (see Fig.4). Nevertheless, Karageorghis (1976) suggests that this practice, which had a long tradition in Cypriot religion, goes back to the Early and Middle Bronze Age, must have been widespread during the eighth to seventh centuries BC, judging from the number of clay miniature bowls and juglets and other clay objects with carbonized animal bones mixed with ashes. Karageorghis (1976) suggests that twelve masks of bull skulls were found on the earliest floor of the temple. They were

grouped together and nearby was the table of offerings. They were restored and it became clear that the back parts had been purposely cut and cleaned of all projecting bones (1976, p.102). Karageorghis (1976) suggests that the practice of using images of the bull has a long tradition by the number of artifacts found and reported, also he suggests that twelve bull skull masks were found on the first floor of the temple, which perhaps had signs of being cleaned and the horns added. These skulls or possible masks were found on might offering tables (1976, p.102). Using the bull skull masks strongly shows the importance of performance, otherwise it would be in the temple. It could be found in the streets of Kition. The elite used bull skull masks to perform and control; these bull skull masks came to be used and represented as a dynamic to be controlled by the elite.

Averett describes that bull and other animal imagery forms were a noticeable part of the Early into Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus (2015, p.4). According to Averett (2015) the zoomorphic masking has evidence of ritual at the site because it has several worked bull skulls large enough to be worn. Nys (1995, p.26-27, cited in Averett, 2015) described that one hundred animal skulls, mainly of male cattle, were discovered in the sanctuary of Ingot God, scattered across the floor and on the north and west benches of the main use level, which likely spanned in Late Bronze Age (Averett, 2015, p.6-7). Nys (1995, p.26, cited in Averett, 2015, p.8) suggests that in Kition zoomorphic (see Fig. 5) and grotesque masks were found in sacred parts as an example of the masks) at Kathari, at the urban site of Kition on the southern coast. It seems that were costume for Kition-Cypriots to work with this Zoomorphic and grotesque mask in Late Bronze Age through Early Iron Age (2015, p.8).

2.3. Masks

Karageorghis suggests that the skulls could be worn as masks, probably by the priests, during ritual ceremonies (see Fig.3) (1976, p.102). Smith (2009) states that the animal mask (fig.1) is a bull skull that had horns added made out of clay. The mask used

during performances by the wearer involves the movement of the human body. Otherwise, they were hung on walls alongside textiles vessels and wall brackets.

For Smith (2009) masks imply a shift of identity. Nearly all masks that were found in association with temple 5 from floor 1 and 2 could have a meaning to the workshop of the metallurgy elite group, because of the association with the Ingold god like in Enkomi (Steel, p.203). Smith (2009) suggests that there was a shift from animal mask to human mask form which also indicates a change in the nature of the authority.

Steel concluded that examination of Kition and the ethical basis for study of this period from the end of Bronze Age into Iron Age on Cyprus result in several new



Fig.5, Cypro-Archaic masks from Amathus tombs: *left*, bearded male mask from Tomb 522 (cat. no. 59); *centre*, anthropomorphic mask with horns from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 34), *right*, grotesque mask from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 36). (Averett, 2015, p.16).

interpretations of specific objects, buildings and sequence (2004, cited in Smith, 2009, p.244) . Also, authority, controlling and change of size of monuments (2004, cited in Smith, 2009, p.245). Smith (2009) suggests that the degree of miniaturization and the subjects chosen to appear to emphasize authority in temenos A next to temple 1, room 16 evidence and its substitute. In temple 4 had a shift from horned animal to male authority. In temple 5 power plays hard into the Early Iron Age. By floor 3, the location of most of these images shift to temple1, a change that is not only absolute by floor 2A, but also is a break with earlier practice (2009, p.249). The temple 1 deposits and those in the temenos B, also, have an increasing focus on sacrifice, eating and drinking, divination and imaging, the activities previously associated with temenos A room 16 in temple 5, although in temple 4 were found presence of drinking too (2009, pp.244-249).Smith (2009) argues that space was important for social control. She said that:

Over time a variety of subjects were manipulated in miniature form and uses of spaces were adapted in an effort to maintain the balance of social control at Kition (Smith, 2009, p. 249).

