

MVSE

VOLUMES THIRTY-SIX, THIRTY-SEVEN & THIRTY-EIGHT

2002–2004

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology
University of Missouri



Fig. 1. Female tympanon player. Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 64.62.

DRUMMING FOR THE DIVINE

A FEMALE TYMPANON PLAYER FROM CYPRUS*

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Musical performance is an integral part of many cultural events. Artistic representations, as well as literary sources, provide evidence that music created a joyous atmosphere during celebrations, promoted a spiritual aura at sacred events, aroused terror in war, and kept the rhythm for physical activities such as weaving, hunting, and harvesting. Studies of ancient music have focused on the role of melodic instruments such as lyres and flutes, which frequently appear in art and ancient literature and are associated with lyric and epic poetry and other intellectual pursuits. Less attention, however, has been paid to percussion instruments. This article explores the role of small hand-held drums, or tympana, in Archaic Cyprus by examining a terracotta drummer figurine in the Museum of Art and Archaeology and its relationship to other drummer figurines. The Missouri drummer was produced at a coroplastic atelier specifically as a votive offering for the Cypriot Goddess. The atelier operated within the Kingdom of Salamis, most likely at the Achna sanctuary or perhaps at nearby Arsos. Discussion of the broader Eastern Mediterranean use of hand drums will illuminate the function and significance of tympana in Cypriot society. The evidence suggests that hand drums were played primarily by women in Eastern Mediterranean rituals associated with women, fertility, birth, and rebirth.

The Archaic terracotta figurine of a female drummer in the Museum of Art and Archaeology is preserved from the waist up (Fig. 1).¹ She wears a robed garment and a high, turban-shaped headdress with deep vertical striations; her hair falls to her shoulders. She is adorned with a large pendant necklace, a smaller beaded one, a bracelet, and ear-cap earrings with pendant drops. Her molded face is well preserved. It is long, with incised feathered eyebrows, ridged almond-shaped eyes, and prominent nose and mouth. Her left hand holds the bottom of a disk-shaped drum while her right arm stretches across her torso to strike the drum membrane.

The figurine belongs to a series of figurines from Cyprus all holding circular objects. The type is one of the most prolific in the Archaic period (750–480 B.C.E.). The identification of these disk-shaped objects is debated: they have been variously identified as tambourines, rattles, platters, loaves of bread, sundisks, and moons. The figurines exhibit a wide range of styles and manufacturing techniques, while the disks themselves are depicted in a variety of sizes and positions.² The Missouri figurine holds the base of the circular object perpendicular to her body, while touching the disk with her fingers; she belongs to the more naturalistic drum-player type. Figurines in this pose are best interpreted as playing hand-held circular frame drums, or tympana, commonly referred to as “tambourines.”³

The earliest example of a drummer figure is a Late Bronze Age “bird-faced” female figurine (1400–1230 B.C.E.) that holds a disk-shaped object, most likely a hand drum, over her left breast (Fig. 2).⁴ “Bird-faced” female figurines hold or nurse infants, or place their hands over their breasts, all gestures associated with fertility or sexuality. The presence of a drum with this



Fig. 2. Female figurine holding a tympanon. Late Cypriot II, ca. 1400–1230 B.C.E., Base-Ring ware. Reproduced by permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. AM1.

figurine type, which is commonly associated with a cult of a fertility goddess, suggests that the instrument was closely linked to females and fertility. Although there are depictions of other musicians in the Cypro-Geometric period, there are no drummer figurines until the Cypro-Archaic I period, ca. 700 B.C.E., when a drummer appears in the center of a terracotta dancing group (Fig. 3). Circular compositions of female dancers holding hands and surrounding a central male musician are common terracotta dedications at early Cypriot sanctuaries. The female dancers, handmade and simple, wear long robes and tiara-like headdresses, while the central male figures wear tall conical headdresses and play the double flute or lyre.⁵ The group with the central drummer shown in Figure 3 depicts,



Fig. 3. Dancing group with female drum player. Cypro-Archaic I, ca. seventh century B.C.E., terracotta. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, no. C350. Reproduced by permission of the Director of Antiquities.

however, a musician wearing a tiara headdress, identifying the figure as female. Again, the drum is played by a female musician and has a religious significance.

