Age and Ancient Lives:
How women and children might have lived in Late Bronze Age Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios

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i Abstract

This work investigates possible lifestyles of individual ancient subadults, contributing to the existing literature on the subject for a better understanding of children's, and women's, position in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. It will combine interdisciplinary methods of archaeological analysis, theoretical frameworks of 'childhood', and observations of child development and apply them to the objects and skeletal remains found in two prominent tombs of Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Tomb 11/ 9 (and the dromos niche) and Tomb 13/12, as well as explore the social impact and affordances of the settlement's architectural environment. In addition to the subadults, the adult remains of the tombs will also be analysed for the social and burial context they provide. Results reveal that elite infants and children were valued in the community, and likely connected to the administration and organisation of the settlement's industrial production, trading with foreign cultures, or potential religious/ceremonial roles at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios. Their status may have resulted in cosmetic headshaping to differentiate them from other social categories. It is also found that women could have held positions of power at the settlement, in both administrative and ceremonial roles. Investigation of the various buildings reveal a large and diverse workforce, presenting an opportunity to place subadult social inclusion and development amongst different ways of life.

ii Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Louise Steel for her teaching which was inspiring in how to have a greater understanding of the people in ancient times, and for her body of work on Cyprus which has been invaluable for the writing of this work. I'd also like to thank Alison South for her kind permission to borrow her images of the Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios excavations, and for the fascinating and detailed works she has written about the settlement and its finds. Finally I'd like to thank the scholars who opened up new ways of seeing and understanding historical evidence.

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Introduction

Children and childhood are unknown factors in ancient Cypriot archaeology. Apart from some anthropomorphic figurines and the remains found in excavations there is little evidence portraying the lives of young people, who would have been a significant part of the population.[1] This work will implement an interdisciplinary approach on the findings of two Late Cypriot II tombs from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios with a hope of revealing some of the lived experiences of the subadults buried there. The tombs in question have been selected due to their partially undisturbed context allowing a view of the original layout, a variety of age groups and treatments of the buried, and a good publication of the remains, finds and the settlement. The tombs in the work also contain women, who can aid in the discussion of children' s lives by providing a social context for who they would have lived amongst and, perhaps, been expected to grow into.

Current attitudes in the archaeology of children.

Neglecting the investigation of ancient children is to "unwittingly adopt a universal notion of childhood" with no mind paid to the large variety of environments and lifestyles across time and place. Historically in archaeology, with the leading archaeologists being male scholars

[1] Baxter, J.E. (2015) “The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children”, Chapter 1 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.30-31.

from the West, this has tended to assume the Western and modern age categories, with the social implications that come with them, to be the default. By researching according to this 'default' we run the risk of finding no children in ancient societies as aspects of the children's lives will inevitably sit outside of expectations due to the variability of life conditions geographically and culturally.[2] Baxter presses that neglect will "render certain people invisible", recollecting the previous bias of prioritising the position and actions of men in the archaeological record, assuming that the evidence was made by and for men.[3] Paired with this, the old scholarly tendency was to place children in history via "specific material and physical remains", thereby limiting and overlooking "the impact of children on adult worlds and adults on the worlds of children"[4] and how material culture has multifaceted symbolism. Altogether, this shrinks the scope of what was possible for children and women in the past and limits any deductions that may be made. Children must be as much an "integral part of archaeological research" as they are within societies.[5] Klear puts it well when he says that the "archaeology of childhood is an essential lens"[6] and that we cannot fully "present an accurate portrait of the people and communities of the past *without* attention to children"[7], pointing out that "children contribute to the decisions and motivations of adults, who are often the producers and distributors of the material remains in the archaeological record".[8]

Baxter's work "The Archaeology of Childhood" provides valuable insight in how best to consider the existence of, and approaches to finding, children in the past. It tells us it is important to study children as "children in the present, and not just as individuals who will one day be adults".[9] Lorentz urges us to "critically investigate what constitutes the young body in different cultural settings".[10] Who is a child, who is an adult, and are there more age categories outside of this duality? (Are there sub-categories? "Do infants count as

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[2] Coşkunsu, G. "Children as Archaeological Enigma", Introduction in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.8
[3] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood (2nd Edition); Rowman & Littlefield; Chapter 2.
[4] Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (2024) "Introduction to the Historical Archaeology of Children, Childhood and Parenting", Chapter 1 in: Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (eds) (2024) Historical Archaeology of Childhood and Parenting : Materialized Experiences, Discourses, Identities, Places, and Meanings; Springer Nature Switzerland; p.11.
[5] Coşkunsu, G. (2015) "Children as Archaeological Enigma"; p.6
[6] Klear, D. (2013) "Towards an Archaeology of Childhoods", ANTH 305 GWAR [1]; p.1
[7] *Ibid;* pp3
[8] *Ibid;* pp1
[9] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 1.
[10] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; Phd Thesis, Trinity College, Cambridge; p.iii-iv.

children?"[11]) Childhood is but "one of many possible categorizations of person",[12] and while humans are transitional by nature, the contextual 'present day' of people holds important, immediate *consequences* for their lives. How do these different identities relate to each other and so define each other within the "context of daily lived practice and broader symbolic, ideological, and cosmological ways of being"?[13]

The *consequences* of the 'present day' I spoke of above are the social responses toward an identity. The values and rules of belonging to, and transitioning to, a particular role are communicated via socialisation. This is a process which enables an individual to "[survive] as a member of a particular social group", and is an "adaptive strategy"[14] that enables particular sets of people to thrive as best they can in the particular environment they are presented with. But it is not that the individual must survive alone - scholars have found this to be a two-way process "where children are significant social and economic actors in their own right, and that the organization of families, communities, and societies often prioritize the care and training of children";[15] as Kamp puts it: "in all societies there is enormous emotional and physical investment by adults in children....for both the cultural success and physical continuity...".[16] We can learn what the beliefs and values of a culture are as they seek to encourage a particular lifestyle in children, distinct from other societies. Those in the 'adult' category are likely to have more control over the definition and social enforcement of what it means to be an 'ideal' child in their culture,[17] ascribing "roles, activities, and behaviours" to those considered children in the "human life cycle".[18]

The construction of childhood can overlap and "operate simultaneously" with other social constructs,[19] and this combination often curates a particular set of rules and ideals that must be met to transition from one identity to another. For example a child that is in a poorer household will have different expectations ascribed to a child of an elite background; and

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[11] Bird-David, N. (2015) "Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers' Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures", Chapter 5 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.93

[12] Baxter, J.E. (2015) "The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children"; p.20

[13] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 1.

[14] *Ibid;* Chapter 1.

[15] Baxter, J.E. (2015) "The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children"; p.21

[16] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory", Chapter 2 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.40

[17] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 7.

[18] *Ibid;* Chapter 1.

[19] *Ibid;* Chapter 1.

often the biological sex will impact a child's life cycle too. In many societies the important criteria to establish from a child's birth is its sex "based on the appearance of the genitalia" and the status of the parents - particularly the father - thus beginning the child's identity and value in society. Though, as we observe in biology today and so must have been the case in LBA Cyprus, the development of genitalia is not always a simple process; how this impacted the designation of a gender role and if there were more than two gender options we cannot say.[20]

Bird-David argues that "Children are better explored relationally, rather than as a separate class and population"[21]; but with this we must remember to think of children's *own* actions amongst the context of their heredity and environment in order to maintain their agency and not see them simply as a consequence of outside forces.[22] Ellis' statement - "... a moment in a life is influenced by the entirety of that person's experience" - encourages us to consider what factors would have affected an individual's social and environmental world, creating their individual experience.[23] However, Baxter says that looking at evidence from within an individual's lifetime to read their identity can be an oversimplification of the process: "... the human life course doesn't begin at birth, but rather includes the inheritance of the psychosocial and biological experiences of ancestors";[24] to properly understand a culture we must look at time-specific communities as moving parts in relation to a larger being.

To side-step historical neglect we can examine evidence from multiple perspectives (as, surely, there were women and children of these times who had perspectives of their own) which can give a fuller representation of past lives and break down assumptions that obscure the multifaceted reality.[25] This will allow us to find the nuances of identity and social agency that formed ancient cultures more fully.

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[20] Brown, K.A. (2015) "Placing Children in Society: Using Ancient DNA to Identify Sex and Kinship of Child Skeletal Remains, and Implications for Gender and Social Organization", Chapter 7 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.130

[21] Bird-David, N. (2015) "Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers' Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures"; p.91

[22] Meacham, J.A. "Metaphors for Understanding Children and Their Role in Culture", Chapter 8 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.151

[23] Ellis, M. "Childhoods in Bioarchaeology: The Importance of Categorizing and Analyzing Age", Chapter 2 in: Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (eds) (2024) Historical Archaeology of Childhood and Parenting : Materialized Experiences, Discourses, Identities, Places, and Meanings; Springer Nature Switzerland; p.19.

[24] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 7

[25] *Ibid*; Chapter 2.

Methodology

Archaeological parameters

Lorentz says mortuary contexts are a balance between "a primary source of archaeological evidence for inference on culture, society, economy, and ideology" and the bias, behaviours and record keeping of those conducting the archaeological investigations.[26] As such we must carefully conduct our approach to ancient sources to ensure that we do not presume or misplace any actions or intentions of those in the past, and view all extant sources as equally valuable threads in the fabric of past societies.

Photographs and drawings recording the context and relative position of skeletal remains and grave goods are invaluable in analysing these burials;[27] however in this instance there are gaps in what has been recorded making observation inconsistent. Issues of intrinsic and extrinsic taphonomy challenge the analysis of primary burial evidence - infant skeletal representation may be inconsistent due to its poor resistance to decomposition, and tomb flooding and reuse by the ancients' for multiple burials would cause disruption to the original arrangements of the interred and possibly cause damage to any bones interacted with. [28] Tomb 11 being untampered by contemporary looters provides a rare opportunity to study a closed group and the use of space for the enclosed bodies and objects and formulate some "basic interpretation". However, we need more than a single tomb to be able to make any firm discoveries through a comparison with other sites to build up a recognisable, repetitive practice.[29]

As Klear states, social categories (of which childhood is one "with a range of seen and unseen meanings"[30]) "designate what actions are acceptable by whom, when and where".[31] Any kind of ritual within a society should be "analysed within its cultural context", as the actions and behaviours of other parts of life can influence what is or is not significant for ritualistic

[26] Lorentz, K. *et al.* (2021) "Disposed young: Nonadult element representation and bone positioning in complex mortuary programmes in Chalcolithic Cyprus". International Journal of Osteoarchaeology, Volume 31, Issue 5, pp.727-741; Wiley Online Library; p.728

[27] Lorentz, K. O. (2016). Challenges for funerary taphonomy viewed through prehistoric Cyprus. Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports, 10,757–768; p.767

[28] Manifold, B. M. (2015). Skeletal preservation of children's remains in the archaeological record. HOMO- Journal of Comparative Human Biology,66, 520–548, p.521.

[29] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age", chapter 13 in (ed. Peltenburg, E.) *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edinburgh University Press, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp.95-105.; p.98

[30] Klear, D. (2013) "Towards an Archaeology of Childhoods"; p.7

[31] *Ibid*; p.6

activities.[32] Evidence of a particular kind of consumption may help tell us of the context of the place or people involved; however this is not a cut and dry process as one activity can take place for countless reasons. As Hamilakis and Sherratt point out: feasting "may well take place in domestic, public, religious and funerary contexts, or in any one or combination of these".[33] The changing context of a single object can also complicate matters in trying to decipher it's purpose - a tomb and a figurine consist of different social and environmental makeup, but what does it mean to find them together?[34] As well as running the risk of missing ancient children through investigative biases, we might also place them in the record where they had no part. Sometimes, "childhood may not always be a feasible or appropriate way to engage all archeological data sets".[35] It is by working backwards - looking at the material remains and assessing them and their contexts to understand their producers and distributors - that I hope to understand children's presence in society and what allowances and expectations were assigned to them.

Theoretical approaches

A diverse range of sources and research used in investigating will help to avoid personal biases in analyses.[36] By conducting an analysis based on the acknowledgement of identity as internal, external, fluid and complex we are better able to read an array of burial goods for how they were engaged with by the individual in their society.[37]

Hutson argues that rather than simply seeking evidence of children in the past we should investigate the "processes by which people relate to each other based on expectations of performance and competency associated with age", and consequently how this forms identity in relation to an individual's combined social categories and the entangled "projects, purposes

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[32] Collard, D. (2023) “When Ancestors became Gods: Transformation of Ritual and Religion in Late Bronze Age Cyprus”; Chapter 6 in V.G. Koutrafouri and J. Sanders (eds.) *Ritual Failure: Archaeological Perspectives*, Sidestone Press 2018, p.109-129.
[33] Hamilakis, Y. & Sherratt, S. “Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus”, Chapter 12 in: Cadogan *et al.* (2012) *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus; papers arising from the conference in Nicosia organised by the British School at Athens, the University of Crete and the University of Cyprus, in November-December* 2006. Studies 20, The British School at Athens, London; p.187.
[34] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.37.
[35] Baxter, J.E. (2015) “The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children”; p.24-25
[36] Meacham, J.A. (2015) “Metaphors for Understanding Children and Their Role in Culture”; p.150
[37] Baxter, J.E. (2015) “The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children”; p.29

and dispositions" that accompany them.[38] Baxter breaks down these social categories to peers, community and family, and emphasises that how someone relates to their environment can also be subject to age based identity.[39]
To this end there are multiple frameworks to guide an archaeology of children, which are useful to detail for how they can contribute to focusing this work.

Brown (2015) provides four possible lines of analysis of the 'social makeup' of children when looking at the evidence.[40] This work will observe them through the lens of numbers 2 and 3, due to personal opinion that no.1's 'essentialist' view is oversimplifying, and no.4's 'historical context' is more likely a rarer occurrence of the level of control an individual might have over their path in life. No.2 is an 'organism' approach, viewing the child as an active agent in their creation in combination with their heredity and environment,[41] and no.3 is a 'mechanistic' approach, considering children as the output of their environmental machine, or a product of society, rather than having autonomy in their identity.[42] "An example of mechanistic identity development is initiation rituals, through which adolescents become members of a group after having been taught certain beliefs and practices by senior group members".[43] Mechanistic education would be apprenticeships.[44] My thoughts behind this selection are that, while a child may be relegated to a certain lifestyle by their family and environment, there is *still* room for them to grow as an organism *within* this.

Lillehammer's three-part construction of the "Child's world" is similar, with part 1) looking at the interactions between children, 2) connection with the environment, and 3) adults' impact on children.[45] Part one is beyond the scope of this work, but the latter two may be examined archaeologically. She further elaborated on a framework within to look at this "Child's World" in "The child is now 25": 1) Discovery of archeological evidence for the child's world requires knowledge of the adult world. 2) Natural and cultural environments form essential parts of the health, care, maintenance, and socialisation of children. 3)

[38] Hutson, S.R. (2015) "Method and Theory for an Archaeology of Age", Chapter 3 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.54-55
[39] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 8.
[40] Meacham, J.A. (2015) "Metaphors for Understanding Children and Their Role in Culture"; p.152
[41] *Ibid;* p.154
[42] *Ibid;* p.155
[43] *Ibid;* p.156
[44] *Ibid;* p.161
[45] Lillehammer, G. (1989) "A child is born: The child's world in an archaeological perspective"; Norwegian Archaeological Review. Vol 22, Iss.2; p.90.

Childhood is a common experience shared by children and adults and is linked by memory. 4) Child's play functions as a mediator of cultural transmission between the child's world and the adult world.[46] For this work ‘knowledge of the adult world’ gained through archaeology can be examined for its impact on the child’s natural, cultural and social environment.

Grove and Lancy's six stage life-cycle, i.e. the contextual ‘present day’, looks to join the biological age with the social implications. It goes as follows: 1) birth and the external womb, 2) joining the community, 3) separation, 4) getting noticed, 5) adolescence, 6) adulthood. However, it must be emphasised that this is a tool used to understand a potential life, and will not reflect the "cumulative process" and subtle transitions that individuals may experience as they develop within their society.[47] This cycle can help to propose at what social stage the deceased were upon death, by a comparison of the archaeology and the skeletal age.