Smith described that in temenos A, Room 16 has horns of consecration, also is associated with female image. This space may also have been significant for coming

of age ceremonies, which is one way of marking the past, present, and future of a person, with particular, reference to a family or other kin group. Nevertheless, she suggests that temenos A and temple 5 had a type of symbiotic relationship that link to horned animals that ceremonies were made in their sites (2009, p.160). (Minoans tradition (Steel, 2004, p.203 and Bradač, 2005, p.190). It is not clear that they used the animal for conception for a feast, or any ceremony or offering to the gods. Smith also describes that they might use animals for consumption.

After baking, the joint would have been stripped of its meat, perhaps fed to a god or eaten by people according to prescribed ritual, read and marked in temple 5, thus leaving a record of human connection with the divine (2009, p.160).horns (Steel, 2004, pp.162-163).

3. The Art Project

The purpose of the Bull Skull Mask art project is to evaluate whether early Cypriots from Bronze Age into Early Iron Age Kition used Art and Performance to control and manipulate the public spectators. The hypothesis is that rituals and performances with bull masks have the function of consolidating the power of the elite, through the impact of performance on the spectators. The decision to engage in an art project was inspired by Performance Theory, Phenomenology and Materiality. Such a project allows the participants to experience what it feels like to create, interact and then

perform with a real bull's mask. It was hoped that the performance would aid an understanding of how and why the Kitions used bulls' masks on a stage to perform. (Soar, 2014; Ingold, 2013).



Fig.6, Papier mâché bull skull mask sculpture, part 1, 21/10/2020, Stevens, F and Williams. A



Fig.7, Papier mâché bull skull sculpture, part 2, 21/10/2020, Stevens, F. and Williams, A.

Through performance it is hoped to better understand tombs, buildings, and space of circulation in this temple and find a good explanation of how Kitions used bulls' masks and other artefacts on stage to perform. Performance will test the theory that Ancient Cypriots used acting and masks to get the audience. This community might use masks to express power and to display their knowledge to their group.

Kition-Cypriots used the environment to shape their economy and become powerful. This power was consolidated and reinforced by using a bull skull mask to perform and gain control. Boivin (2010) proposes that:

The material world shapes and transforms us (Boivin, 2010, p.181).

The first stage of the project involved making a life-sized bull's mask out of papier mâché. This was quite a long process, because it was necessary to stick everything together, glue and paint. The different steps are shown in the photographs. (see Fig.6 and 7) In this way, it was possible to experience the materiality of the artefact (Boivin, 2010; Malafouris, 2013; Steel, 2019). Malafouris (2013).

After the papier mâché bull mask was completed it was time for the performance, which it was hoped would bring greater insight into the meanings of the Bull's Skull for the Kitions.

"I tried to think how I could perform, because with my 21st century eyes the room did not have the same atmosphere as the one from the five temples and the courtyard. There was both natural and artificial light in the room, the windows creating a clear and peaceful atmosphere. I realised that the papier mâché masks were lighter to hold than a real Bull's Skull and decided to add an elastic band on the back to weigh it down. I decided to put a stick behind the jaw to make the papier mâché bull mask fit more comfortably. Just like those used in carnival. I felt very relaxed, as if I were at a carnival or a march on the streets. No-one could see my face; no-one knew if I was

laughing or crying or making faces. I had complete privacy. For me, wearing the mask was simply exciting.”

However, it is important to note that these materials differed to those which would have been used by the Kitons. In order to experience a more realistic process of mask making the skull of a young bull was acquired (to touch, to feel to sense the skull and play with it and use the creativity to transport the mind and make one similar to the one that ancient Kitons had done and Smith cited in her work (Smith, 2009, p.105).