The Cypriot coroplastic industry enjoyed a burst of creative activity in the Archaic period, when the quantity and types of figurines increased dramatically. Although the Late Bronze Age and Cypro-Archaic I drummers provide evidence for an earlier tradition of female drummers, the motif does not become standardized until the Archaic period, when it is produced in quantity, probably as a result of Phoenician influence on Cypriot art and culture. In the Archaic period, several coroplastic ateliers operated throughout the island, many associated with sanctuaries and urban centers. Archaic Cyprus was divided politically into kingdoms, each with a major “capital” that served as the political and artistic center of the kingdom. The organization of these kingdoms, as well as their geographical boundaries, is disputed, but recent studies have noted the homogeneity of material culture within each kingdom, concluding that there is a link between political boundaries and artistic styles. Most recently, Sabine Fourrier’s study of coroplastic production on Cyprus has demonstrated that each kingdom supported several terracotta workshops, many operating out of sanctuaries and producing figurines of similar style.⁶ Thus, each kingdom produced stylistically related material, under the influence of the capital.



Fig. 4. Map of Cyprus, with urban centers in italics.



Based on style, the Missouri figurine can be attributed to the coroplastic atelier operating within the Kingdom of Salamis in southeastern Cyprus (Fig. 4). It is most similar to figurines produced at the extra-urban sanctuary at Achna in the southeastern Mesaoria plain (Figs. 4, 5).⁷ The figurines produced by this atelier, which are similar to those from the nearby Arsos sanctuary workshop (Fig. 6), have long faces with short rounded noses, small mouths, and fringed eyebrows, and they wear an abundance of jewelry. All published figurines from Achna are mold-made, like the Missouri drummer. The Arsos and Achna figurines are further distinguished by a distinctive high diadem with vertical striations, termed a “kalathos headdress,” which closely matches the headdress worn by the Missouri drummer.⁸ Tympanon-player figurines from workshops in other kingdoms differ in their manufacturing technique, facial features, dress, jewelry, and stylistic details.⁹

Fig. 5. Female figurine holding breasts. Achna, Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. After M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (London, 1893) pl. XI.5.

The sanctuary outside the modern village of Achna, discovered in 1882, was a simple, open-air sanctuary, dedicated to a female divinity associated with fertility and in use from the Archaic through the Roman periods.¹⁰ The Cypriot pantheon revolved around a great goddess and god, who were later associated with various Greek divinities, often superficially, while retaining much of their indigenous Cypriot character. Appropriately, the goddess worshipped at Achna received mainly female figurines as gifts, figurines that reflect the role of women in the cult, as well as the importance of fertility. Many figurines, commonly referred to as “Astarte” figures, hold both breasts with their hands.¹¹ I argue that the female drummer is also related to women, fertility, and rebirth in this and other Cypriot cults.

Tympanon players enjoyed a wide distribution throughout the island and were produced by many workshops in a variety of techniques; they were deposited in tombs as well as dedicated as votives at most of the major sanctuaries, particularly those associated with goddesses. Although each kingdom produced drummers of a particular style, drummer figurines share common characteristics that unite them as a type: they depict standing, robed women, with distinctive hairstyles or headdresses, playing a round hand drum. Moreover, the mold-made figurines wear elaborate jewelry, since the technique allowed greater detail.

There is no attribute or posture that identifies these musicians as divine, but the elaborate dress argues against interpreting the figurines as depictions of



Fig. 6. Female figurine holding unidentified votive offering. Arsos, Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, C 609. Reproduced by permission of the Director of Antiquities.



Fig. 7. Female tympanon player. Palestinian, ca. late ninth–early eighth century B.C.E., terracotta. From a tomb in Tel Shikmona, Palestine. Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, Israel, Inv. No. SK/70.7146 (81-246). Drawing by Matthew K. Averett.

common worshippers. Instead, the dress, jewelry, and attributes identify them as priestesses, specifically temple musicians. It appears that although there were male and female musicians on Cyprus, tympanon playing was reserved primarily for women.