By clarifying the terminology used within a study, we can acknowledge the existence of other interpretations to the data and leave room for further investigation by other criteria.[48] Baxter has observed in past scholarship that the terms “child” and “childhood” have often been used without the clear acknowledgement of their “culturally constructed nature”.[49] Ideally, we would use a series of objective terms that leave room for the scope of multi-cultural approaches to an individual’s health needs, environment, social connections and cultural expectations. The most direct approach for this is a best calculation of the skeletal age of the deceased, to assess their general physical needs and capabilities upon death based on common human growth, and then theorise how their society will have responded to this. For the purposes of categorisation this work will follow Lorentz’s (2021) and Scheuer and Black’s (2004) terminology and, where possible, specific ages will be considered for individual development. That is to say: ‘infant’ is applied to those aged between birth and 1 years old, ‘child’ to those aged between 1 and 9 years, ‘adolescent’ from 10 to 16 years, and ‘adult’ to individuals over 16 years of age. ‘Age’ is defined by the estimated biological rate of change to the skeletal remains, and relies on the existing works for each respective

[46] Lillehammer, G. (2015) “The Child is Now 25”, p.79; in Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood (2nd Edition); Rowman & Littlefield; Chapter 2
[47] Grove and Lancy (2018) in: Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood (2nd Edition); Rowman & Littlefield; Chapter 7.
[48] Baxter, J.E. (2015) “The Devil's Advocate or Our Worst Case Scenario: The Archaeology of Childhood Without Any Children”; p25
[49] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 2

analysis.[50] Additionally, Lorentz's (2016) use of the term 'subadult' for all ages under that of 'adult' will help to limit Baxter's concern for culturally constructed bias.[51]

While it is the goal of this work to establish what a child's life within LBA K-AD might've looked like, Kamp's advice of approaching with care will be heeded, in that I acknowledge that any analysis will be based on the individual circumstances of found evidence and that there is no such thing as an 'average' childhood in a highly stratified society.[52]

My approach

This case study looks to directly engage with subadult remains to contribute to the above discussed works and to see how effective their theoretical approaches are. A more detailed look at individual lives will help to add data to the overall lifestyles of ancient Cypriot peoples.

Reliant on the current literature, this study is an interdisciplinary approach combining archaeology and contemporary children's studies aiming to paint a clearer picture;[53] starting with an understanding of what children are capable of physically and psychologically can then be shaped by the archaeological record. Once I have reported as much as I can via description, chemical analysis and base comparison of the available archaeology, my investigations are a result of educated guesses drawn from convincing arguments of others, personal interpretations, and the examples of surviving peoples. Throughout this work I will be conscious that I "venture firmly into the realm of the unknown and the unverifiable".[54]

My methods in analysing the burial complexes will in part follow archaeothanatology in that it will study the articulation and context of the skeletons placed within the tombs;[55] for as Lorentz says: "comparisons between adult and nonadult skeletal element positioning within tombs may reveal whether mortuary treatment was age differential".[56] The context of the subadult bodies (when available) along with any burial goods will be the focus of analysis as

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[50] Lorentz, K. et al. (2021) "Disposed young: Nonadult element representation and bone positioning in complex mortuary programmes in Chalcolithic Cyprus"; p.731-733

[51] Lorentz, K. O. (2016). Challenges for funerary taphonomy viewed through prehistoric Cyprus; p.765-766

[52] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p41

[53] Klear, D. (2013) "Towards an Archaeology of Childhoods"; p.2

[54] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.95

[55] Lorentz, K. O. (2016). Challenges for funerary taphonomy viewed through prehistoric Cyprus; p.757

[56] Lorentz, K. *et al.* (2021) "Disposed young: Nonadult element representation and bone positioning in complex mortuary programmes in Chalcolithic Cyprus"; p.736

there is unfortunately no record of health upon death like we have with some adult remains. But caution is advised as these remains "represent only those children who did not survive childhood" - by viewing adult burials alongside we gain more perspective on the choices made in their deposition.[57]

The body is a relational concept given substance through artefacts.[58] Who these people were contemporarily to others was emphasised and communicated via their presentation and representation. In order to avoid making assumptions about the social meaning ascribed to material culture found in burials we can create a list of analysis parameters to break down and ponder multiple understandings: 1) was it a burial gift, funerary equipment, or an object used by them in life? 2) Was this a common inclusion or exotic in some way? 3) Were the deceased of a social category appropriate for the object? The Larnaca District Museum holds the remains and artefacts found by the Vasilikos Valley Project at K-AD;[59] but unfortunately these collections were not accessible online, resulting in limited unique analysis and reliance on what is already in the literature.

The bulk of this work will look towards the reports and analyses done by Alison South, who was the primary archaeologist working on Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios as part of the larger Vasilikos Valley Project in 1976-1998; as well as academics who further investigated the findings such as E.Goring, C.J.Moyer, K.Lorentz and L.Steel, amongst others.

Context: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios

Developed amongst the southern urban expansion of Cyprus in the 14th and 13th centuries BC (LC IIC),[60] and placed near the coast, copper mines, flat plains, and a route to central part of the island,[61] Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios is an example of a prosperous LBA settlement on Cyprus.

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[57] Rosenstock, E. (2015) “Grown Up: Adult Height Dimorphism as an Archive of Living Conditions of Boys and Girls in Prehistory”, Chapter 6 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p107

[58] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.67.

[59] Moyer, C.J., (1989) “Human skeletal Remains”, Chapter 7 in: South, A. *et al*. (1989) *Vasilikos Valley Project 3, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios II: Ceramics, objects, tombs, specialist studies*; Åström, Göteborg; p.58

[60] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; Duckworth, London; p.157

[61] South-Todd, A. (2002) “Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?” In: Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes. Volume 32, 2002; pp. 59-72; p.63

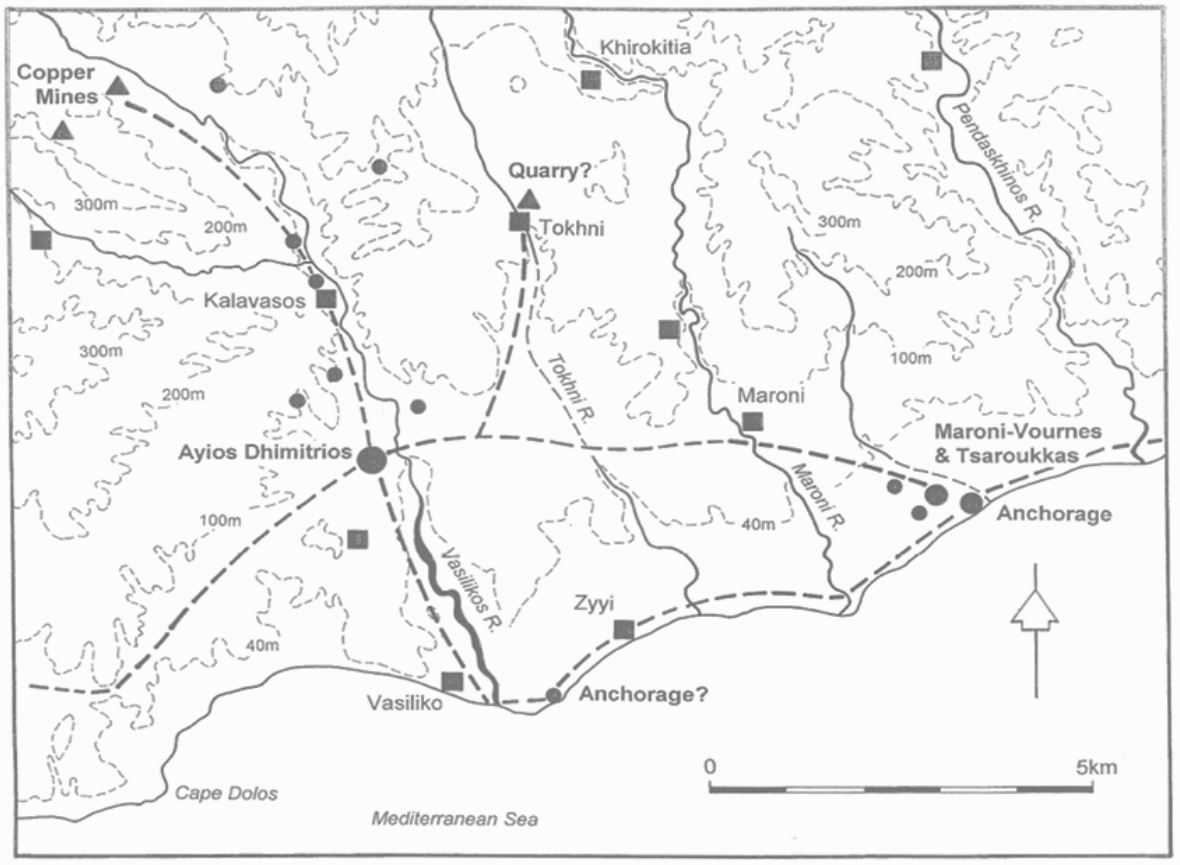


Fig.1 'Map of the Kalavasos and Maroni areas showing Late Bronze Age sites', Fig.2 from South-Todd (2002).[62]

[62] *Ibid;* p.72.

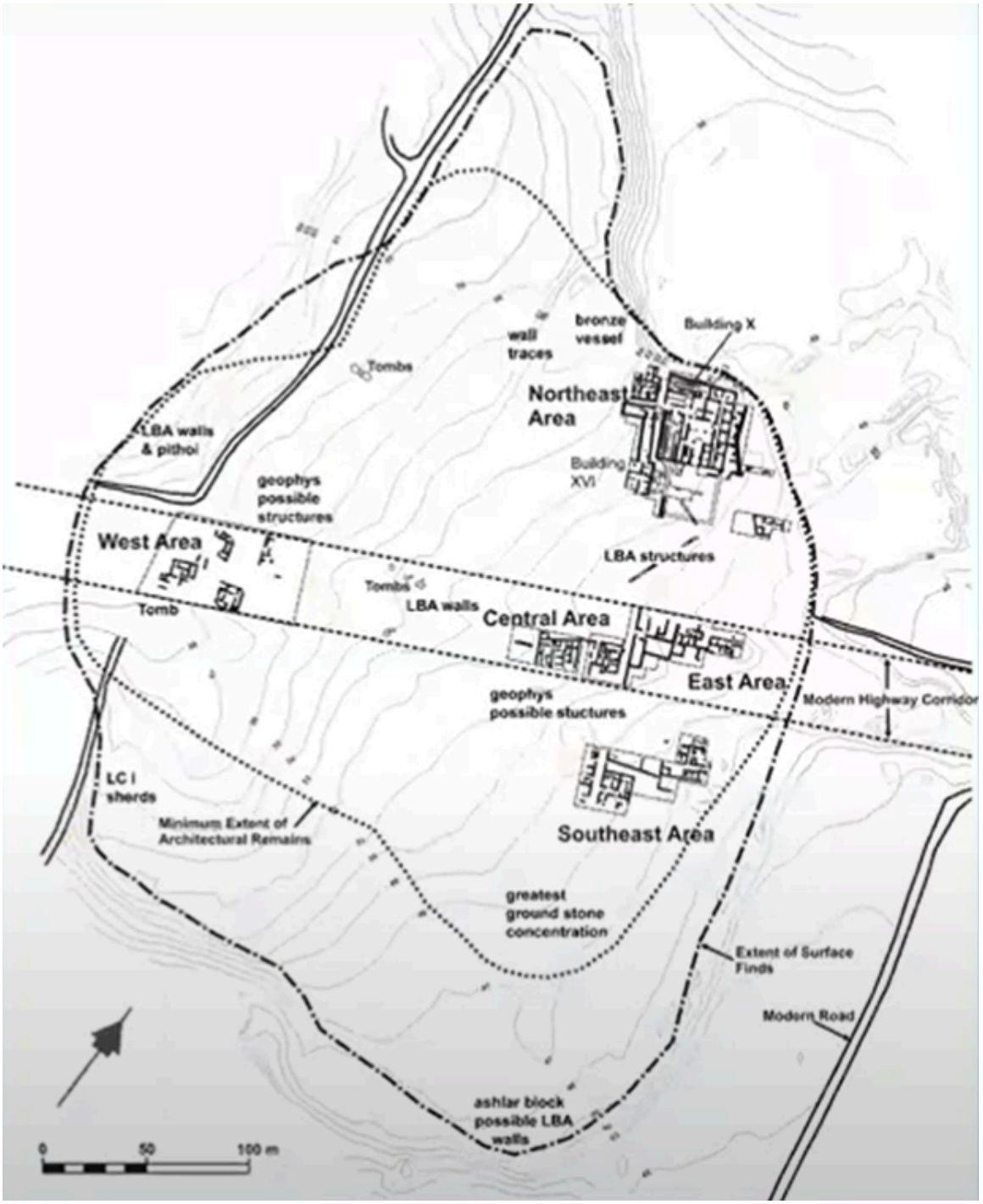


Fig.2 Layout of Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[63]

[63] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs", CAARI lecture, 16th September 2021; time stamp 7.00 mins.

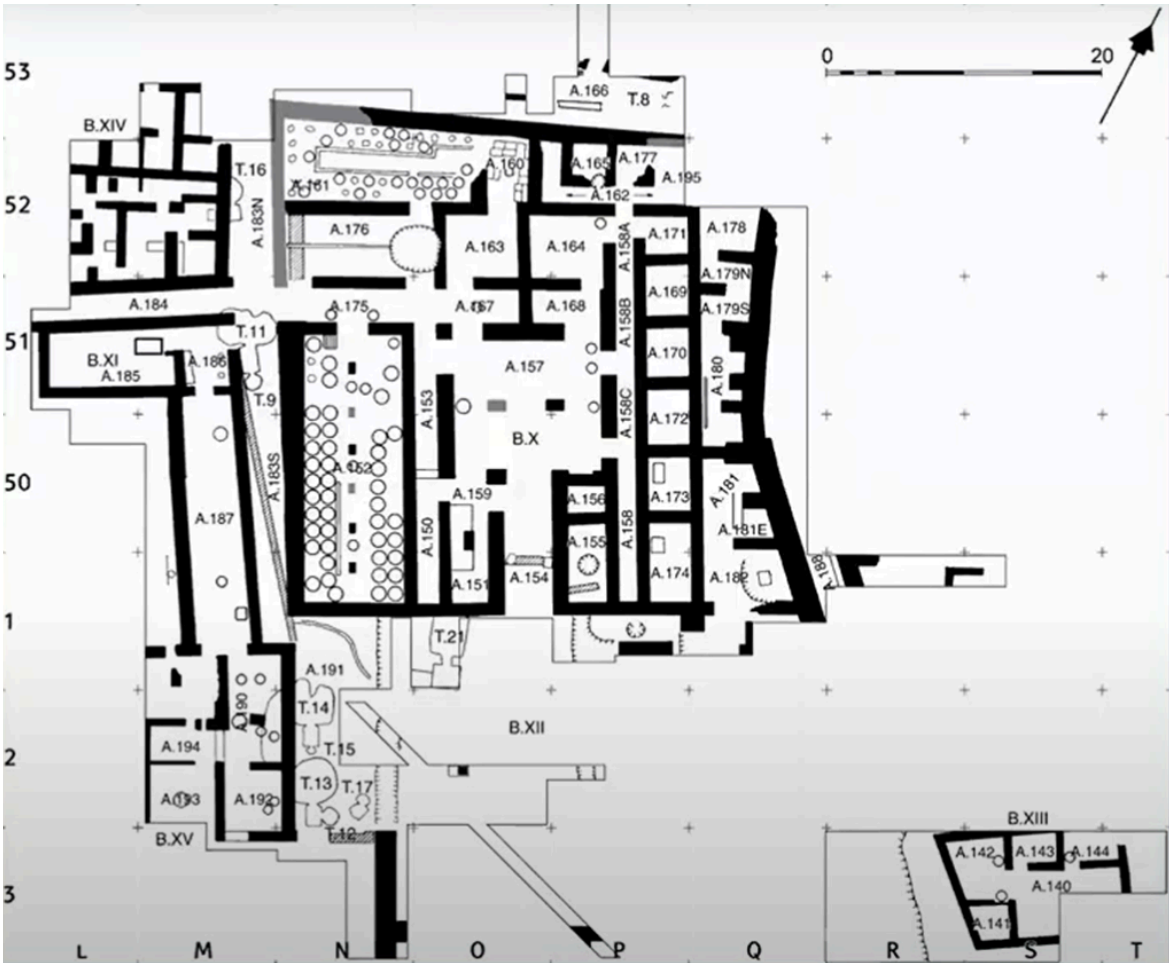


Fig.3 Layout of Building X, with tomb locations. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[64]

It covers an area of 11.5ha, featuring monumental administrative and industrial buildings alongside smaller domestic ones, divided by narrow streets complete with drains for rain water. The production area occupied a space of 4000m², perhaps enclosed by an ashlar wall.[65] Building X, "the largest and most impressive building known in the town",[66] was large and partly two-storied, with the upper thought to be elite living quarters, and the lower floor for storage and administration.[67] There was an enormous storage capacity, including the 'Pithos Hall' where large vessels stood in cut pits in the floor.[68] The industrial evidence of the nearby buildings - large stone tanks, mortars, cut channels, and more large pithoi - indicate

[64] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”, time stamp 31.52 mins.
[65] South-Todd, A. (2002) “Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?”; p.60
[66] *Ibid*; p.62
[67] *Ibid;* p.61
[68] South, A. (1997) ‘Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996’; Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (RDAC); p.4

agricultural processing, certainly of olive oil but perhaps other product too;[69] Buildings I and III might have produced wine and BXI "was for small-scale copper-smithing work".[70]

The multi-roomed domestic buildings seem to be used by those with access to imported goods; there shows a particular fondness for Mycenaean ceramics.[71] The material culture of K-AD overall reveals the society was as "equal in wealth and sophistication" as "the other major contemporary sites in Cyprus".[72]

Ancestral tombs were preserved amongst the development of K-AD, with re-filled dromoi marked by posts and stones so they could be easily located for offerings or use the chambers for more burials,[73] showing a continued respect for those originally interred.[74]

Excavations at K-AD indicate that "a significant percentage of the population died before age five" and "in the early twenties".[75] This reflects a society that had difficulties with childbirth and child rearing - at least within the elite circles - possibly due to a too early expectation of marriage and reproduction or a lack of "technical understanding of childbearing".[76]

"Significant use" of K-AD began in LCII A:I, with site development and elite tombs dated to LC IIA:2/IIB; mid LC IIC K-AD's major buildings underwent remodelling as the settlement grew in success,[77] but the site discontinued use at the end of LC IIC.