Fig.8, Slaughter bull and skin it, 2019, Steel, L.

The first element of this stage was to experience the skull of a bullock which had been previously slaughtered and partially cleaned. As can be seen, (see Fig. 8 and 9) this was a difficult process that required skill and a lot of responsibility. It took a long time to remove all the meat from the bones so that the remains of the bull did not smell any more. The skull was then cleaned more thoroughly, and

damage caused by a shot repaired with paper and clay. Since there were no horns, mock horns were made from wire, cotton balls, paper and finally clay and attached to the skull. It was then painted and varnished. This allowed experimentation and

performance with a real bull skull as opposed to one made from papier mâché. At the end of this process, the skull could be handled and used as either a mask or a sculpture or wall hanging.



Fig.9, Clean a bull skull for to be used, 2019, Steel, L.

The performance was then repeated using a skull that would have been closer to that used in Kition.



Fig.10, Experiment and perform a bull skull mask at an auditorium, 17/01/2020. Stevens. F.

For the performance, an auditorium background was used. An environment was created which attempted to reproduce that of a Kition temple. (Karageorghis, 1976, p.69,78) In order to establish the impact of the skull on the observers, two students were also present. They were aware that a Bull's Mask would be used, and they were asked to note their reactions.

"The skull felt heavy in my hands; I was conscious of the fact that it had been a living creature. I tried it on my head, but the sensation was extremely uncomfortable.

My face was where something living had been. I was reminded of the beliefs of the indigenous people of Brazil, that the skull would contain the spirit of the animal (Yanomami Jacob, 2013, p.2). I was scared to hold the skull; a bull is a powerful animal and its spirit would also be powerful. I moved with the skull in my hands; I knelt. It was heavy. I began to feel more powerful. The students began to laugh. I asked one of the students to wear the skull (see Fig.10) - this changed his perception; he reported that he had felt 'disgusted'; I thought it looked impressive and intimidating."

It must be acknowledged that each author's own history influences their perceptions, in this case, the author's Brazilian cultural heritage. *The Yanomami* tribe, for example, acknowledge the link between the *deceased* soul and their body after they practice cannibalism in a ritual *funeral*. They prepare their dead and cook and share with their family, so they can have the spirit of the beloved. By the feast they absorb the soul of the deceased in their body forever (Jacob, 2013, p.2). Throughout the experiment with the real skull the author had a respect for using this once living creature and was conflicted about using it to be manipulated and to be transformed in art for study and future undergraduates' students.

3.1. The Art Project – Reflections

I would suggest that the physical manipulation of objects adds strength to the understanding of the subject-matter. Using the body, cognition, the senses to interact with the material helps us to understand the material world and how it was both transformed and was transformative.

By using the mingling of materiality and the abstract, it was possible to think and make a performance. It was enough to see and to experiment what is to be in both spectators and the actor. However, a significant difficulty lies in physically transporting to Kition. It is difficult to use Phenomenology without circulating and walking, sitting and even drinking in the ground of the hills of Kition. Perhaps a future study would benefit from a performance at Kition hills, town wall, from the actual foundation remains.

The key difference between the two masks was the material from which they were made. The materials used in the papier mâché mask - made for a fun experience - it was more of a creative or artistic project. In the beginning it was frustrating as it took a long time for the form and structure of the skull to develop. The author brought to the experience her own life experience, in which mask making was a fun and pleasant experience, related to carnival. In contrast, working with the Bull's skull was unpleasant, and associated with dirt and bacteria. It was only after a thorough bleaching that it was possible to work with it. Despite all the thorough bleaching it still retained the smell of blood and tissue and filled the author with feelings of fear and disgust.



Fig.11, Performing bull skull mask, at the auditorium, 17/01/2020, Stevens, F.

unpleasant, and associated with dirt and bacteria. It was only after a thorough bleaching that it was possible to work with it. Despite all the thorough bleaching it still retained the smell of blood and tissue and filled the author with feelings of fear and disgust.