The motif of female drummers has a long tradition in the Near East, beginning with figurines of women holding drums in third- and second-millennium Mesopotamia.¹² The type had spread from there to the Levant by the Early Iron Age: a female drummer decorates a tenth-century cultic stand from Taanach, and terracotta figurines of women drummers are found in tombs and sanctuaries beginning in the ninth century in Levantine coastal sites such as Tyre, Achzib, Shikmona, and Kharayeb (Fig. 7).¹³ In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, local female musicians

were admired throughout the Near East.¹⁴ Representations of drummers in Mesopotamia and Phoenicia/Palestine are associated with ritual performance, in which cultic female musicians play a variety of instruments; the drum was also associated with female sexuality.¹⁵ Female drummers appear on Near Eastern cultic objects, reliefs, ivory carvings, and metal bowls decorated with scenes of ritual and banqueting.¹⁶ By the eighth century, female drummer figurines were widespread throughout the Levant; they were dedicated to the goddesses Asherah and Astarte and deposited in graves.¹⁷ Most scholars agree that the Near Eastern drummers represent priestesses or female musicians, not goddesses.

Although there are no Phoenician/Palestinian imported drummers on Cyprus, several handmade drummer figurines, especially from the coastal city of Amathus, closely resemble contemporary Levantine productions. It is not clear which workshop first produced drummer figurines, but the type was

produced in quantity, both handmade and mold-made, throughout the island by the Cypro-Archaic II period (600–480 B.C.E.).¹⁸ Like their Near Eastern counterparts, the Cypriot drummer figurines are found in funerary and ritual contexts.

Tympanon players are also known in New Kingdom, Late Period, and Ptolemaic Egypt, where hand drums are played by women in reliefs depicting rituals, hunting, banquets, and scenes of military victory.¹⁹ From the New Kingdom, probably under influence from Mesopotamia, drums in Egypt were associated with deities specifically related to women.²⁰ The tympanon was the instrument of Bes, the apotropaic dwarf god who presided over the home and fertility, especially protecting women in childbirth and newborn infants. In the Late Period, drums also accompanied Hathor and Besset (Bes's female companion), goddesses who protected women and children and aided against infertility. In artistic representations, Bes often holds a hand drum, and temple musicians or Besset play drums for Bes and Hathor (Fig. 8). In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, Bes and female drummers frequently decorated *mammisi*, the birth houses located in sanctuaries.²¹

Musical performance was an essential part of Near Eastern and Egyptian ritual, and tympanon playing seems to have been reserved for women in rituals revolving around domestic concerns. Drumming and its associations with women and ritual were probably imported to Cyprus sometime in the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the early drummer figurine (Fig. 2). By the Archaic period, when the Phoenicians had established a colony at Kition and were present in many of the Cypriot kingdoms, Phoenician influence can be seen in many aspects of Cypriot art, religion, and culture.²² The Phoenicians themselves were heavily influenced by contemporary Egypt and adopted many of the Egyptians' cults and artistic conventions. Cypriot cult was a unique amalgam of indigenous, Phoenician, Egyptian, and Greek elements. In this cosmopolitan era, the terracotta figurines produced on Cyprus were influenced by external as well as internal trends, and it is in this period that depictions of tympanon players, stylistically and functionally related to those found in Palestine, abounded in tombs and in sanctuaries dedicated to goddesses.

Tympana also reached the Aegean world at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. Several female tympanon figurines have been found at the sanctuaries of Hera on Samos and Athena at Lindos and Kameiros on Rhodes.²³ All of these are Cypriot imports, most from Salaminian workshops. The dedicators,



Fig. 8. Stele depicting Besset, the female companion of Bes, playing a tympanon for Bes. Egypt, Late Period, ca. 664–332 B.C.E., limestone. © Christian Décamps, Musée du Louvre.

whether Cypriot or Greek, probably noted similarities between the cults of these Greek goddesses and those from further east. In Greek literature, drums and percussion could rouse fear or alternate states of consciousness and were used to protect and sanctify a place or event. Tympana were associated

with Kybele, the Kouretes, Demeter, Rhea, and Dionysos, all cults related to fertility, women, and rebirth.²⁴ In Greece and later in Rome, hand drums were played by the female devotees of the ecstatic cult of Dionysos and were considered a foreign import associated with women.²⁵ The cult of Dionysos was not associated with childbirth specifically but was concerned with the death and rebirth of the deity and the worshipper. Tympana were also an important symbol of the cult of Kybele in fourth-century Anatolia, whence this iconography spread to Greece, Egypt, and Rome.²⁶ Like the Dionysos cult, the rituals of Kybele were also ecstatic and related to fertility.