Potential Lives

Iconography

Finding artistic representation of children is not a straightforward answer to the question of their place in history. As Coşkunsu says: "The image of children is represented with a diversity of meanings, and it is full of metaphors. The notion of who is a child changes due to age, condition, lineage, or sources of imagery as well as an author's own point of view."[78] We

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[69] *Ibid*; p.8-9
[70] South-Todd, A. (2002) "Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?"; p.60
[71] *Ibid*; p.60-61
[72] *Ibid*; p.62.
[73] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; Praktika; p.384
[74] Tsipopoulou, M. & South, A. (2012) "The economics of monumental buildings" [South, A.: "A View From Cyprus"], Chapter 13 in: Cadogan et al. (2012) Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus; papers arising from the conference in Nicosia organised by the British School at Athens, the University of Crete and the University of Cyprus, in November-December 2006. Studies 20, The British School at Athens, London; p.223.
[75] Budin, S. (2016) "Maternity in Ancient Cyprus", Chapter 25 in: Budin, S. and Turfa, J. (2016) *Women in Antiquity : Real Women Across the Ancient World*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; p.370
[76] Moyer, C.J., (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.66
[77] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p25
[78] Coşkunsu, G (2015). "Children as Archaeological Enigma"; p.8

must remember to take a step back when reading these figurines, in order to avoid presumptions on past objects.

While a great deal of the surviving anthropomorphic material of Cyprus actually dates to the Chalcolithic period, and particularly the pottery,[79] there are contemporary extant figurines with which we can make observations. Figures male, female, and sexless, can all be found from the Late Cypriot period; noticeably with the female figurines developing a "standardised manner" in the depiction of genitalia and pudenda since the variable depiction of the Chalcolithic.[80] This change in portrayal shows a development in beliefs around the body[81] - but who was the driving force behind these changes in the "perception and performance of the body" we cannot be sure.[82] One aspect with little variation is that children are only ever represented alongside an adult.[83]

'Birdfaced' figurines, dated to LC, are standardised and shaped in the round, with key features being large pudenda and breasts, and a prominent beak-like nose. Smaller details can vary, such as ear piercings, holding artefacts or infants, or simply standing.[84] 'Birdfaced' are compared to the New Eastern 'Astarte' figurines, however the latter are not typically associated with children;[85] showing the Cypriots "imbued that icon with maternal imagery".[86] This portrays how children may have had a recognised value - at least in the form of communicating a message *of* social value. Similarly comparing the Cypriot plank figurines and the Inanna-Ishtar figurines from Syro-Palestine, Cyprus has a much higher anthropomorphic representation of children. A rare Mycenaean kourotrophos (portrayal of adult and infant)[87] was discovered on Cyprus, further indicating Cypriot interest in infant

[79] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.152, Fig.24; p.153, Fig.26
[80] *Ibid;* p.160
[81] Biehl, P.F. (2015) "Children in the Anthropomorphic Imagery of the European and Near Eastern Neolithic", Chapter 10 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) *The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma*, State University of New York Press; p.193
[82] *Ibid;* p.201
[83] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.159, Fig.32
[84] *Ibid;* ; p.154, Table 3.
[85] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.156
[86] Budin, S. (2016) "Maternity in Ancient Cyprus"; p.370.
[87] *Ibid;* p.366

representation.[88] We see a distinct Cypriot social value in depicting infants and their possible significance as an age class in society more than we do in neighboring cultures.

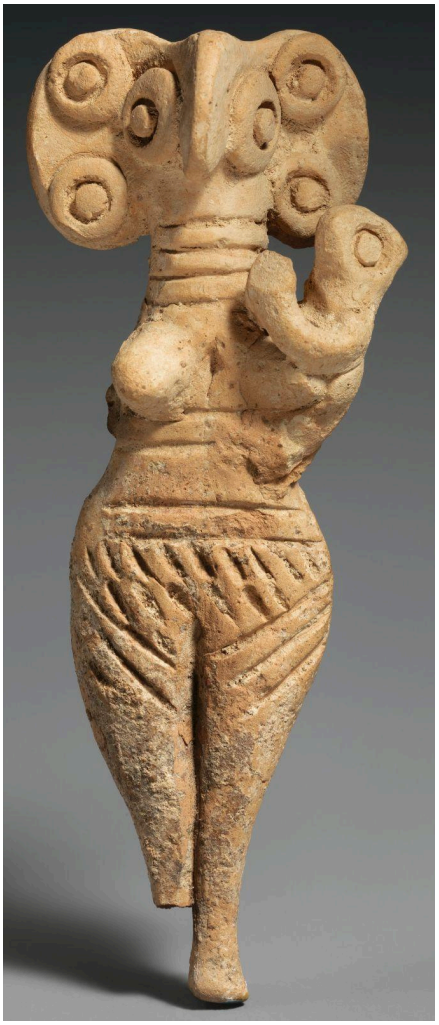


Fig.4 Terracotta statuette of woman with bird face, Late Cypriot II, ca. 1450–1200 BCE, object Number: 74.51.1545. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[89]

Infant portrayal developed from the chalcolithic to the LC. Popular depictions moved from childbirth/parturition (though it could be argued that the intended 'main focus/character' in these pieces is the life event of the adult) to a child being held, followed by breastfeeding and the parturition.[90] This change in trend suggests a cultural shift in the regard to women's place

[88] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age" p.340-341
[89] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 'Terracotta statuette of woman with bird face, Late Cypriot II, ca. 1450–1200 BCE', Object Number: 74.51.1545.
[90] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.158, Fig.30 & 31

in society and what agency they have in the circle of life[91] - which may show in the seemingly segregated female tombs of K-AD. Figurines holding children typically do so in the left arm.[92] This heavily implies that this was the "observed, preferential holding position" in Cypriot society, and suggests something of how the bond of "reciprocal communication" was embedded in the physical lives of adult and child.[93] Breastfeeding figurines indicate that "at least some [LC] infants were breastfed, and that this activity was deemed worthy of depicting".[94] However, it is important that we do not assume depictions of breastfeeding equate to a mother and child, for wet nurses may well have been of use in society, just as it cannot be a gauge for the age of the child depicted as the age of weaning varies considerably, "governed by cultural norms and practices".[95]



Fig.5 'Breastfeeding, with 'head arching' cradle-board', Early Cypriot III–Middle Cypriot I. Fig 25.4 from Budin (2016), drawn by Butler, P.[96]

[91] *Ibid;* p.334
[92] *Ibid;* p.172
[93] *Ibid;* p.175
[94] *Ibid;* p.178-179
[95] *Ibid;* p.176, 178
[96] Budin, S. (2016) "Maternity in Ancient Cyprus"; p.366.



Fig.6 Terracotta statuette of a woman with child, Middle Cypriot, ca. 1900–1600 BCE, object number: 74.51.1538. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[97]

A popular anthropomorphic depiction of infants during the EC and MC was attached to a cradle board, as opposed to the free-held infant of LCII; Fig.6 is one example of a woman with a cradled baby on her lap. This helps us to observe the "social identities" of a dependent child and a mother, and part of the "socialisation process" they existed in.[98] It may indicate women were expected to take care of infants; and also reveals how some babies would have been transported. While we may identify this figure as a woman from the rough moulding of breasts, we cannot know whether this figure was the baby's mother; perhaps she is a wetnurse - or even a spiritual guide, the way her arms are held above the child as if bestowing something upon it rather than underneath, supporting the body. The decoration of the child shows a double-cross across the area where legs would be (though these have not been

[97] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 'Terracotta statuette of a woman with child, Middle Cypriot, ca. 1900–1600 BCE', Object number: 74.51.1538.
[98] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 6.

moulded), this suggests that the baby would have been strapped on to a cradle board, or perhaps this was a textile carrier made from wrapped strips.[99]

Lorentz discusses how the portrayal of cradleboards could have been due to it being "inherently related" as a baby carrying device or because it had a "powerful symbolic dimension". It could, of course, be both. The latter would have catered to the elite, for whom this figure was likely made, as the device would have been entangled with the "status differentiating headshaping" practiced by the wealthier classes.[100] We can see in another MC figurine that there was more than one method for headshaping (Fig.7) - while still wrapped to a cradle board, the infant has two shaped bands encircling its conical head. Despite the phasing out of the devices in LCII figures we can still see evidence of headshaping in the LCII tombs,[101] this suggests a shift in the values of communicative, visual components that elites' wished to utilise in their developing society, whilst physical, ancestral tradition still held place in their practices.

[99] *Ibid;* Chapter 6.
[100] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.337
[101] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”, CAARI lecture, 16th September 2021; Time stamp: 19.49.



Fig.7 Terracotta statuette of cradle and infant, Middle Cypriot, ca. 1900–1600 BCE, object number: 74.51.1536. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[102]

Headshaping

Lorentz places headshaping within Bourdieu's (1986) concept of 'physical capital', where the body is conditioned to be "recognised as possessing value in social fields".[103] Its possible headshaping was influenced by Ubaid or Turkish cultures to Cyprus,[104] with the practice becoming a source of physical capital within the international koiné through trade relationships.[105] This physical capital was a gendered practice directed towards women, while men were more likely to be "unmodified".[106] Headshaping may have had its origins in observing how tightly tied cradleboards could have a morphing effect on a child's malleable

[102] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 'Terracotta statuette of cradle and infant, Middle Cypriot, ca. 1900–1600 BCE', Object number: 74.51.1536.
[103] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p336
[104] *Ibid;* p346
[105] *Ibid;* p349
[106] *Ibid;* p276, Figs. 97 & 98.

bones. From this the cradle may have been gradually replaced during the LCII period with devices designed solely for cosmetic purposes, rather than a cradle that had a secondary use,[107] which might explain its disappearance from figurines. This observation of the malleability of infants might have influenced the emergence of "infants as a separate age group from the adults requiring different kind of burial treatment".[108] A subadult being raised with headshaping would have a significantly impacted upbringing, with strong cultural expectations placed upon them. The delicate process would require "long-term planning and consistency" and greatly reduce "social mobility" amongst those connected to the "socio-political and economic activities" of the island.[109]

From the usable remains Lorentz found that in K-AD LCII a high presence of post-bregmatic headshaping was occurring on men, women and subadults, and in such a manner to mark them as a separate group that would be buried together.[110]

Social and environmental contexts

Modern Western thought often views subadults as dependent, requiring constant, active intervention to shape the person to their community. This is reductive and removes the opportunity for speculation on their full capabilities. Children must be considered as participants, or "social actors" in society to better understand the past. To the present day children can be seen participating in all aspects of life, assisting with the gathering of food, religious activities, and in the workplace;[111] as well as with household tasks such as caring for siblings and tending to livestock, preparing food, gathering supplies and maintaining fires. In the past it is highly likely that "prehistoric children of non elite families" held the same duties.[112] Cross-cultural studies on the early development and education of children have found that "hundreds of societies" allowed children as young as 2 and 3 years old to handle equipment deemed "dangerous", such as knives, and contribute to 'adult' tasks. It is expected that the children, in observing the actions of those around them, will want to learn to participate, and thereby function in, the society around them. (Lancy-2016, in Baxter 2022).[113]

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[107] *Ibid;* p295
[108] *Ibid;* p349
[109] *Ibid;* p349
[110] *Ibid*; p263
[111] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 1.
[112] Coşkunsu, G. (2015) "Children as Archaeological Enigma"; p.6
[113] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 1.

Moses describes how often children in "preliterate society" learn social practices via "observation, mimicry, and participation"; and that children can be observed in some cultures as assisting in the household "as soon as they are physically or mentally capable".[114] Kamp points out that children are also participants in ritual and religion.[115] Ethnoarchaeological studies have shown that the physiology of children can lead to problem solving in their work to contribute to social practices within their own skillset.[116] While they may not have the size or strength to gather resources equal to adults they can adapt to "child-specific gathering practices" which still result in contributions to their society. Sometimes the physiology of a child may be more suited to a task than an adult, giving the child a present-day value rather than as someone who will grow up to be of use - though this can be detrimental to their health and wellbeing: think of child Victorian chimney sweeps. Prestige items could also be aided by child contributions: with their fresh eyesight and ability to handle small objects a Bronze Age dagger was decorated with 140,000 gold studs, likely permanently damaging their eyesight in the process. (Keys, 2014, Independent).

As children grow they learn the language, physical behaviours and thought patterns of their culture by engaging in their social environment - "watching, trying and simply experiencing the world around them with all of their available senses".[117] A culture without a reductive approach towards children's capabilities can have a pragmatic socialisation process which teaches children how to be included in the 'present' as well as what "skills and behaviours" they'll need to know as adults.[118] This pragmatism might leave those who are not 'capable' by certain standards at a disadvantage. A child's age can have a significant impact on the adults supporting it, depending on its vulnerability and dependency.[119]

Some cultures have a distinction between a 'biological birth' and a 'social birth', wherein if a child has died before a certain (culturally assigned) development stage there is no perceived loss of a human being, and so are not considered needing any particular kind of burial to

[114] Moses, S.K. (2015) "From Playthings to Sacred Objects? Household Enculturation Rituals, Figurines, and Plastering Activities at Neolithic Catalhoyuk, Turkey", Chapter 11 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p209

[115] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p39

[116] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 5.

[117] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p.39

[118] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 7.

[119] Bird-David, N. (2015) "Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers' Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures"; p.93

mark the passing. Others do not see an infant with a deformity as a human and will discard them in the sea, rendering only those considered culturally human "recoverable archaeologically".[120] This shows how we must be careful not to assign contemporary Western regards to the death and disposal of children, as other cultures, past and present, may not apply the same level of emotion.[121] With the above in mind, however, we can infer that the children in the K-AD tombs were at least considered 'human' due to their style of burial; indeed, with the high quality goods to be found alongside them, these might be considered 'elite humans' of the LBA. With the lack of poor status burials found at K-AD, we cannot know if all children of these age groups had been afforded personhood.