Making and using the papier mâché mask became a performance experience in a theatrical sense. From the author's experiences of carnival in Brazil it became a fun event, detached from reality. However, once the papier

mâché skull was replaced with a real skull, the experience seemed to be of a completely different nature - to the author, if not to the observers. The real skull gives an impression of violence; it is intimidating, and it is uncertain as to what is possibly going to happen. What is important, it seems, is not the wearing of a mask, but the wearing of a mask which is symbolic of the power of the bull; the mask itself looks aggressive. The wearer takes on part of the characteristics of the object and what it represents. It is this aspect of the power represented in the bull's skull which could reflect the element of domination and control in Kition society.

It is clearly impossible to recreate the space and environment of the Kition temple. However, it helped because it forced the author to think about the actual physicality of performance - in this case particularly the strength needed to wear a Bull's mask.

Despite the limitations of the Art Project it was worthwhile because it provided the opportunity to work with a raw material, and to experience the very different feelings engendered by a raw material that had been living.

3.1.1. Architectural Space - Power and Control

Soar's (2015) case study focuses on cemetery sites as performance spaces in the Early Bronze Age in Crete (2015, p.283). Soar's (2015) idea is to look at the 'performance' of individuals within the landscape of the cemetery space (2015, p.283). However, this dissertation looking at the four temple spaces. Soar (2015) argues that communities in Crete used cemeteries for performance activities, for example ritual and theatrical performances (2015, p.283). Although we can no longer see the performance, we can see its 'physical manifestation' and the architectural remains (2015, p.84). Soar (2015) described that Minoan cemeteries are material places which may have been part of the performance as a stage where people expressed themselves and their roles (2015, p.284). Soar (2015) argues that we can recreate past performances by examining physical remains which humans leave in the

landscape and by reading the clues to analyse how individuals would have interacted with the site and the landscape (2015, p. 284).

The design of the house tomb is much more geared to processional type movement, which Soar argues lends itself to a social scale. Tholos tombs, with their communal open space, would have been, she suggests, used for activities such as communal dancing. She notes that circular dancing encourages feelings of solidarity, 'ensuring that everything outside of the circle remains unimportant or even forgotten' (2015, p.290). The architecture of the Tholos tombs allows the community to come together and 'enact performances in a communal space' while the architecture of house tombs is more prescriptive, choreographing movement (2015, p.290). The people who were watching would be excluded from the space, creating 'distinctions between those who could enter and those who could not' (2015, p.290). A helpful way of understanding societies is to use architecture to interpret and visualise how spaces choreograph movement, and what this, in turn, tells us about social relationships. It is possible to suggest many contemporary examples, such as traditional churches which emphasise a separation between clergy and congregations, with rows of chairs and a high altar, compared with less traditional religious spaces, where the congregation is more a part of the service.

Funeral services in churches tend to be very hierarchical, with the priest at the front, then the deceased, and the rows of seats with close family at the front. Only chosen people are invited to speak, and the priest will give the longest sermon. Another example is a green burial that is a new style that has no sense of hierarchy, people mill about wherever they want to go, and anyone can read a poem or give a short speech.

Looking at the architecture of these spaces would give us information about the society even if no people were present. According to Steel (2004), feasts were normal activities for the elite group. They had a normal consumption practice, a choice of food, drink, and accessories they used (Steel, 2004, p.162). The elite could have a feast while they were performing using Bull masks. It seems that the Cypriots became more skilled in adding human details on the masks. Smith (2009) suggests that numerous benches were found in temple 5 which were suggest that people might gather for learning and reading because of links with scapulimancy (2009, p.160), maybe

because it was supposed to be used for a musical instrument. This could be a subject for future research.

In Kition although the overall district was large, it was subdivided into many areas, including four temples that were active, but just four was active which contained workshops such as for metal work and ceramics. Smith (1997) cited in Averett (2015) suggests that:

Two combined figurines were linked with bull skulls outside of the entrance to this sanctuary links to the bull, metal industry, and cult and this sanctuary, also suggest presence of male with industry association (Averett, 2015, p.18).