The female drummer in Missouri can be understood within this broader cultural framework. Ritual employs a variety of elements to heighten the religious experience, including specialized paraphernalia, a cultic focus, arcane language, and symbolic imagery.²⁷ Repetitious music and chanting are a common means of achieving this end and were likely an integral part of many religious rituals but often have left no trace in the material record. The use of specific instruments clarifies the nature of specific cults. Percussion instruments differ from other instruments in that their sound is corporeal, and the vibrations produced by striking the drum membrane are physically felt. Unlike string or wind instruments, drums are not melodic; rather, their main purpose is rhythmic. The physical and rhythmic aspects of percussion instruments produce a primal sound that controls the rate of action and is essential for performances requiring integration and social cohesion.²⁸ Hence, drums are used in military exercises and labor activities, such as agricultural work, to keep a controlled pace. Their rhythm can also, however, stir people to frenzy in ecstatic cults as well as create a state of fear. Their loud, base cadence could also be useful in birthing: the repetitive beat would aid in breathing while the loud sound would drown out distracting or disturbing noises.

Hand drums throughout the Eastern Mediterranean were connected to divinities associated with childbirth, fertility, and goddess cults, such as those of Asherah/Astarte, Bes, the Cypriot Goddess, and later Dionysos and Kybele, probably a result of the nature of drumming and its use in creating alternate states and in helping with childbirth. Cypriots dedicated a variety of votives to their deities, many representing specific cultic personnel or specific ritual acts, such as the bringing of offerings to the god by the dedicator or cultic personnel. In the Near Eastern tradition, these votives were intended to stand eternally before the deity, repeating for all time the sacred act they

represented.²⁹ The votive dedications of musicians can thus be interpreted as offerings given to perform music appropriate for the deity. Figurines of women drummers might have been dedicated by women to ensure a safe childbirth, as an offering of thanks for a successful delivery, or to commemorate a cultic event involving percussion. The motivation for placing figurines of drummers in graves in Cyprus is related to their votive function as symbols for the rituals of the Cypriot Goddess. The tympanon player, as an apotropaic symbol associated with fertility cults, would have been a fitting object to place in a grave to ensure a safe journey to the afterlife.

In conclusion, it is clear that tympanon playing was reserved for women throughout much of the ancient Mediterranean. Although drums were used for a variety of purposes, female temple drummers were unique to rituals of goddesses whose cults focused on women and domestic concerns. Thus, depictions of female tympanon players decorated Egyptian birth houses, adorned ritual equipment, were deposited as grave gifts, and were dedicated to various fertility goddesses. Within this context, the female tympanon player in the Museum of Art and Archaeology can be interpreted as a votive gift, perhaps by a female dedicant, to the Cypriot Goddess at the rural sanctuary at Achna or Arsos in the Cypro-Archaic period.

NOTES

* I wish to thank Susan Langdon, Sabine Fourrier, and my anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. All errors remain my own.

1. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 64.62. Provenance: Cyprus. Preserved H. 0.077 m. The clay is coarse, reddish-brown. The figurine is solid and mold-made, with a smooth, slightly rounded back. Published in P. Åström, J. Biers, et al., *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 2: The Cypriote Collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 20:2, Gothenburg, 1979)* pp. 38–39, no. 84.
2. As noted by S. O’Byrhim, “The Sphere-bearing Anthropomorphic Figurines of Amathus,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 306 (1997) pp. 39–45; C. Meerschaert, “Les musiciens dans la coroplastie Chypriote de l’époque archaïque,” in F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur, eds., *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May–1 June, 1989* (Brussels-Liège, 1991) pp. 183–192; C. L. Meyers, “Of Drums and Damsels: Women’s Performance in Ancient Israel,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 54 (1991) pp. 16–27. The disks can be as small as the figurine’s hand, or as large as the torso and can be held parallel or perpendicular to the body. Meerschaert (“Musiciens”) and J. Karageorghis (*The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 5. The Cypro-Achaic Period Small Female Figurines*. B. *Figurines moulées* [Nicosia, 1999]) divide these figures into those in the act of playing the tambourine and those simply holding one.
3. In her interpretation of similar figurines from Palestine, Meyers (“Drums and Damsels,” p. 18) notes that these instruments are membranophones (drums made of hide stretched over a wooden frame and struck or brushed with the hand) and are properly referred to as hand drums, or tympana. Tambourines are technically membranophones and idiophones (instruments that produce sound by themselves when moved) since they have bells or rattles attached. For a useful discussion of the mechanics of tympana, see K. Kolotourou, “Music and Cult: The Significance of Percussion and the Cypriote Connection,” in V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge, eds., *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriote Archaeology, Erlangen, 23–24 July 2004* (Möhnesee-Wamel, 2005) pp. 188–191.
4. V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 2: Late Cypriot II–Cypro-Geometric III* (Nicosia, 1993) p. 10, no. A (vi) 1; V. Karageorghis, *Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2006) p. 84, no. 60.
5. *Ibid.*, *Aspects of Everyday Life*, p. 107, no. 81; cf. pp. 150–151, no. 129.
6. S. Fourrier, *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque: Identités culturelles et politiques à l’époque des royaumes (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranéen 46, Lyon, 2007)* pp. 23–37. I wish to thank Sabine Fourrier for sending me sections of this work in advance of publication.