In some hunter-gatherer communities individuals may not be considered a child (or indeed a 'part' of society) until they are able to walk and talk,[122] producing more autonomous infants initiating their own feedings and interactions.[123] The culture encourages behaviours needed for them to integrate into society, as children participate in adult activities with adult tools, learning through "trial and error"' the correct actions.[124] Children are not separated because of their age, but live alongside and share an identity with their elders as part of the community rather than viewed as "passive dependents" of the "substitute generation".[125] Socialisation can consist of more than practical tasks to perform - learning and enacting activities can be accompanied by the recitation of stories, rhythms or specific movements - a holistic and performative action to help with the memorisation of the practice but also to imbue it with cultural meaning.[126] Outside of adult structure, "pretend play", or imagination, "allows children to better understand their cultural surroundings, boundaries, and develop psychologically" at their own pace.[127] Multiple age categories living alongside each other

[120] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.142-143
[121] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.139
[122] Bird-David, N. (2015) “Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers’ Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures”; p.94
[123] Bird-David, N. (2015) “Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers’ Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures”; p.95
[124] Bird-David, N. (2015) “Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers’ Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures”; p.96
[125] Bird-David, N. (2015) “Modern Biases, Hunter-Gatherers’ Children: On the Visibility of Children in Other Cultures”; p.99-100
[126] Moses, S.K. (2015) “From Playthings to Sacred Objects? Household Enculturation Rituals, Figurines, and Plastering Activities at Neolithic Catalhoyuk, Turkey”; p.210
[127] Devine, J. (2024) “Children of the Ludlow Massacre: Socialization, Americanization and Immigrant Children in Early 1900s Colorado’s Coal Mining Communities”, Chapter 8 in: Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (eds) (2024) Historical Archaeology of Childhood and Parenting: Materialized Experiences, Discourses, Identities, Places, and Meanings; Springer Nature Switzerland; p.110.

introduces a socialisation quality that can act as what Baxter calls a "mechanism of change and continuity".[128]

Social and environmental factors can have a physical effect on an individual's body as well as their mind, with bones able to show levels of sustenance and health status upon death, making archaeological evidence a vital resource into understanding ancient lifestyles. Sofaer speaks of how burials can be used to understand certain typical parts of childhood, with the most reliable evidence for identifying children of the past their skeleton - the "intense and rapid whole body changes" a definitive marker of the events in their lives where social aspects are much more difficult to identify. While we may not know what these body changes *meant* contemporarily we can be aware of what they typically *needed* and the physical results: a gradual shift from milk to solid food, increased height and strength with an ability to support their own bodies, a cognitive development of language comprehension, motor skills and problem solving. And when child skeletons can be identified as being an age where secondary sex characteristics develop we can consider how this might have "symbolic and moral value" that introduced a new stage in their life socially.[129] The physical health and wellbeing of a child, and the treatment they receive, can have lasting effects that continue on to their adult life.[130] With the changeable bodies of children, the category of 'infant' in LCII may have been created as an observation of the young body's malleability, enabling certain members of society to mark themselves as different from the rest by permanently customizing the skeleton itself.[131]

In the "period of some years" needed to physically protect, feed and clean newborn children, the primary carer and society's regard of social-age thresholds (or 'coming of age') could significantly impact their lives, and their remains after death.[132] For women a child's level of dependency might impact their life: the method of feeding potentially taking away from their "social and economic life",[133] as well as altering the household as a whole in its purchases, behaviours and material culture. With this Kamp-Whittaker says that "a focus on both

[128] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 1.
[129] Sofaer, J. (2015) "Bodies and Encounters: Seeing Invisible Children in Archaeology" Chapter 4 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.75
[130] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 7.
[131] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.329.
[132] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p.38.
[133] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.352.

children and parenting allows a more complex material landscape to be formed";[134] this is an important consideration when inspecting the relational identity of children. It has been theorised that the home, being increasingly the domain of women, would have in turn resulted in children being given more tasks as the workload of women grew in maintaining a household. [135]

Overall Cyprus' progress with copper and bronze would have impacted the experience of childhood, creating "increased differentiation between infants, children and adults", and also perhaps introducing apprenticeships to maintain and develop specialisation in bronze working techniques.[136]

One skeleton will not reflect the general population fitness of a settlement. The varying social and environmental boundaries imposed upon a child as they grow may have a direct impact on their health.[137] For example those kept within a single house will be susceptible to any contagion within its walls. Or an increase in societal expectations once an individual has reached a certain age may inflict a measure of mental or physical strain.[138] Sofaer encourages us to "understand how bodies interact with the material world in order to ask questions about human development... different forms of material culture have the potential to produce qualitatively different kinds of bodies...".[139]

Childhood is a social category, alongside gender and status, that impacts the permitted areas for an individual to visit and how they may behave in these areas.[140] Architecture, as a part of the environment *and* material culture, has an important part in forming a child's life, and children can be subject to changing rules between buildings or find opportunities for autonomy within them. Established by the society that came before them, the buildings that children dwell in and visit are designed to guide people in a certain way; they "physically

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[134] Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (2024) "Introduction to the Historical Archaeology of Children, Childhood and Parenting"; p.12.
[135] Coşkunsu, G. (2015) "Children as Archaeological Enigma"; p6.
[136] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.324-325.
[137] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; piii.
[138] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 7.
[139] Sofaer, J. (2015) "Bodies and Encounters: Seeing Invisible Children in Archaeology" Chapter 4 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.84
[140] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p.46.

forge a dialogue with people as people pass through them".[141] Buildings can forbid and permit access, encourage behaviours, and require a level of physical ability to engage with. An individual may be so sculpted by the architecture of their youth that they seek to maintain and replicate it in adulthood. And yet, as a piece of material culture, a building is there to be used as the people who engage with it see fit. Children, if afforded a level of freedom within their social status, might see the physical layout as an area of play, or find out of the way sections to create a 'special place'. It can be shelter, a workplace, a recreation ground, a place of dread, or a place of awe and respect. Any of these iterations can match or counter adult intentions for a building.[142] One way to view the monumental buildings and burial chambers in K-AD is to analyse the "affordances" they can give to individuals of differing social categories. What cultural rewards can be gained in visiting these areas, and what opportunities do they present physically? Are there those that, due to their "mental and physical characteristics" and capabilities, are denied access to these spaces?[143]

Child development

Modern research has been conducted into the development of children and how to nourish this growth, with the hope of helping them have the best start of becoming healthy members of society.[144] These works, created with modern western child rearing techniques and biased views on how to consider a 'child' and what is best for them, should not be taken as a universal guide for how all children have been, or should be, raised. However, the reports are useful in that they break down human development by explaining what level of physical and mental abilities can typically be seen to present at certain stages of life. With the ever present acknowledgment that one size does not fit all and that cultural differences equal different

[141] Hutson, S.R. (2015) "Method and Theory for an Archaeology of Age", Chapter 3 in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.64.
[142] *Ibid;* p.64.
[143] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p.47.
[144] Deoni, S. et al (2022) "Connecting inside out: Development of the social brain in infants and toddlers with a focus on myelination as a marker of brain maturation" in Child development, Vol.93, Issue 2, Blackwell Publishing Ltd; p.359-371; Catling, S. (2006) "What do Five-Year-Olds Know of the World? - Geographical Understanding and Play in Young Children's Early Learning", in Geography, Volume 91 Issue 1, Routledge; p.55-74; Sharman, C. et al (2015) Summative assessment in the early years: a guide to observational techniques for anyone working with young children; Bloomsbury Education, London, New York; James, C. E. et al (2024) "Cognitive enrichment through art: a randomized controlled trial on the effect of music or visual arts group practice on cognitive and brain development of young children", Article 141 in BMC complementary and alternative medicine, BioMed Central Ltd, Vol.24, Issue 1; Gulli, C. (2006) "How Young is Too Young?" In Maclean's, St. Joseph Communications, Toronto; Vol.119, Issue 36-37; Pritchard, J. (2016) "Play and explore" in Prep school, John Catt Educational Limited, Woodbridge; Issue 85.

development, these reports can help us begin to consider what interactions children in LBA Cyprus were physically and mentally capable of in their society, and how this may influence how they related to others, and so their burials. The above examples of the potential lifestyles of children begin to give an idea of the scope of child growth and identity, but having age based data will help consider the nuances of the archaeological context of children's remains.

Tomb Overview

I now turn to examining the findings of two Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios tombs to see if their context can inform us on how subadults were viewed and treated in LBA Cypriot society. The first complex is tombs 11, 9 and a dromos niche, and the second is the pair of tombs 13 and 12. Looking at these burials I will touch on the arrangement of the deceased and items in the space, and make note of questions and points of interest that arise from the examination. This will then be further analysed in the next section.

To ease discussion these bodies will be referred to thusly:

Tomb	Skeleton	Reference
11	19-20yo on west bench	**A**(dult)**1**
11	21-24 yo on east bench	**A2**
11	17 yo on east bench	**A3**
11	3 yo	**C**(hild)**1**
11	3 newborn infants	**Infant Bundle**
9	infant	**Inf**(ant).**1**
Dromos niche	20-24 month old	**C2**
Dromos niche	17-25 yo	**A4**
12	3 individual infants	**Inf.2-4**
12	5-6 yo	**C3**
13	Middle-aged woman	**A5**

Fig.8 Skeleton Key for the deceased of T11/9 and the niche, and T13/12.

Burial Tomb 11/9 and dromos niche

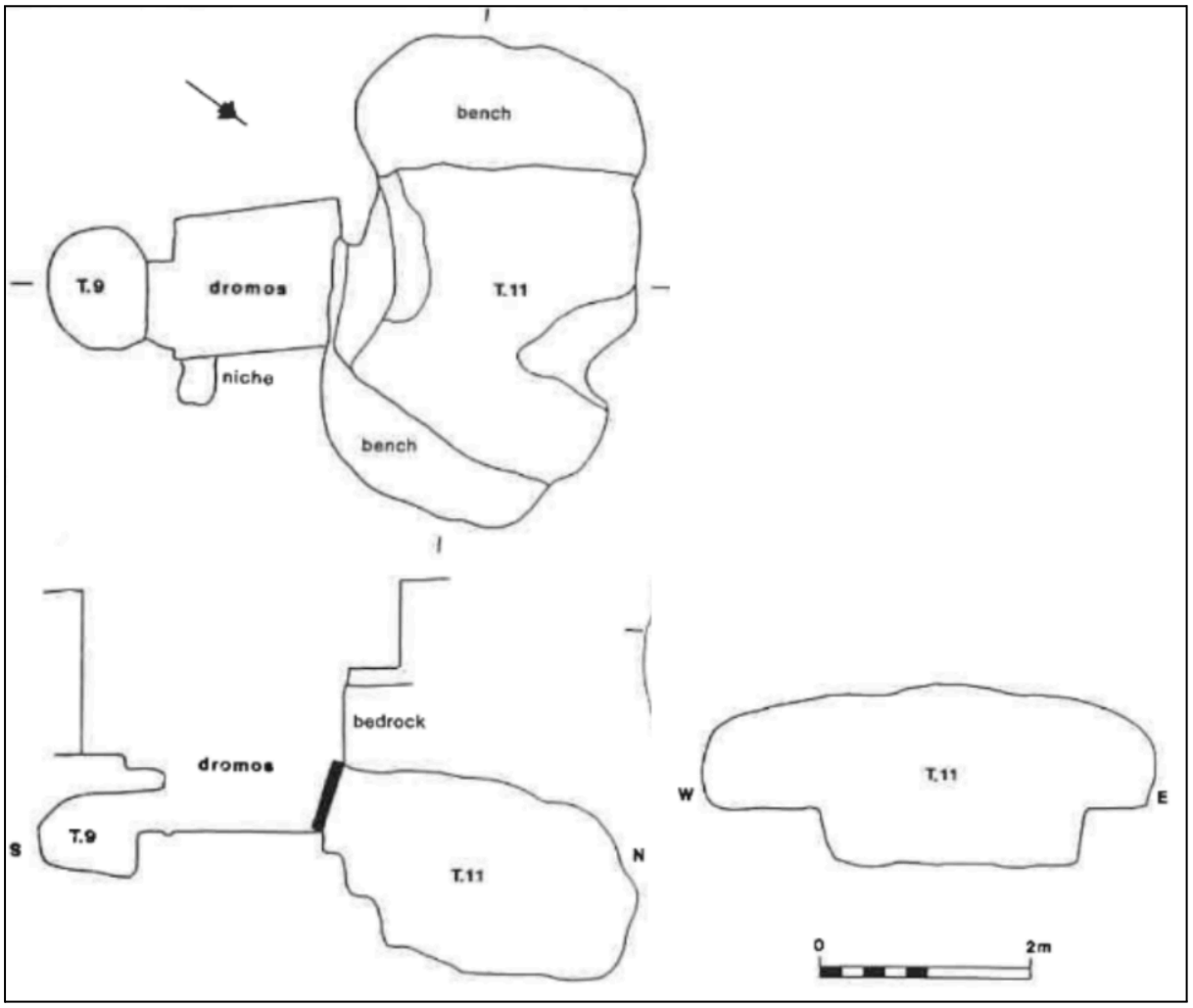


Fig.9 'Plans and sections of Tombs 11+9', South 2000, p350.[145]

The complex of Tombs 11 and 9 is located west of B.X., with its main period of use dated to LC IIA:2/IIB. Altogether in the Tomb 11/9 complex there are 10 bodies: 6 subadults, 3 female adults, and 1 unconfirmed adult. Entering through the dromos the first bodies are the incomplete skeletons of a child of 20-24 months (**C2**) and an adult of 17-25 years (**A4**) enclosed in a niche in the walls of the dromos itself, which was sealed by a stone. Closest to this is Tomb 9, a small oval chamber of 1.10m with an unsealed entrance, containing a single infant (**Inf.1**) and "far too small for extended adult burials".[146] Across from Tomb 9 is the entrance to Tomb 11, a much larger and deeper chamber of 4.20m with more attention paid to the placement of the bodies. Benches cut into the rock walls are either side of the entrance; the bench to the left (west) of the entrance is twice the width of the right (east) bench. A

[145] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.350
[146] *Ibid*; p.352

19-20 year old female (**A1**) is laid on the bench to the left, with a 21-24 (**A2**) and a 17 (**A3**) year old female's skeletons disarticulated and arranged on the right bench. On the floor of Tomb 11 is a 3 year old child (**C1**) and a bundle of 3 newborn infants (**Infant Bundle**). Some of the bones are missing from the skeletons and it may be that they were never part of the burial,[147] or else were lost to decay or excavation processes. Of these 3 burial places Tomb 11 is the only to have escaped looting and remain intact; and it is unsure whether the official final opening was for the sake of the dromos niche, the infant bundle of tomb 11, or the burial of tomb 9.

The children in this complex have been arranged in significantly diverse manners. The combined bodies of 3 infants, presumably initially placed in an organic basket which has since disintegrated, were mingled together with animal bones and placed on the ground, the only recognisable element of ritual being the 3 "similar" White-Slip III bowls placed with them.[148] While C2's burial is less elaborate than a chamber, the dromos niche is an intentional space for the placement of bodies while the bundle's inclusion is less obvious. Meanwhile, Inf.1, near complete and with a fragmented ivory object, has a small chamber to itself. C2 has a miniature juglet and is interred closely alongside an adult, while C1's bones were placed on the floor, intermixed with various ceramics. Interestingly, the bench next to C1 has 3 milk teeth present confirmed not to have belonged to either of the women on the bench. Goring suggests three possibilities to their presence: 1) they may have belonged to the C1 who may originally have been laid out on the bench; 2) the teeth came from the floor of the chamber and were placed on the bench top by someone; or 3) the teeth belonged to another child, whose skeleton had been moved elsewhere.[149]

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[147] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.101
[148] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.352-353.
[149] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.101

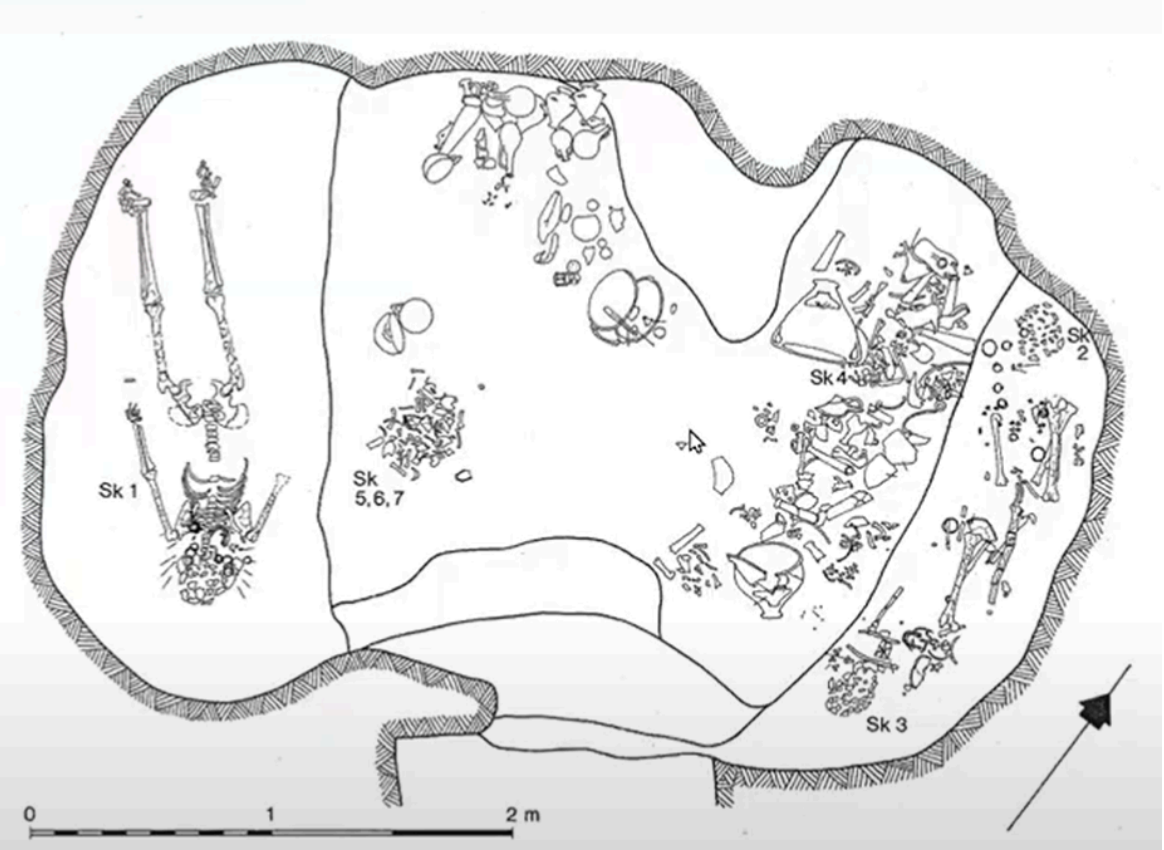


Fig.10 'Plan of Tomb 11 at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios', from Goring (1989), Fig.13.1, p.99. [Sk.1=A1, Sk.2= A2, Sk.3=A3, Sk.4=C1, Sk.5,6,7=Infant bundle].[150]

There are 177 registered objects found in T11.[151] Among the ceramics are seven Mycenaean vessels (including two kraters), a few Cypriot ceramics of White Slip II, Base-Ring I/II and Base-Ring II, at least 21 Red Lustrous ware spindle bottles and flasks. There are also objects made from ivory, faience, glass, stone and bone;[152] as well as food represented by sheep, goat, rock dove and fish bones, and eggshells[153] (though the placement of the food is unclear).