In temple 1, there is evidence of a space for a throne (Smith, 2009, pp.4-5). The other temples were close, with doorways from one to another. According to Smith (2009), Kition can only be analysed by its ceramic art and temple foundations, therefore modern scholars had to do their reconstruction of Kition on the basis of other sites. Also, this could be a discussion for future work (Smith, 2009, pp.251-257).

It would seem that the elite group lived in this space, but it is not possible to see the boundary of this area on the site of the excavation. Smith (2009) suggests that in the workshop textiles, tools and potteries were found that were used as domestic activities (2009, pp.152).

Smith (2009) suggest that the control can be investigated in a systemic fashion by looking at not just the tools used. In this case she is looking at the relationship, it should be possible to discern that authority was centralized or not. Also, she describe miniature of doll house and diorama find in site excavated in Kition (2009, p.17, 19). Sith suggest that streets in between workshop in temple 5 were possibly household areas because of remains finds related to grind, pound, weave, metallurgy, as well probably food propagating (2009, p.76). The buildings were for themselves, where they lived and had work carried out.

The Temple was a symbol of the elite dominant position Steel (2004) suggest that social an economic was considerable evident in material culture from elite burial, such as a cylinder seal shows the elite (possibly priest wearing the bull skull) and animal skull being printed on elite cylinder seals (2004, p.155-156).

The bull masks were also symbolic of their dominant position, and a method of asserting their dominance. Smith (2009) suggest that Diviners played important roles in political life, serving as a means by which problems could be addressed within a community (2009, p.18).

The settlement was some way from the Temples, emphasising the separation of the elite from the community. In this dissertation we are not discussion settlement, but the space the elite use in material culture found just in burials and some in temples and holy areas. In Given(2003); Given and Smith (2003) cited in Smith (2009, p. 235) that:

We know almost nothing about the size and scale of households and the nature of urban spaces in the Iron Age (in Kition). Multiples burials in tombs, which probably represent families, begin to offer some view into generations of what were probably coresident household groups(2009, p.235). Physical anthropology offers a way to assess health, age, and gender. Relative access to luxury goods is determined by the number and quality of objects buried with the deceased (2009, p.235). Boundaries marked by liminal spaces, such as sanctuary and tombs, help to delineate an urban centre, a polity's territory and spaces in between (2009, p.235).

Performances were to reinforce the hierarchical structure within the elite group. As Smith (2009) suggest that it is not possible to find writings of Cypriot (Smith means rare and, also to the opposite to other towns in Cyprus) material that indicate the hierarchy of members of this society that might be ruler of their group (2009, p.5).

This argument that masks were used for a performance feast between the elite and priests' because floor 1, temple 2 had twelve skulls, temple 5 three skulls and workshop next to temple 5 had four bull skulls were found in excavations from Kition (see table 1 at appendix, p,41). These nineteen skulls found must have been

significant for them. Smith (2009) proposes that the same area and floor 1 had a link for Temenos A, and this area could be used for baking (2009, p.62).

4. Future Research

Celtic Art and Performance, in Mari Lwyd, Horse Skull Mask

It was exciting to find that there is a Welsh Celtic tradition using Skull Horses to make a performance in December and January. The context of the horse in Celtic Culture might be different, but it would be interesting to explore the origins of this ritual.



Fig.12, The Marie Lwyd at Llangynwyd [oil on board], (Parsons, H., 1996).

Smith (2009) discusses the concept of man being brought together with heads, or parts of heads, of animals. This can be seen in Kition votives' remains in temple 5 (2009, p.140). Combining man and horse into a centaur could be a symbol of power play between human and animal in this part of Kition with the arrival of the Levante elite. There is another centaur, in roughly carved limestone, from room 31 in temenos B from floor 2A. Karageorghis (cited in Smith, 2009) mentions that these objects have no known origin, it could be Egyptian, Levantine or Cypriot manufacturing. It is one

of many objects from the Late Bronze Age that share cross-cultural elements, forming a link. It could be referred to, as Smith suggests, as an "international style" of material culture (2009, p.141-142).