7. This sanctuary is located on the fringes of the Salaminian territory, and the objects produced indicate that it belongs culturally, and probably politically, within the Salamis Kingdom. See Fourrier, *Coroplastie chypriote*, ch. I.
8. For further examples of figurines from these workshops, see Karageorghis, *Coroplastic Art* 5B, pp. 217–218, no. 7, pl. LVI: 4; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (London, 1893) pp. 2–3, pls. XI–XII. For a discussion of elaborate diadems and jewelry on limestone statuary, see L. W. Sørensen, “Cypriot Women of the Archaic Period: Evidence from Sculpture,” in D. Bolger and N. Serwint, eds., *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus* (Boston, 2002) pp. 123–129.
9. For examples of different workshop production styles, see Karageorghis, *Coroplastic Art* 5B, and Fourrier, *Coroplastie chypriote*; V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 5: The Cypro-Archaic Period Small Female Figurines*. A. *Handmade/wheelmade figurines* (Nicosia, 1998) pp. 30–32, 40–42, 68–74, pls. XVIII–XX, XXVII, XLV–LV; V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 4: The Cypro-Archaic Period Small Male Figurines* (Nicosia, 1995) pp. 40–42, pls. XIX–XX.
10. The sanctuary was excavated in the nineteenth century by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who identified it as a shrine to Artemis-Kybele based on female votives holding dogs. See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pp. 2–3. Unfortunately, the early date of the excavations limits our understanding of this shrine. See A. Caubet, “Achna, 1882: Réflexion sur les découvertes du sanctuaire chypro-archaïque et classique,” in G. C. Ioannides, ed., *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis (Kypriakai Spoudai ND–NE)*, Nicosia, 1992) pp. 261–267.
11. The Museum of Art and Archaeology’s collection includes a mold-made figurine of a woman holding both breasts, probably produced in the Achna workshop, acc. no. 67.63. Provenance: Cyprus. Preserved H. 0.0223 m. Published in Åström, Biers, et al., *Corpus*, p. 38, no. 83.
12. M.-T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique I: Potiers, termes de métier, procédés de fabrication et production* (Paris, 1968) pp. 237–239, pls. XXXIII–XXXIX; A. M. Bisi, “Les déesses au tympanon de la Mésopotamie à Carthage,” *Assyriological Miscellanies* 1 (1980) pp. 57–78; M. Dothan, “The Musicians of Ashdod,” *Archaeology* 23 (1970) pp. 310–311; F. Vandenabeele, “L’influence phénicienne sur la coroplastie chypriote,” in *Phoenicia and Its Neighbours (Studia Phoenicia* 3, Leuven, 1985) pp. 203–211; F. Vandenabeele, “Quelques particularités de la civilisation d’Amathonte à l’époque du chypro-géométrique,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 92 (1968) pp. 103–114.
13. Meyers, “Drums and Damsels”; D. R. Hillers, “The Goddess with the Tambourine: Reflections on an Object from Taanach,” *Concordia Theological Monthly* 41 (1970) pp. 606–619; V. Karageorghis and A. Hermay, *La nécropole d’Amathonte: Tombes 113–367* III. i. *The Terracottas (Etudes Chypriotes* 9, Nicosia, 1987) pp. 17–18; Bisi, “Déesses”; Dothan, “Musicians of Ashdod”; C. Meyers, “The Drum-Dance-Song Ensemble: Women’s Performance in Biblical Israel,” in K. Marshall, ed., *Rediscovering the Muses: Women’s Musical Traditions* (Boston, 1993) pp. 49–67.