[150] *Ibid*; p.99
[151] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.352
[152] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.11.
[153] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102-103.



Fig.11 'Tomb 11 selected pottery'. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[154]

Interestingly, several of the items come in "sets", including "three identical Mycenaean piriform jars, a graded set of pedestalled Base-Ring bowls, two almost identical Base-Ring bull vessels, two Egyptian glass jars, two ivory duck [cosmetic palettes[155]]…".[156]

It is not always clear for whom these burial goods were intended. Some objects are placed nearer to some people - there was a row of the spindle bottles placed against A2 and A3's bench[157] - but there are 3 women in the tomb so why are there so many sets of 2? Goring suggests they "might reflect the number of burials introduced into the tomb during particular episodes", adding an interesting thought that the combination of identical items "might reflect the way they were used".[158] Perhaps these are matching toiletry sets?

The two sets of Mycenaean kraters with a cup inside (in this case one with fish decoration, one with lily decoration, both with a Base-Ring cup)[159] are recognisable as part of ritualistic burial practise. This equipment is a common occurrence in burial goods thought to be used

[154] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 45.43 mins.
[155] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102.
[156] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.352
[157] *Ibid;* p.353
[158] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102.
[159] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.352

either to give sustenance to the deceased or for the use of the mourners as part of funerary feasting, indeed perhaps both.[160]



Fig.12 Items and jewellery from T11, From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[161]

While all 3 of the women have been buried with jewellery, A1 having seemingly minimal post-burial interference presents an opportunity to consider what the others in the burial complex may or may not have had. She wore 6 gold earrings, 4 gold hair/ear spirals, 2 gold signet rings, 2 silver toe rings and at least 1 necklace; all the jewellery of T11 shows wear as if it was worn in life.[162] The body of A1 was fully articulated and extended with her head towards the entrance of the tomb, and the way her shoulders are raised and her arms slightly spread suggests she was pulled into position onto the bench before rigor mortis had fully set in.[163] For her to not have been adjusted to appear laying comfortably may have been due to a reluctance to disrupt the display of jewellery, or perhaps she was placed in the chamber by

[160] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp:28.40 mins
[161] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 46.52 mins.
[162] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.103.
[163] *Ibid*; p.101.

people who were not emotionally engaged. A2 and A3 may once have been laid out like A1 on the left bench, then disarticulated and gathered together on the right side bench once there was someone new to bury; this could account for the larger size of the left bench,[164] particularly if it was to display intact bodies with flesh still on the bones. South points out that A2 and A3 may have been moved to the right bench from an entirely different primary burial place, as none of the skeletons' missing bones are found remaining on the left bench, as might be expected with smaller pieces.[165] The proximity of C1 to the narrower bench, along with the teeth found upon it, presents a scenario where a child was included in this practice along with the adults. But if this were the case it introduces more questions concerning the treatment of the other children. Ultimately this cannot be concluded with only one undisturbed tomb discovered showing such a layout.



Fig.13 Skeleton A1, Tomb 11 K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[166]

[164] *Ibid*; p.100.
[165] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.352
[166] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 16.36 mins.



Fig.14 'Niche in side of Tomb 11 dromos'. From South (2021) CAARI lecture. [167]

With the smaller T9 exclusively holding Inf.1 we could suppose a space intended for multiple infant burials, yet the larger T11 has both adult and infant remains, as does the niche despite its small size. The extant remains do not indicate an individual of extraordinary importance, so it may be T9 is an example of disrupted organisation towards the end of K-AD's existence. Again, with scant evidence to analyse, it is unclear if there was special reason for A4 and C2 to be placed together in the niche such as a familial or social relation. But it may be the niche was a temporary measure: South explains that "if a large tomb wasn't open or available a dromos niche could still ensure they were decently buried". Perhaps this is another instance of consequently abandoned funerary plans. On A4 South makes an interesting suggestion that "for adults the efforts for creating a new tomb may have been reserved for more important people".[168] was there something about A4's age or sex that made them less important than A's 1-3?

[167] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 20.15 mins.
[168] *Ibid*; time stamp: 20.16 mins.

Burial Tomb 13/12

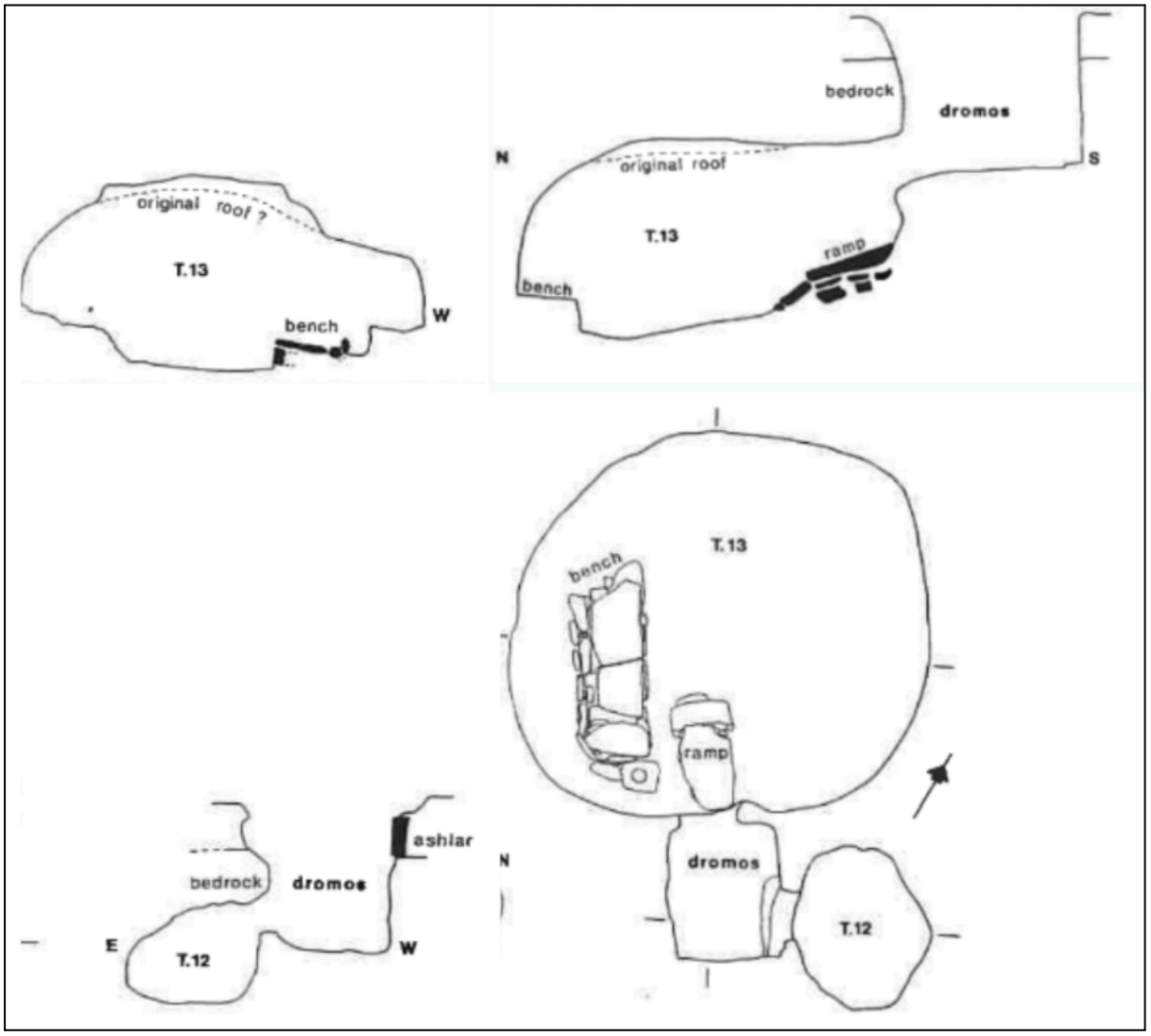


Fig.15 'Plans and sections of Tombs 13+12', South 2000, p350-1.[169]

Located south west of B.X, tomb complex 13/12 dates largely to LC IIB/IIC but has contents dating to LC IIA, suggesting an earlier period of use. A pit leading to the dromos dates to when the site was abandoned in the 13th century, being filled in with material from the nearby buildings[170]; and the dromos of these tombs actually sits across the remains of a previously filled dromos. Entering the dromos Tomb 12 lies to the right, another smaller oval chamber sized 1.45x1.2m. Turning left in the dromos is the circular Tomb 13 - again a larger and deeper chamber - measuring 3.8m. Tomb 13 slopes downwards as it moves away from the dromos, which has necessitated the installation of a ramp to enter the tomb: both the ramp

[169] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.350-1
[170] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13.

and a free standing bench to the left (west) of the entrance are constructed from stone slabs. Looters had accessed the site and seem to have focused their efforts on tomb 13, with additional disturbance to the original layout caused by flooding.[171]
Altogether the Tomb 13/12 complex holds 5 confirmed individual bodies, with a collection of scattered bones on the floor of several individuals. Tomb 12 holds three infants (**Inf.2-4**) and a 5-6 year old child (**C3**); in Tomb 13 a middle-aged female is laid out on a bench (**A5**), with perhaps one adult male amongst the scattered bones on the tomb floor - likely earlier burial moved aside to make room for new entombments.[172]

Like T11, T13 has an impressive arrangement of an adult female, but with T12 we have a more successful example of a child-only burial space than T9, with more substantial burial goods than the usual "one or two small pots, or no grave goods…".[173] With no recorded context of the subadult bodies, we are left with only these goods for our analysis.

There are altogether 7 vessels in T12: "a large Monochrome jar, three Base-Ring II cups, a Plain White shallow bowl, one Mycenaean and one locally made Aegean-style bowl".[174] Along with the ceramics was a gold hoop earring, 49 knuckle bones (astragali) from sheep, goat and one fallow deer, some modified with a smoother edge, and finally a 6.2cm high silver Hittite figurine. [175]

[171] *Ibid*; p.15
[172] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.355
[173] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13.
[174] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios';p.355
[175] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13



Fig.16 Selection of cleaned items from T12. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[176]

With three infants, we might assume that the 3 cups and 3 bowls were shared amongst them, especially as one cup and bowl were “of a very small size, suitable for use by children”.[177] Considering that most burials of the young have minimal goods, the older child may have been left the larger items of the jar, astragali, earring and figurine. Certainly, South claims that the Hittite figurine was likely for C3, presumably because the child’s advanced age would make it more worthy of such a gift over the infants; however, South also states that there is a "very small quantity of Hittite or Anatolian material found in Cyprus".[178] With its presence in the tomb already unusual, why should we default to an assumption that one child would be more deserving of such a rare piece than another? After all, they all made it into the same burial chamber.

In Tomb 13 we have another adult female burial of a seemingly socially important status. Laid out on a bench-top of 2 gypsum slabs, with a stone placed so as to protect the skull, A5 is in a well-preserved state.[179] While looters disrupted the arrangement of the burial goods there remained 80 items of gold jewellery on her body including “various types of beads, rings, ‘bull’s head’ earrings and a circular ornament with lapis lazuli inlay”.[180]

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[176] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”; time stamp 56.50 mins.
[177] South, A. (1997) ‘Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996’; p.13
[178] *Ibid*; p.13
[179] *Ibid*; p.13.
[180] *Ibid*; p.15.



Fig.17 Skeleton on bench, Tomb 13, K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[181]

Placed next to her head was a clay slab with a central depression with 3 small bronze blades, but any other metal items are thought to have been taken in the looting.[182] That A5 is the only body to be found with daggers in this context concurs with the idea that they could be a "status identifier" if not equipment used by her in life, instead representative of whatever her social role was.[183] There were overall 243 objects found in the tomb, but due to the looting and flooding the original burial arrangement is no longer in place; for example the vessels found on and around A5 are thought to have been moved there by the looters.[184] Almost half of the ceramic items in T13 were Mycenaean, 40 out of 90, and there were also Red Lustrous, White Slip, Monochrome, Plain White, red slipped Levantine and pedestalled vessels. Additionally there was a cylinder seal, faience and alabaster vessels, and decorative ivory fragments including rods, discs, duck vessels and pierced strips which would have been part of a box.[185]

[181] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 51.44 mins.
[182] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13.
[183] Hamilakis, Y. & Sherratt, S. (2012) "Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus"; p.188.
[184] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.15.
[185] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.355



Fig.18 Cleaned items from Tomb 13, K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[186]

A5 was not alone in this tomb; there were scattered bones on the floor "representing several individuals of various ages, including one possibly male adult".[187] With this in mind we cannot be sure for whom the burial goods were intended, and without a clear number of the interred it is difficult to say if the goods reflected a proper amount to leave for the dead or if this is a large amount of gifts. In any case, they reflect a wealthy burial and the amount of Mycenaean vessels included are striking, approximately half were LHIII AII-B Mycenaean imports, with some of the local wares heavily influenced by its design.[188]

[186] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp 54.33 mins and 56.05 mins.
[187] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.355
[188] Steel, L. (1994) Representations of a Shrine on a Mycenaean Chariot Krater from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus. The Annual of the British School at Athens, 89; p.203-205

That a pictoral Mycenaean krater was found amongst the burial goods is an indicator of the higher status of the tomb inhabitants. Such pieces came into Cyprus along with a range of Mycenaean pottery imports but were intended specifically for the urban elite.[189]

With just a description of bones of "various ages" on the floor of T13 and with the objects from both tombs dating the last use to LCIIC,[190] we cannot be sure who was the last burial or if there were subadults amongst T13's dead, which would give another perspective on the supposed 'child-only' T12. We are left to extrapolate on the placement of the confirmed bodies and what social relationships may have existed between them.

[189] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; p170.
[190] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.355.

What the evidence shows

T11



Fig.19 Illustration of Tomb 11, K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[191]

A1, A2 and A3

Bodies A1, A2 and A3 were all of an age where they were likely to be considered fully grown and in the adult stage of their life-cycle, fully integrated into the expectations of their social category. We cannot know exactly what their lives entailed, but inferences can be made from their remains, burial and the archaeology of K-AD as a whole.

[191] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs", time stamp: 17.47 mins.



Fig.20 Skeleton A1, T11. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[192]

[192] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”, time stamp: 19.22 mins.

Moyer's bone analysis reveals that the right hand of A1 shows signs of a degenerative joint disease caused by a physical trauma of some kind.[193] This could be read as arthritis that might have resulted from some sort of impact, a severe burn, wear and tear or an undetected health issue, that was an "old enough injury for arthritis to develop before death".[194] Unfortunately, with no surviving muscle, we cannot know the extent of the physical impact on this person. As the affected area is limited to one hand, it might well be that this is the effect of repetitive work, with the individual being right hand dominant. This is an interesting case in contrast to the more "degenerative" bone problems found in many LBA skeletons from K-AD and across Cyprus; those issues of "osteoarthritis in the lower spine, elbow, knee and hands" indicate the kind of bodily effects seen from an active life, perhaps one of hard labour.[195] That A1 does not have these issues present speaks to a life that had duties and expectations outside of rigorous manual work; it could be that the female often sewed or played a musical instrument.[196]

A3's lifestyle seems to have been deeply affected by her social circle. Moyer's examination concludes that the individual had malnutrition and anemia, perhaps weakening the immune system and leaving her vulnerable to "endemic malaria".[197] Being of a seemingly elite status, this individual's diet could be one of her own choosing, but likely was prescribed. The social beliefs of what was appropriate for her to eat would directly affect her nutritional in-take. An elite status could also dictate the spaces that were suitable for her to frequent and who she should meet with. Were someone within that appropriate social circle to have a contagious disease, the circumstances make it more likely that she too would catch it - particularly with a weakened immune system.

[193] Moyer, C.J., (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.64-65.
[194] Personal correspondence with retired Head Nurse Russell Palmer, 26.5.25.
[195] Moyer, C.J., (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.67.
[196] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya", Chapter 27 in: Budin, S. and Turfa, J. (2016) Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; p.391
[197] Moyer, C.J., (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.67.