The Cypriot and the Welsh horse have almost a similar context of performance. In Ancient Cyprus horses were used for transport, warfare and farm work. They were owned only by wealthy people. Smith (2009) suggests that horses had strong associations between temple 5 and images of male figurines; figures of horses, and horse and rider, move beyond the practical need for riding a horse and become symbolic of wealth and status. It is also in connection with temple 5 that a single centaur figurine was found. Much larger and more complex modelled terracotta



Fig.13, Mari Lwyd performance, 1910, Llangynwyd, Wales, (Wood, 1997, p.163).

centaurs were also found at Enkomi in contexts where animal skulls were probably worn as masks (2009, p.140).

In the context of Welsh folklore, Wood (1997) considers a prevalent assumption that recent folklore traditions and narratives can be traced back to Celtic mythology and social practice. Within the relative modernity of this theoretical approach Wood (1997, p.162), cites the Mari Lwyd December and January ritual of Welsh folklore, where a man dressed as a woman, wrapped in a sheet

and wearing a horse skull, goes from house to house accompanied by a group of men performing songs and dancing (see Fig.12) (1997, p.162) .

The intention here is not to discuss the horse skull, but to link the use of the Mari Lwyd horse skull to Bull skulls used as performance in Cyprus, and to make a connection between the traditions of 1000 BC in European Celtic and Cypriots. Green (1997) suggests that 1000 BC European Celtic life shared features with Mediterranean living, for example metal, weapons, art and evidence for religious practices and tradition. Green suggests that in 800 BC horses in Europe had importance in warfare, hunting and the economy and states that the elite adopted the symbol of this animal, as it was prestigious to own a horse due to it being expensive to feed and maintain (1997, pp. 1-2). Evidence of horse and cattle sacrifice can be found in Iron Age temples, settlements and graves (1997, p.1). Europeans may have inherited influences from the Mediterranean and beyond in their symbolic use of the horse and cattle (1997, p.3). Wood (1997) proposes also, the performance of custom can be an expression and telling of narratives explicitly for the present, to add a complex layer to the historic

meaning (1997, p.164). It would be interesting to explore possibilities of cross fertilisation between Celtic tribes and Cypriots.

5. Conclusion

Performances with bull masks in Kition had the function of consolidating the power of the elite through the impact of the performance on the spectator. Skulls and masks in many cultures were used as an apotropaic object to protect, scare bad spirits or to show strength and power to mainly male authority (Smith, 2009, p.248).

This dissertation looked at the research by Smith (2009) and Karageorghis (1976) to find out why bulls skull masks were important. A large number of bull skulls (see table 1 in Appendix, p.41) were found at the four temples in Kition. Bull skulls were also found in different rooms and some in holy areas where 19 in total were left at the ground remains. At the sites were found numerous other animal bones that possibly were left after a feast or celebration of the ruler.

It seems clear that the bull's skulls had more than a purely religious significance. The skulls were found solely in the temple area, they were not found in the general settlement. The four temples were used for more activities other than religion. The existence of the courtyard, the throne area and the workshops all indicate that the temple area was an area belonging to an elite group.

The study of the different types of masks showed that they were influenced by foreign elites. This dissertation has found out that bull skull masks were only found in the temple's fields which strongly supports my argument that they were used for art, performance and power. Also, the different mask categories showed a shift in time of the type of the mask because many masks found in clay would have been anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and mystical and this proved that changes were happening according to the influence and power from outsiders' demand. Bull skull masks were used in performance in temple fields, probably for elite entertainment and meetings, possibly with diplomacies. Cattle were very valuable in that time. People of low social rank and other groups lived outside the temple fields had not accessed them. Possibly, they were only on special occasions to be seen or be allowed to visit and to do their offerings. This is similar to today when only special people or skilled

people can get in a special area of the Vatican, or a special part of the Jewish community; they must be part of the elite. Bull iconography has not been examined in this dissertation and it could be the subject of a future study.