14. J. Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, 2002) p. 117. Many innovations in music and musical instruments occurred in the Near East and Egypt in the Early Iron Age, but hand drums, perhaps because of their simplicity and popularity, remained unchanged.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31. The link between female drummers and sexuality is made explicit through the use of drums by young women in dance and song. Figurines from Beth Shean and Megiddo hold both a tambourine and a baby, demonstrating the drums' association with both sexuality and fertility.
16. For a tenth-century cultic stand with drummer and other musicians from Ashdod, see Dothan, "Musicians of Ashdod," p. 310. For metal bowls, see G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Classical Studies, University of California Press 26, Berkeley, 1985) nos. Cy3, Cy5, Cy6, Cy13. For ivories, see R. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum*, second edition (London, 1975) pl. XVII. For reliefs, see C. Zaccagnini, "L'orchestra filamonica di Ur," *Archeo* 8, no. 9 (1993) pp. 122–124.
17. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel*, pp. 118–125, for distribution of Levantine drummer figurines.
18. Karageorghis and Hermay, *Nécropole*, pp. 17–19; A. Hermay, *Amathonte 5. Les figurines en terre cuite archaïques et classiques: Les sculptures en pierre (Etudes Chypriotes 15, Athens, 2000)*; see also Bisi, "Déesses." A. Caubet ("The Terracotta Workshops of Idalion during the Cypro-Archaic Period," in P. Aström, ed., *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991*, part 3 [Jonsered, 1992] p. 130) argues that the Amathus figurines were imitated locally by coroplasts at Idalion, Kourion, and elsewhere, while Meerschaert ("Musiciens," p. 184) argues that figurines were exported from Amathus to other regions.
19. M. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Music in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt," *World Archaeology* 12 (1981) pp. 290–295; see also L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991) pp. 16–22; L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (Munich and Berlin, 1975) pp. 2–5; E. Teeter, "Female Musicians in Pharaonic Egypt," in K. Marshall, ed., *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions* (Boston, 1993) pp. 68–91.
20. Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, pp. 65–66, 118–119; Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*, pp. 4–5; Teeter, "Female Musicians," pp. 84–85.
21. The most famous examples are the *mammisi* at the sanctuary of Hathor at Dendara, where reliefs of women playing hand drums line the walls, see Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, p. 66, fig. 38.
22. V. Karageorghis, *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2002) pp. 151–193.
23. G. Schmidt, *Samos 7: Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Bonn, 1968) Group 3, pls. 49, 51, 70; Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902–1914 1: Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931) pp. 491–495, nos. 2038–2068, pls. 92–94. There are also limestone examples of tympanon players from these sanctuaries.

24. For a list of literary references on drumming, see Kolotourou, “Music and Cult,” pp. 185–189. In Simonides, Kybele frightens a lion with her tympanon playing, Herakles frightens away the Stymphalian birds with his bronze clappers, and the Kouretes and Korybantes clash their shields and beat tambourines, clappers, and cymbals while dancing to protect the infant Zeus from Kronos.
25. S. Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopedia* (London, 1978) s.v. “Tympanon.” For illustrations of maenads playing drums, *ibid.*, pl. X; E. J. Stafford, *Life, Myth, and Art in Ancient Greece* (Los Angeles, 2004) p. 133.
26. For illustrations of Kybele with tympana, see G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum, “Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis,” *Archaeology* 22 (1969) pp. 264–269; W. Schürmann, *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* (Göteborg, 1989) p. 169, no. 617, pl. 102; p. 298, nos. 1125, 1126, pl. 186.
27. C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London, 1985) pp. 18–21.
28. Kolotourou (“Music and Cult,” pp. 183–184) notes that “modern research on biomusicology, neurology, evolution and language has shown that repetition and synchronism, in other words adherence to set rhythmic patterns, facilitate interaction, allow group participation and bonding and lead to group behavioural conditioning.”
29. J. Connelly, “Standing Before One’s God: Votive Sculpture and the Cypriot Religious Tradition,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989) pp. 210–218.