Fig.21 Items of adornment from T11. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[198]

A1's placement on the bench suggests she was one of the last to be interred in the tomb, and the goods found on her undisturbed body, alongside the bone evidence, portray a member of the elite. The gold earrings she wore, described as oddly plain for someone of her assumed status, may have been more significant in what they represented rather than how they appeared. Each is made of a standardised weight of gold seen elsewhere in the Late Cypriot, suggesting that they functioned for some purpose, perhaps as "conspicuous signs of wealth". The bench holding A2 and A3 has 6 more of these standardised gold earrings.[199] If A1 had 6 earrings, and we are to believe that it was of an intentional ration, then is it likely that the 6 earrings of the east bench were of possession by only one of the skeletons, rather than three for each. The distribution in Goring's T11 plan (Fig.10) shows them placed with A2, but with the skeletons' rearrangement after the mortification of flesh we cannot be conclusive of to whom they belonged. Maybe because A3 was an adult just out of adolescence it wasn't yet socially appropriate for her to be given these rings in the first place? If the gold rings were, as suggested, a dowry,[200] it would mean these individuals were unmarried; this evokes the idea that all bodies intended for tomb complex T11/9 were those who were viewed as somehow 'immature' in their society, and would explain the mix of adults and children, bringing them together as one social category. A dowry would also insinuate that women had limited agency and access to wealth and power.[201]

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[198] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs", time stamp: 48.04 mins.
[199] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.103.
[200] *Ibid*; p.104.
[201] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.394



Fig.22 Items of adornment from T11, K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[202]

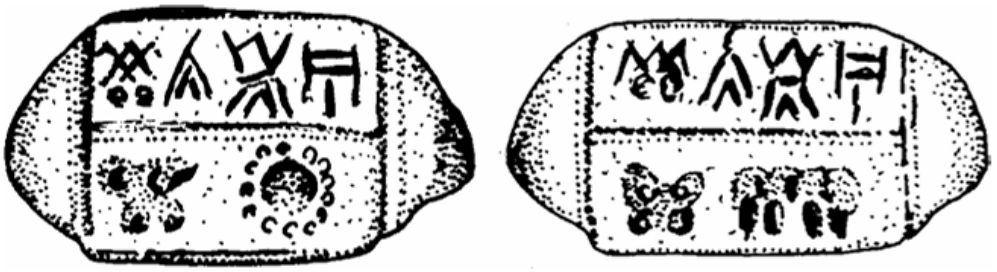


Fig.23 'Gold signet ring' from T11, K-AD. Fig 27.3 from Steel (2016).[203]

One item of A1's does indicate administrative power, however.[204] The signet rings are a piece of literary material culture reserved for "elite display and self-celebration,"[205] and are a rare find, here indicating the importance of this individual and widening the scope of female authority in LBA Cyprus.[206] As well as being symbols that could "authorize transactions and mark her property",[207] it is thought that the 2 signet rings may carry A1's name.[208]

[202] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs", time stamp 48.04 mins.
[203] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.394
[204] Hamilakis, Y. & Sherratt, S. (2012) "Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus"; p.188.
[205] Knapp, A.B. (2024) Cyprus and Ugarit: Connecting Material and Mercantile Worlds; Sidestone Press, Leiden; pp 33-34
[206] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.394
[207] Ibid; p.394
[208] Smith, J. (2016) "Women in the cities of Cyprus: Rulers and urban dwellers from the late bronze age to the hellenistic period", Chapter 29 in: Budin, S. and Turfa, J. (2016) Women in Antiquity : Real Women Across the Ancient World. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; p.418

Cypro-Minoan remains an undeciphered language, but the iconography of the symbols on the ring hold familiarity. To speculate - the 3rd symbol may resemble a building topped with horns of consecration, the 5th an oxhide ingot, and the 6th a sun on one ring and plants on the other; this imagery corresponds to the position of power held in K-AD with its trade of copper and agricultural produce. But this is unverified.

Placing the rings with A1's body removed them from the world of the living, showing they were "not expected to return to circulation in the community."[209] If these rings *were* transactional equipment it implies that they were no longer required beyond A1's death - the timing of which may coincide with the abandonment of K-AD.

As stated earlier, it is difficult to discern for whom the ceramics were intended, but they altogether portray peoples of a wealthy lifestyle. In the case of K-AD this would be those connected to the industrial production and resulting trade of the settlement.

Infant Bundle

The finer bones of these infants have not survived well but do show that the calvaria were separate - bones of the skull which will join at 12-18 months of age, helping to age the children and indicating that "none of the infants survived long after birth".[210] Modern observations of neonates, or those in the life-cycle stage 'birth and the external womb', show them to be passive dependents - they cannot support their body, sleep around 21 hours a day, need regular feeding and communicate primarily through crying. They can use their senses to engage with their environment: turning to look at sounds they hear, recognising smells and responding to touch. Neonates can begin to form bonds with their primary carer if interacted with consistently, recognising their voice "when one week old", or possibly able to "'copy' certain gestures soon after delivery", but touch is "thought to be a major factor in the bonding process".[211] These age requirements curate a specific routine of care, and the infant hasn't the mental capacity to have agency with these physical demands. Their treatment is likely to be based on traditional social practice considered fit for their social category, alongside the carer's wishes. Anthropomorphic figures show us that touch might have been a recognised and welcomed element of childrearing, with infants often held in the left arm; and we can see

[209] Crawford, S. (2024) "Early Medieval English Childhood and Grave Goods: Mortuary Symbols of Emotion, Affection and Parenting?", Chapter 3 in: Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al*. (eds) (2024) Historical Archaeology of Childhood and Parenting : Materialized Experiences, Discourses, Identities, Places, and Meanings; Springer Nature Switzerland; p32

[210] Moyer, C.J. (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.65.

[211] Sharman, C. *et al* (2015) Summative Assessment in the Early Years, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc; p25-25.

feeding techniques through the breastfeeding figurines and the milk bowls left with the deceased. Interesting is the use of cradle boards as, though they would have supported the skeleton and allowed the carer to use their hands for other tasks while watching over the sleeping infant, it may have impacted the consistency of touch and so effected the bonding process. Budin feels that the calming effect produced by the total swaddling would be a priority for the carer, with the cradle-less figurines intended to be portrayals of divine ideas of motherhood, and so not an indication of real-life childrearing techniques.[212] The 'touch bond' may be a modern phenomena and not factor into LBA practices.

Dependending on the number of months lived and who was the primary carer the infants in the bundle would have begun to build a bond with someone; it is down to the cultural regard of LBA Cyprus as to whether that was significant enough to see them as part of society or if they remained those who 'one day' would be part of the community. The varying burial arrangements across tombs 11/9 and 12/13 show that there was no strict rule for infant burial, but that they *are found* in burials suggests their worth in the culture, the variations may be due to the wishes of their carers or simply down to the timing of culturally appropriate adult burials.

Goring concludes that the infant bundle was likely to have had initial funerary treatment before coming into the tomb, and may not have been placed there until long after death.[213] This certainly seems true for the condition in which the bundle of three were found. Infant burials in jars can be seen in Enkomi, so this is not necessarily unusual;[214] and it may be that the placement of three together indicates triplets.[215] How the bundle fits into the dynamic of the tomb is difficult to say - there is a temptation to assign them as the children of A1, as they are placed near her bench; the three infants' bones had been stored together for some time prior to being placed in T11 - perhaps they were kept to be buried with their mother when she died? While this may be an oversimplification, there are examples where the living have buried the dead to "reflect the biological relationships they shared in life",[216] and so this line of questioning cannot be discredited, only approached with caution.

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[212] Budin, S. (2016) "Maternity in Ancient Cyprus"; p.367, 370.
[213] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102.
[214] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.214.
[215] Hillson, S. (2009) The World's Largest Infant Cemetery and Its Potential for Studying Growth and Development. Hesperia Supplements, Vol.43, 137–154; p.142
[216] Brown, K.A. (2015) "Placing Children in Society: Using Ancient DNA to Identify Sex and Kinship of Child Skeletal Remains, and Implications for Gender and Social Organization"; p.144.



Fig.24 Set of 3 milk bowls from T11. Lorentz 2003, p229.[217]

It is assumed that the 3 milk bowls are placed for the infant bundle,[218] but looking at them we can see that they grow in size - why would not all 3 infants receive the same size bowls? It might be that these could be associated with C1, with a new milk bowl gifted for each year they were alive. Or, perhaps, the milkbowls represent "larger cultural concepts and beliefs about childhood and parenting" more than they reflect any personal identities of the dead.[219]

[217] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.229.
[218] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”, time stamp: 43.06 mins
[219] Kamp-Whittaker, A. *et al.* (2024) “Introduction to the Historical Archaeology of Children, Childhood and Parenting”; p12.

C1



Fig.25 'Tomb 11: child's bones on floor with pottery'; From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[220]

C1's context is complex. At 3 years, they are at the stage of 'joining the community' - developing a social use of language, moving with confidence, and their "emotional maturity shows in friendliness, sociability and desire to please". Capable of following directions and understanding the use of objects, they copy and help adults. They begin to use their imagination, which can result in fear, but also a greater enthusiasm for songs and stories and curiosity for their environment.[221] This combination of skills and ability means that they are able to actively join the community, rather than be passively accepted, they might begin to visit and interact with places outside the household and, significantly, C1 would've been able to "remember and talk about events in their own experience and [be] able to describe these special events for family or friends".[222] This is to say that C1 would have been recognised as becoming an individual in society, however their remains do not reflect this.
Lorentz questions the significance of adults being placed on benches while the floor was suitable for the children - was this an arrangement that portrayed the adults as higher in status?[223] In the context of K-AD burials overall, C1 is not the only deceased to have their bones left on the floor (see the unconfirmed adult male of T13) - what might initially come

[220] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs", time stamp: 17.19 mins.
[221] Sharman, C. *et al* (2015) Summative Assessment in the Early Years; p.47-49.
[222] *Ibid*; p.49.
[223] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.209-210.

across as a lack of care towards a child matches acceptable treatment for adults, longstanding members of the community. While contextually striking in T11, there is certainly no reason to think it stems from a cultural disregard for this individual's age. Indeed, dental evidence suggests they may originally have been placed on the nearby bench. And again, that C1 was included in the burial chamber shows they had value as a person. It has been posited, observing the treatment of those on the right bench, that at a certain stage of bodily decay individuals may have been seen as less worthy of a considered and careful arrangement - this can also be applied when looking at C1.[224] Possibly there were no survivors with a personal connection to this individual when rearranging the chamber for a fresh burial; but their initial interment in the chamber infers a connection to the wealthier inhabitants of K-AD, regardless of the lack of perceivable funerary gifts to analyse.

T9



Fig.26 'Tomb 9:lack of space excavating small chamber'; From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[225]

Inf.1

Inf.1 in T9 is another from the 'birth and the external womb' stage. No information is given on the bones of the skull so we may assume a fully developed 12 month old. An infant of this age begins to move around and shows an interest in developing skills of handling objects and feeding/dressing themself. Communication of speech and body movement is growing as they learn people's names and use observed actions, they also enjoy rhythms and

[224] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102
[225] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs": time stamp: 21.40 mins.

stories from those close to them and "enjoy an audience" themselves. While the basic social skills are being developed the infant is not yet able to fully engage with its surroundings, and so not yet 'join the community' in an individual sense - they remain highly dependent on their carer.[226]

This individual's life is not reflected in its burial outside of inclusion in a small chamber and the identification of ivory, an elite material. Unless there were perishable grave goods that also filled the tomb it is likely that this space was not intended for Inf.1 alone. The small size of the chamber suggests that this space was intended solely for subadults, which would illustrate a high regard for infants and children in the community if true. Some believe that occurrences of pit burials were temporary, with the intention to exhume and rebury bodies in chambers later on.[227] Perhaps the intention was for the subadults of T11 and the niche to be eventually placed in T9, but K-AD was abandoned before this could take place. With little to examine, Inf.1 for now adds interesting funerary context to the burials of K-AD overall.

Dromos Niche

C2

C2's development places them in the stage 'joining the community'. They have greater strength and coordination in their body, and teeth mean they can feed themself solid food. Along with their ability to manoeuvre and engage with objects they are beginning to speak in sentences, asking many questions about what is in and outside of their environment, and can follow instructions and routines. The modern observations of children being able to navigate objects, join in with rhymes and respond to stories - paired with the knowledge of children in hunter-gatherer communities helping their social circle as soon as they are able and learning through stories and songs - heightens the probability that LBA children were too. These kinds of interactions would help form bonds and community amongst their peers, and through these relations they would learn what was expected of them. This would have limitations as the child is still susceptible to tantrums and needs toilet assistance, but the individual personality of the child is coming through.[228]

[226] Sharman, C. *et al* (2015) Summative Assessment in the Early Years; p.33-34.
[227] Lorentz, K. O. (2016). Challenges for funerary taphonomy viewed through prehistoric Cyprus; p.764
[228] Sharman, C. *et al* (2015) Summative Assessment in the Early Years; p.40-42.



Fig.27 A miniature jug from T11/9 dromos niche. Lorentz 2003, p229.[229]

The circumstances of C2's burial reveal little about if they contributed to their household, but suggests a bond or social relation with A4. We can presume, despite being placed in a niche, they were valued as they were given a burial. Many infants were recovered from dromos niches in LCIB Toumba tou Skourou, typically as the sole occupant; the excavators of that site observed that vessels for liquid or drinking were particularly provided as burial goods, with "feeding bottles set close to the mouths of the infants".[230] However, C2 was beyond the age of an infant, and given a jug less than 3cm in size - surely too small to be used in life as anything other than a keepsake or toy. Miniature vessels in LC subadult burials are not uncommon,[231] perhaps here it was burial equipment for oil or drink as the space is too small for the usual equipment.

A4

That A4 was given a large gold ring further supports them and C2 as members of the elite, but if a child's presence in the niche is curious, even more so is an adult's. A potential explanation, again, is that this was a final, rushed burial in the dromos - but we can note that 17 is the lower estimate of A4's age, possibly rendering them premature in some way like A3.

[229] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.229.
[230] *Ibid;* p.204-7.
[231] *Ibid;* p.229.

T13

A5



Fig.28 Evidence of headshaping, Tomb 13, K-AD. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[232]

A5 is recorded as ‘middle aged’; while a vague description we can presume this was an individual old enough to be established in the role expected of her. An examination of her skull shows evidence of headshaping.[233] This practice has been confirmed as used on 6 other crania in LCII K-AD, with the cosmetic practice going back to Middle Cypriot,[234] and strictly from "urban based populations".[235] With this head shaping A5 is clearly marked as part of a select social circle; the mass of Mycenaean wares in her tomb might link her to the domestic building which held large quantities of them, residents of which were likely connected to the

[232] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”; time stamp: 19.49 mins.
[233] *Ibid*; time stamp: 19.49.
[234] Lorentz, K. (2003) “Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age”; p.256, 263.
[235] *Ibid*; p333

trade of valuable products like copper and olive oil. One burial pot, the Mycenaean 'Chariot Krater' (K-AD 1619),[236] might allude to another elite role.