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7. Illustration Reference

Fig. Front cover, Performing my own bull skull mask, 17/01/2020, F. Stevens.

Fig. 1, Skull of a cow, on floor 2 in temple 5, room 58, (Smith, 2009, p.104).

Fig. 2, Bull skull ,in floor 3 from the great Phoenician Temple, (Karageorghis, 1976, p.155).

Fig. 3, Clay figurine from the precinct of temple of Apollo at Kourion showing priest or worshippers wearing bull's mask, (Karageorghis, 1976: 156).

Fig.4, Vounous Bowl, courtesy of the Cyprus Museum, (Steel, 2019, p.52).

Fig.5, Averett. E. W. (2015) *Mask and Ritual Performance on the Island of Cyprus. Cypro-Archaic masks from Amathus tombs : left, bearded male mask from Tomb 522 (cat. no. 59); centre, anthropomorphic mask with horns from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 34), right, grotesque mask from Tomb 83 (cat. no. 36. p.16. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764>, (Accessed: 17/06/2019).*

Fig.6, Averett, E. W. (2015) *Mask and Ritual Performance on the Island of Cyprus. Cypro-Archaic terracotta masked figurines from Amathus: left, bull masker from Tomb 289 (cat. no. 39); centre, bull masker from Tomb 200 (cat. no. 38); right, figure wearing bearded male mask from Tomb 557 (cat.no.44). p.16. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764>, (Accessed: 17/06/2019).*

Fig.7, Averett, E. W. (2015) *Mask and Ritual Performance on the Island of Cyprus. Life-sized head of a man holding a bull mask above his head (cat. no. 68). p.13, Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764>, (Accessed: 17/06/2019).*

Fig.8, Papier mâché bull skull mask sculpture, part 1, 21/10/2020, F.Stevens and A. Williams.

Fig.9, Papier mâché bull skull mask sculpture, part 2, 21/10/2020, F.Stevens and A. Williams

Fig.10, Slaughter the bull and skin it, 2019, by Steel, L.

Fig.11, Clean a bull skull for to be used , 2019, by Steel, L.

Fig.12, Experiment and perform a bull skull mask at an auditorium, 17/01/2020, F. Stevens

Fig.13, Performing bull skull mask, 17/01/2020, F. Stevens.

Fig.14, Parsons, H. (1996) *The Marie Llwyd at Llangynwyd*, Contemporary Artist. Bridgeman Images. [oil on board] Available at: <https://www.bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/>, (Accessed: 19/02/2020).

Fig.15, Wood,J. (1997) *Mari Lwyd performance 1910. The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.163, illus.

8. Appendix

Table1. Number of bones of animals found in Kition between Bronze Age into Early Iron Age.

Bones found in sites	Cow/bull	Sheep	Goat	Horse	Deer	Bird	Fish	Other
Temple 1	unknown	11	13	unknown	2	10	11	Unknown
Temple 2	12 skulls	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Unknown
Tempe 3		unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Unknown
Temple 4		unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown	Unknown
Temple 5	3 bull skulls and horns	unknown	Horns		unknown		unknown	2 horns
Workshop	4	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Unknown
Temenos A	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	4
Temenos B	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	
Total	19	11	13	0	2	10	11	0

In table 1, Unknown could be burned, removed, lost in a flood or disaster, or people moved it. The unknown animals cited above because it just had ashes on their bones. It could be used as a food resource or adding to metal work or ceramics because of the quantity of chemicals left in their ashes. Or they bore it as disposal for not attracting disease in the Cypriot communal habitat. Also, it is quite difficult to know the numbers of animals, because there were many groups of excavations that did not have the same methodology for recording the artefacts as there are today.