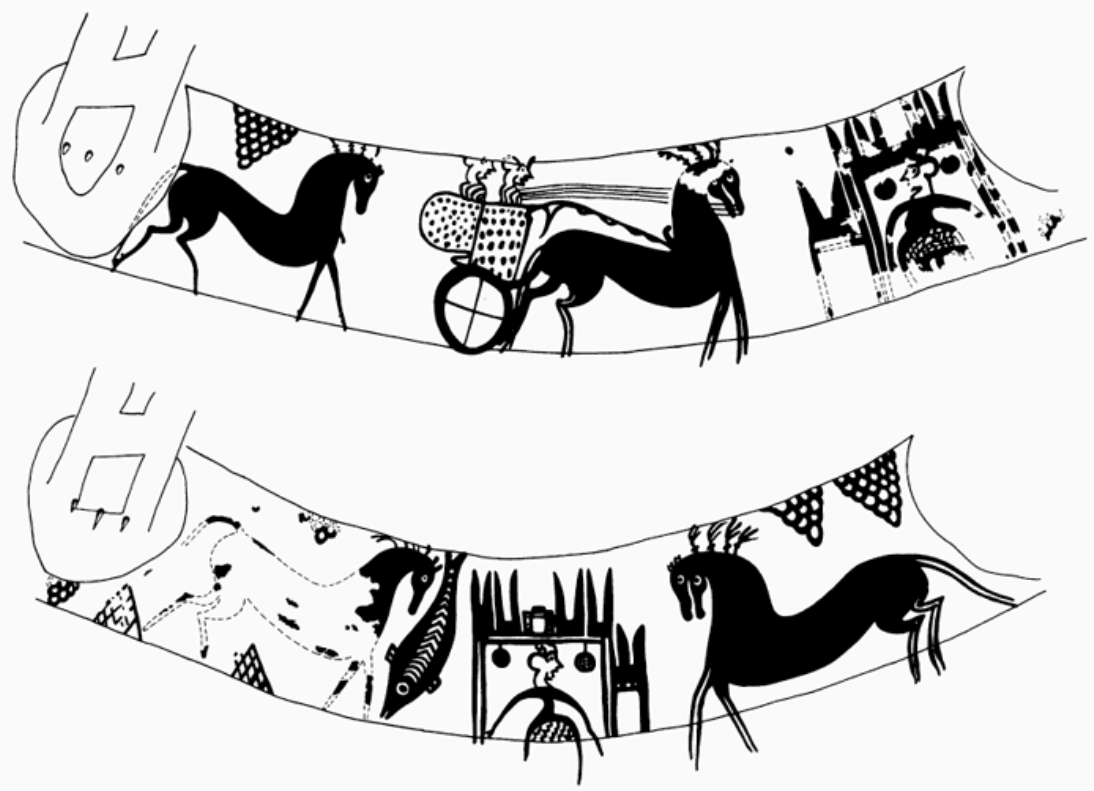


Fig.29 'K-AD pictorial design (sides A and B)', Chariot Krater from Tomb 13, K-AD. Fig.4 from Steel (1994), p.206.[237]

Dated to "the Cypriot Middle III group of Mycenaean pictorial bases of LHIII A2 date",[238] the krater's decoration is focused at the shoulders in large bands that sweep from handle to handle,[239] and as best as it can be determined replicated in reverse from side A to side B.[240] Horses lead a chariot of two men toward a shrine-like building where a female figure resides; also featured are individual horses approaching, net-like clusters and, on side B, a large fish. That this structure is a shrine can be identified by the presence of horns of consecration across the roofs and a tripod/stand that sits on roof B, elements often associated with religious

[236] Steel, L. (1994) Representations of a Shrine on a Mycenaean Chariot Krater from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus; p.201
[237] *Ibid*; p.206.
[238] *Ibid*; p.208.
[239] *Ibid*; p.205.
[240] *Ibid*; p.207.

scenes in Mediterranean artistic representations, as well as female figures,[241] though in this instance there is no clear indication as to whether this figure is a priestess or a goddess.
The individual horses and the large fish are likely, in my opinion, offerings or sacrifices to the goddess/shrine. The net-like clusters may be design motifs used to fill space; however with close examination the female figure's skirt is reminiscent of it. It may be coincidence, or perhaps a goddess figure in an island community might be dressed symbolically in the tools that help to sustain the people; to further suppose, a net worn around the woman's waist could evoke ideas of reproductive/replenishing powers. The image on the krater matches the recognised symbols of a religious place or sanctuary: that of horns of consecration, a room with restricted access and a ceremonial procession, and also perhaps an animal to be sacrificed.[242]
The combined presence of this krater, with the small offering table placed next to A5's head, may indicate her identity as a priestess herself. Mycenaean imported kraters were "commonly found in sanctuary contexts and played an integral role in religious ceremony",[243] and the possible offering table with 3 small bronze blades might have been part of a ritual toolkit, used by her in life, for making sacrifices at a shrine of creatures like fish and horses. It is possible that, while there are no identified religious buildings on K-AD, there was still religious activity practiced; particularly by the elite society entangled in the ceremonial-like exchanges of surrounding cultures - such a role would add to an individual's 'physical capital' and, what's more, close inspection of the krater reveals possible portrayal of headshaped individuals (Fig.30). Steel states that "there is some evidence [LC women] specifically chose their own personal Mycenaean kraters for decorative motifs that reflected their identities, social roles, and high status";[244] this krater may reflect the activities of A5.

[241] *Ibid*; p.210-211.
[242] *Ibid*; p.210.
[243] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; p.177-178.
[244] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.391



Fig.30 Possible headshaping, Chariot Krater from Tomb 13, K-AD. Fig.4 from Steel (1994), p.206.[245]

T12

Inf.2-4

Like Inf.1 these subadults were from the 'birth and the external womb' stage, and while beginning to develop mentally and physically would have been highly dependent on their carers. The 3 cups and bowls may have been left to them objects of funerary ritual, but the astragali seem like objects used in life. Some of the knuckle-bones had been partly smoothed, showing they may have been gaming pieces.[246] A certain level of understanding would be required to follow rules in an established game, but they could also have been an object of sensory play for infants as they begin to handle objects. With no record of the burial context it is difficult to confirm who the pieces were intended for.

C3

Physically children of C3's age have good balance, coordination, spatial awareness and motor skills, and with this comes confidence and increased independence. This brings them to the 'separation' stage of the life cycle and through to 'getting noticed'. Bonds with their social group grow as their speech becomes fluent, they understand "social rules" more and enjoy "joining in with family customs and routines". They also show "purpose and persistence, and

[245] Steel, L. (1994) Representations of a Shrine on a Mycenaean Chariot Krater from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus; p.206.
[246] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13, footnote.8.

control over emotions", an increased care for others, and confident use of "tools and techniques". This overall development of the child enables them to engage with their culture as an individual and to be taught execution of tasks and values in society. Their empathy for others would enable them to help care for family members, and their individual skillset might lead to an apprenticeship - particularly as they can now "follow multistep instructions" and understand money and weights.[247] It is C3's 'getting noticed' that led them to be given such a precious and rare item as the Hittite figurine. Items of Hittite origin are rare on the island and would have been restricted to those involved in high status gift exchange, particularly as silver was "more valuable than gold for much of the period".[248] It would be no idle action to have placed it amongst subadults, particularly as they customarily were given sparse pottery.[249] While C3's sex is unrecorded and could heavily affect their life path, their elite status in K-AD would be most likely to have them somehow connected with the administration and control around the industrial activities. We can see from the Mycenaean wares found in the ashlar buildings that administrative work connected the people to trade and wealthy imported goods. It may be that C3 had begun to assist with this work, or had family connections with administrators that enabled them to engage with foreign traders. It could be that this figurine was a gift to encourage an interest in this career path. We cannot know if the Hittite figurine's presence was a "symbol of their parent's power" or if the child was "powerful in their own right".[250] Perhaps C2 was "conceptualized through grave goods as … of their parents' experience, or as once-future adults and members of a kin or social group".[251] But the protective attributes the figure portrays suggest a concern that the child is watched over in the afterlife.

[247] Sharman, C. *et al* (2015) Summative Assessment in the Early Years; p.54-57
[248] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp: 56.47 mins
[249] South, A. (1997) 'Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996'; p.13.
[250] Sofaer, J. (2000) "Children and Material Culture". Routledge, New York; p.6.
[251] Langdon, S. (2015) "The Ends and Means of Childhood: Mourning Children in Early Greece", Chapter 12, in: Coşkunsu, G (2015) The Archaeology of Childhood: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on an Archaeological Enigma, State University of New York Press; p.226-7.



Fig.31 'Silver Hittite figurine from Kalavassos-Ayios Demetrios (Inv. No. K-AD 1599)'; Fig.6.4 from Kassianidou (2009), p51.[252]

The silver Hittite figurine portrays a male in a conical hat, short tunic with short sleeves, and shoes that point up at the toes; he holds a bow with curled ends on one shoulder and stands upon the back of a cloven horned animal said to be a deer. The iconography of this item matches the description of figures in Hittite culture, and while the visual symbolism can vary on the identity of the specific being, the connecting theme is of a tutelary, or protective, kind.

[252] Kassianidou, V. (2009) "May He Send Me Silver in Very Great Quantities" EA 35; Conference. In: D. Michaelides, V. Kassianidou and R. Merrillees (eds.), Proceedings of the International Conference "Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity" Nicosia, 3-6 April 2003. Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp.48-57; p.51

One source, explains how the curled shoes likely indicate a god,[253] and the deer coincides with the popular Hittite Imperial figure "the Stag-god Runda, the tutelary deity of wild life and the hunt", but there may be varying identifying attributes dependant on local distinctions as to whether this is a man, a king or a god.[254] A relief from Malatya shows a tutelary deity, with a shouldered bow and standing on a stag, receiving libations from a king, indicating the importance of this god in the culture.[255] McMahon describes a similar figure in Hittite culture; again a male stands on the back of a stag, but in addition to the bow he holds an eagle, hare and sword. This figure is ^{D}LAMMA LÍL, "the Tutelary Deity of the Countryside... related to the hunt".[256] Though our figure lacks 3 attributes McMahon goes on to say that the deity may "take more than one form"; but with lack of identifying text with the images we cannot be wholly confident. Again the god on the stag is an important cultural figure, receiving offerings and ceremonies from royalty, but with a particular reception of devotion deriving from the countryside.[257]

This 'Stag God', ^{D}LAMMA LÍL, described as a protective god of the hunt and the countryside, and connected to the protection of kings is a striking inclusion in a child tomb. Was he placed there to protect children in the afterlife? Perhaps C3 was related to those hunting for the community, or the agriculture that brought the produce to BX? Along with foreign objects, new ideas came to Cyprus by trade which could adapt beliefs and behaviours - some traditional seal iconography introduced a male hunting figure around 1200 BCE:[258] perhaps this figurine's value lay in connection to this?

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[253] Hellenkemper, H. and Wagner, J. (1977) "The God on the Stag: A Late Hittite Rock-Relief on the River Karasu." Anatolian Studies, vol. 27, pp. 167–73. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/3642661. Accessed 7 Aug. 2025; p.169.
[254] *Ibid*; p.170.
[255] *Ibid*; p.171.
[256] McMahon, G. (1991) The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities. Assyriological Studies no.25, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, Illinois; p.44.
[257] *Ibid*; p.45.
[258] Smith, J. (2016) "Women in the cities of Cyprus: Rulers and urban dwellers from the late bronze age to the hellenistic period"; p.423

Interpretation

Relation between identities

When looking at the funerary objects here we must remember Goring's words that "although the material recovered from the tomb *seems* remarkable, it may only seem so because we simply do not know what was the norm".[259] However, there are common elements of Cypriot burial that are not seen in T11/9 and T13/12: we do not see amongst the burial goods any items like spindle whorls or needles often found with women,[260] and for a burial predominantly of women and children Steel's observation that a "maternal, nurturing role is not reflected in the materiality of the burials and does not appear to be an important or valued aspect of female personhood" is a striking one.[261] What *is* found amongst the burials are rarities and objects of power. Did the women of these tombs sit outside of the traditional 'nuclear family' seen developed in Cypriot iconography?[262] Or was the settlement of K-AD socially inclined toward broader roles for women as a whole? Goring suggests that in these tombs the "collectiveness of the group" may have held more significance than "maintaining the integrity of the individual".[263] A "complex burial program" was in place,[264] where age and sex factored directly in who was to be interred there;[265] and while the group might have been symbolic of a certain position in society, (one that "required, or at least enabled, the deposition of substantial amounts of artefacts"[266]) A1 and A5 do present as individuals amongst them, perhaps due to being the last burials of the tombs.

It's interesting that a foreign protective religious figurine is found in a tomb next door to a foreign vessel depicting a potential scene of religious worship. Are these merely instances of collecting exotic, wealthy items for burial display, or have these been chosen for their personal relevance to the individuals? If A5 was a priestess, might this imply the remains scattered on the floor were her predecessors? And if T13 is a tomb for priests and priestesses,

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[259] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.98
[260] Webb, J. (2016) "Women at home and in the community in prehistoric bronze age Cyprus", Chapter 26 in: Budin, S. and Turfa, J. (2016) *Women in Antiquity : Real Women Across the Ancient World*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; p.378.
[261] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.394.
[262] Budin, S. (2016) "Maternity in Ancient Cyprus"; p.368.
[263] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.102.
[264] South, A, (2000) 'Late Bronze Age Burials at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios'; p.361.
[265] Moyer, C.J. (1989) "Human skeletal Remains"; p.66.
[266] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.104.

what does this mean for the children in T12 - would they too have grown to become one of the religious figures?

While it is an oversimplification to assign the subadults to the adults as their offspring, Steel's examination of the roles of Cypriot women presents one explanation: "sex (although not necessarily as a commercial transaction) may indeed have been an accepted aspect of religious action within some at least of the urban temples, revealing a possibly unexpected social role for some women".[267] If this was the case, and K-AD was one such urban location, the women of these two tomb complexes may have been involved in such activities: we have multiple instances of religious iconography amongst the remains - the signet rings (?), the Chariot Krater, the Hittite figurine; masses of items of wealth - gold and silver jewellery, and Mycenaean ceramics, and evidence of headshaping - a cosmetic modification to easily identify those special in society. The location of the tombs outside Building X, K-AD's main place of power, shows the "relative importance" of the women, particularly as effort was made to preserve the tombs throughout the renovation of the industrial buildings.[268] More evidence supporting religious occupation in the tombs may have been lost to degradation. The subadults interred with the women may have been born as a consequence of this religious activity, a connection which would have imbued them with value to include them in the chambers.

Burial ritual

Burial consists of both public and private ceremony. There are qualities to such activities that are too intangible to show in the archaeology, but some evidence can indicate behaviours that took place.[269] Hamilakis and Sherratt's table concerning 'consumption and performance' is helpful in decoding what happened in the K-AD tombs.[270]

We certainly have evidence of feasting with the animal bones and eggshells in T11, and ritualised drinking is likely to have been enacted with the sets of kraters and cups - a staple of Cypriot funerary ware.[271] While it is unclear how much of this feasting was for the living and how much for the dead, there is a high chance that drinks were shared with the deceased as indicated by instances where drinking apparatus is supplied to individuals of all ages; and

[267] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.392
[268] Smith, J. (2016) "Women in the cities of Cyprus: Rulers and urban dwellers from the late bronze age to the hellenistic period"; p.417-418.
[269] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.97.
[270] Hamilakis, Y. & Sherratt, S. "Feasting and the consuming body in Bronze Age Crete and Early Iron Age Cyprus"; p.188.
[271] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp: 28.40 mins.

perhaps A5's daggers were used to cut meats. Censing and anointing practice is uncertain, but with the production of olive oil in the settlement and the inclusion of vessels too small for drink, such as C2's jug, it is likely that these would have carried perfumed substances. The jewellery of T11 portrays a value in the deceased's presentation, and the inclusion of cosmetic palettes suggests that fashion of all kinds was applied. We can imagine the women in the tombs to have been dressed in fine clothing (with beading?[272]), with their hair styled and perhaps colour applied to their face. If an individual's dignity was of concern, might perfumed oils have been applied to cover any odors from the corpse? And if the presentation of the deceased was important on this occasion, it is possible that it was equally important that the living who carried them down were similarly impressively presented.

The scale of ceremony for these burials is more difficult to establish concerning what Steel calls the "ephemeral aspects of cult (music, processions and dance)".[273] Different approaches would create strikingly different levels of spectacle: was it during the day, or by firelight at night? Silence, or a particular style of music? Organic materials, like flowers, that have broken down?[274] A large procession with an audience, or minimal participants and witnesses? Were certain categories of people unwelcome? Was there a mourning period, with those close to the deceased expected to honour the departed publicly or privately?

With tombs 11/9 and 13/12 located next to the prominent Building X, and preserved through building work in such a way to indicate a respect for these ancestors, we might expect a conspicuous funerary display that would strengthen "ancestral relationships" and "[legitimise] individual and sub-group identity".[275] A krater from tomb 21 portrays a procession of ladies with gold diadems. Perhaps this is a representation of real world funerary practice and women were involved in laying the deceased to rest?[276] But were children involved in burial rituals?

Langdon argues that "as death was a common fact of life, children were themselves often among the mourners. Their involvement in funerary rituals would have been a necessary part of their socialization into the values, religious beliefs, and customs of family and

[272] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp: 46.52 mins.
[273] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; p.176.
[274] Goring, E. (1989) "Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age"; p.103.
[275] Collard, D. (2023) "When Ancestors became Gods: Transformation of Ritual and Religion in Late Bronze Age Cyprus", pp 109-129.
[276] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp: 59.17-50 mins.

community", as well as what was appropriate behaviour for their social category.[277] While he was speaking of Early Greece, Langdon's point that "children at a funeral was palpable assurance of generational continuity" is one that I think likely applicable to funerary ceremonies of all time periods.[278] Representation of ancient children engaged in burial ritual is rare, so an instance recorded on a Late Geometric Greek krater may help to inform of possible LBA practice - the art style itself trying to emulate Bronze Age iconography.[279] The krater (Fig.32) shows a heroic burial, with seated women around the deceased's bier and atop it two smaller figures that are likely subadults judging by their comparative size and lack of sex characteristics.

[277] Langdon, S. (2015) "The Ends and Means of Childhood: Mourning Children in Early Greece"; p.217-18.
[278] *Ibid*; p.218.
[279] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. "Terracotta krater", Object number:14.130.14.

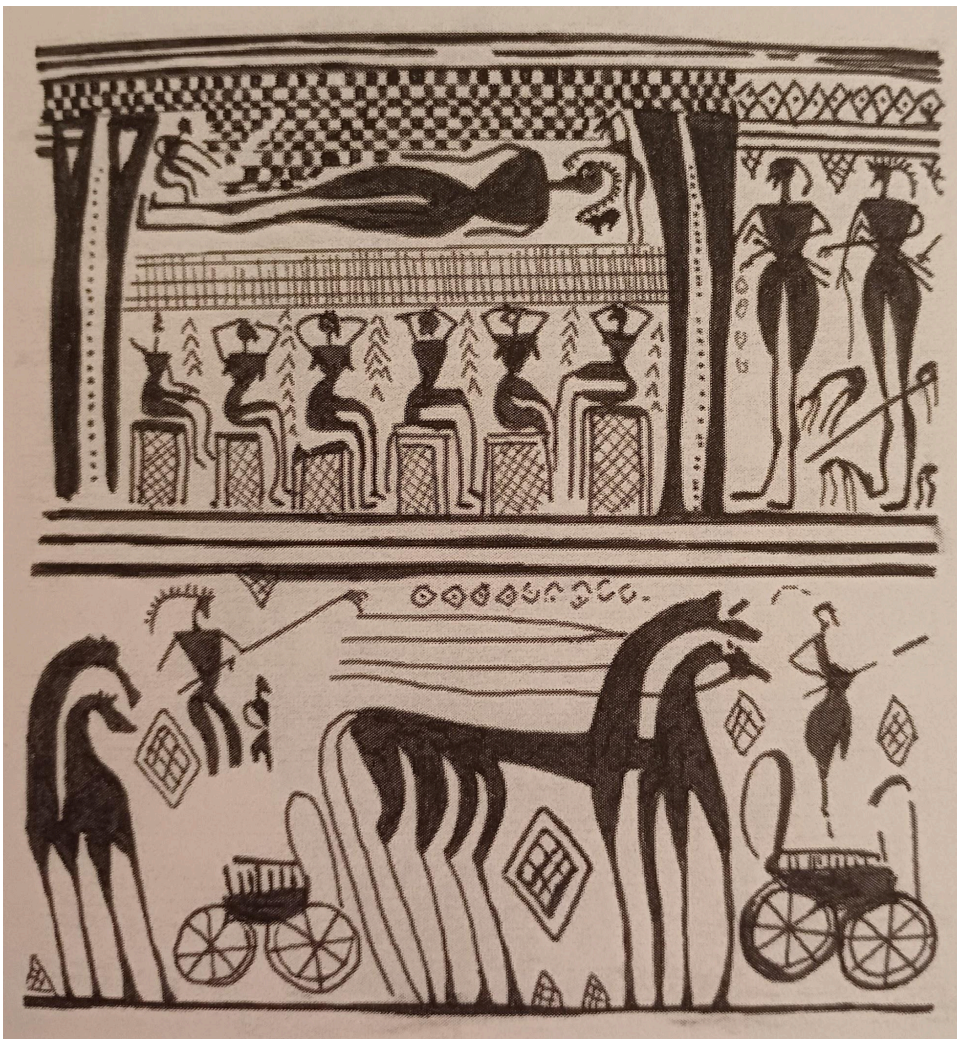


Fig.32 'Detail of Attic Late Geometric krater with children on bier', The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Terracotta krater, no.14.130.14. Drawing by Langdon, S.[280]

The adults in the image appear to be bringing feasting goods like rabbits and strings of fish but "one [subadult] sits at the feet of the corpse, while the other stands and reaches over its helmeted head to the mouth as if feeding it", in a "rare glimpse of funerary rituals that may have included not only feeding the living but symbolic nourishment of the deceased".[281] That ritualised, direct feeding of the deceased may have occurred supplies one possible explanation for the infant bundle of T11. It is likely that the bundle was a secondary, even tertiary burial, with the primary taking place in a basket that has since degraded, and we

[280] Langdon, S. (2015) "The Ends and Means of Childhood: Mourning Children in Early Greece"; p.223.
[281] *Ibid*; p.222.

might picture the initial ceremonial treatment to have been conducted within this basket. As such, it may be that, rather than being seeing the infants as less human,[282] the animal bones mixed with the 3 infants were an intentional act to give sustenance to the bodies before they departed from the living world. And if this was not enacted by adults, it might have been by subadults that replicated an observed ritual. As we have seen, children often copy the actions of adults as they learn their place in the world, and sometimes this can involve unexpected items in unexpected places. Langdon suggests that children could be gifted funerary wares by "older siblings or young family friends".[283]

Physicality of the site

With the burial remains and artefacts showing the possible capabilities and lifestyles of the deceased we can look at the physicality of K-AD as a whole to suppose where these individuals may have spent their time.

A sample bias has occurred in the K-AD excavations as burials placed close to structures are more likely to be found, showing us only the elite inhabitants; we would not be able to analyse any potential burials of lower status peoples without further excavation.[284] But with the scope of activity happening at K-AD they must have worked and lived there: these would be the people producing the work that the elites had administrative control over. It is unfortunate that we are unable to engage with the remains of the people at the heart of the bustling K-AD community. Architectural layouts can suggest "likely patterns in social interaction and how these serve the interests of various social actors";[285] perhaps by examining these we can place non-elites in K-AD.

Domestic space

Population estimates of K-AD are difficult with it unclear how much of the site was residential, but there may have been around 750-1500 living at this settlement. Building X, as a centre of control, may have had elite people dwelling on its upper floor;[286] with another

[282] Lorentz, K. (2003) "Minding the body: the growing body in Cyprus from the aceramic Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age"; p.210.
[283] Langdon, S. (2015) "The Ends and Means of Childhood: Mourning Children in Early Greece"; p.228
[284] Kamp, K. (2015) "Making Children Legitimate: Negotiating the Place of Children and Childhoods in Archaeological Theory"; p.39
[285] Fisher, K. (2016) "Sources: Space and Society in Ancient Cyprus"; Ancient Sources, Youtube Channel, timestamp: 1.06 mins.
[286] South-Todd, A. (2002) "Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?"; p.62.

location of “substantial domestic buildings” further away.[287] These are multi-roomed buildings, with evidence of imported goods, and weights and seals amongst the Cypriot material culture, indicating the inhabitants were “involved in trade and administrative activities”.[288] A typical LC home would be freestanding, with a central courtyard where activities like food processing, storing, cooking and perhaps eating could take place - it is unclear from reports how much the dwellings of K-AD matches this layout, and whether those involved in trade would’ve been of a status allowing servants, but the same activities would have needed to take place as part of the citizens’ daily lives. As discussed, children would have been a large part of household activity - either a point of focus if they were highly dependent, or assisting with the house-keeping and production of food. A built well was discovered in one phase of BX, so we might imagine other water sources available that subadults could fetch water from each day.[289] It is possible that these activities could be communal, if multiple family groups came together in one abode to socialise while they worked.[290] Children could learn about the “wider world” during these times,[291] as they watched and listened to the adults discuss “activities, events and places both familiar and novel, expressing attitudes and values, preferences and prejudices”: this “human dynamic…central to their learning about the world around them”.[292] While being given an opportunity to play, children could also learn skills outside of everyday chores, such as musical instruments and rituals. Infants could be transported in the cradleboards, and travel between the homes would also expand children’s knowledge of the environment and their social boundaries, as much as their carers would permit them to explore.[293] Depending on how beholden they were in contributing to their social circle, children may have been afforded "unstructured time" which would enable them to explore and gain experiences in the surrounding environment, having a relationship with the world around them not experienced by adults.[294] All these elements would combine to create the ‘Child’s World’ of Lillehammer’s design,[295] and feed into the adults they would grow into.

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[287] Steel, L. (1994) Representations of a Shrine on a Mycenaean Chariot Krater from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus; p.201
[288] South-Todd, A. (2002) “Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?”; p.59
[289] South, A. (1997) ‘Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992-1996’; p.5.
[290] Steel, L. (2016) “The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya”; p.389.
[291] Catling, S. (2006) “What do Five-Year-Olds Know of the World? - Geographical Understanding and Play in Young Children's Early Learning”; p.59.
[292] *Ibid;* p.66
[293] *Ibid*; p56.
[294] Baxter, J.E. (2022) The Archaeology of Childhood; Chapter 5.
[295] Lillehammer, G. (1989) “A child is born: The child's world in an archaeological perspective”; p.90.



Fig.33 'K-AD North-East Area, Building X'. From South (2021) CAARI lecture.[296]

Community space

The monumental buildings of K-AD are not read to be religious structures by scholars, with recognised sanctuaries having an opposing architectural style of small, simplistic and open-air buildings.[297] However, Steel says that the centralized ashlar buildings of LBA Cypriot towns could be "the focus of social gatherings and religious performance" as well as "economic hubs".[298] It might be that the community of K-AD gathered together at the large courtyard of BX for special announcements, celebrations and rituals.[299] Such a space could be used for feasting on a larger scale than the smaller get-togethers of the domestic homes - though this still would have been limited by the architectural space and the social category of permitted attendees. With a lack of identified religious buildings, perhaps BX, as the central hub, hosted significant community wide rituals as a visual display of wealth and power.

[296] South, A. (2021) "Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs"; time stamp: 7.37 mins.
[297] Tsipopoulou, M. & South, A.(2012) "The economics of monumental buildings"; p.224.
[298] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.391
[299] Tsipopoulou, M. & South, A. (2012) "The economics of monumental buildings"; p.223.

Temporary furnishings could be put in place to host "music and song, processions, burning of incense, ceremonial feasting and banquets".[300]



Fig.34 'Visualization of the Central Court of Building X, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios', KAMBE Project.[301]

Occasions like this could have had subadults and women included. Children could play musical instruments, engaging in community bonds and social understanding, and perhaps priestess figures (like A5?) might perform ceremonial sacrifices. Such an occasion might be an opportunity to impress visiting foreigners and create new business, where A's 1 to 4 could be dressed in their jewellery, and C3's family might have met with traders of exotic goods.

Work space

K-AD developed over years as the economic growth bolstered an elite class, which in turn expanded its production and hybridised their style according to the connections they were

[300] Steel, L. (2016) "The social and economic roles played by the women of Alashiya"; p.391
[301] McLean, L. (2014) KAMBE Project, University of British Columbia.

making with their increased trade network.[302] The monumental buildings were ashlar built, taking inspiration from grander examples of merchant houses in Ugarit.[303] For structures like BX to come about there would have needed to be established and trained workforces, both for the transfer of the building material from "at least a few kilometres away" and for the construction of the buildings - not forgetting the architects who designed the structure.[304] That means K-AD would have had, intermittently, a large workforce outside of the trade and production business that tended to the function of the settlement, and feeding of the residents. It might be that these people lived outside the settlement or else in an area yet undiscovered, and unlikely to contain the exotic goods of the elite.

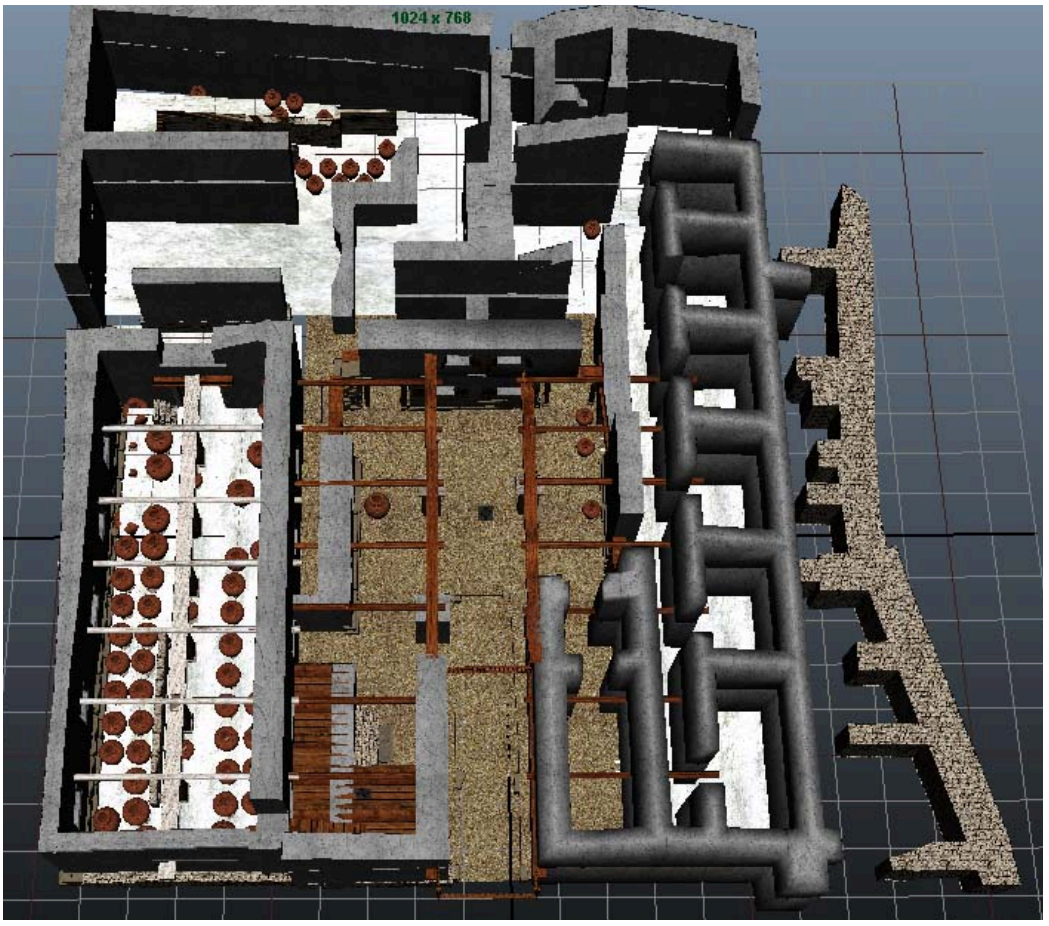


Fig.35 'Construction of 3D model of Building X at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios', KAMBE Project.[305]

[302] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; p.169
[303] Knapp, A.B. (2024) Cyprus and Ugarit: Connecting Material and Mercantile Worlds; p.76
[304] Tsipopoulou, M. & South, A. (2012) "The economics of monumental buildings"; p.223.
[305] McLean, L. (2014) KAMBE Project, University of British Columbia.

These workers would have enhanced production by making the industrial building better suited for their purpose - we can see over time that buildings were enlarged, cobble floors were covered, channels and pits created for production, and a large wall built around the industrial complex.[306] On top of having over 40 Pithoi for storage,[307] K-AD may have been making its own vessels to export its large quantities of olive oil;[308] as well, excavations at K-AD found smelting slag and pieces of copper and bronze ingots, showing that the settlement was processing metal as well as foods.[309] Bronze can be seen as a common material for personal objects and finer tools across K-AD,[310] with stone another readily found material for heavier, blunter tools, and ceramics the favoured material for vessels and containers.[311] Grains like barley and wheat, lentils, and grapes have evidence of cultivation in K-AD, figs may have been collected in the area, and though it is unclear whether olives were a part of the domesticated agriculture,[312] there still is great evidence of K-AD's involvement with olives, with Building IX housing a "large concentration" of olive pits and Building X having facilities for the storage of large quantities of olive oil, and perhaps olive oil being produced in Building XI.[313] The large capacity of BX could have stored oil enough "for at least several hundred people" - for this there would've needed to be "control of large areas of land" and administrative control of the people in order to maintain oil production, ration out the product, and trade the excess - perhaps conducted on the top floor of BX.[314]
This is all to say that K-AD would have been a bustling settlement with a large workforce.

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[306] South-Todd, A. (2002) “Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: the first Kingdoms?”.
[307] Hansen, J. (1989) “Botanical Remains”, Chapter 11 in: South, A. et al. (1989) Vasilikos Valley Project 3, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios II: Ceramics, objects, tombs, specialist studies; Åström, Göteborg; p.91-92.
[308] Knapp, A.B. (2024) Cyprus and Ugarit: Connecting Material and Mercantile Worlds; p.51.
[309] South, A. (1984) Kalavasos excavation interview with CyBC, conducted 06/07/1984; RICK.. Timestamp: 10.06.
[310] South, A. (1989) “The objects from the west, central, east and south-east areas and tombs”, Chapter 3 in: South, A. et al. (1989) Vasilikos Valley Project 3, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios II: Ceramics, objects, tombs, specialist studies; Åström, Göteborg; p.23.
[311] *Ibid*; p.29.
[312] Hansen, J. (1989) “Botanical Remains”; p.93.
[313] Steel, L. (2004) Cyprus Before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age; p.158-159
[314] Tsipopoulou, M. & South, A. (2012) “The economics of monumental buildings”; p.223.



Fig.36 'Visualization of the Pithos Hall in Building X, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios', KAMBE Project.[315]

With an idea of the architectural layout of the settlement, we can propose how children outside of elite status would have lived here. Small children were unlikely to be able to wander through the main industrial complex, indeed with the wall it seems to have been actively discouraged, but there were plenty of opportunities where an older child (joining the community and getting noticed) could begin an apprenticeship. The particular career path was likely dictated by family relationships but also the ability and intelligence of the individual - a 'mechanistic' product of their society, but with potential to grow individually as an 'organism'.[316] Children introduced to the working world would begin to relate to those in the community in new ways, moving from dependent to peer, to possibly a catalyst for cultural changes. Though this would be highly impacted by the existing cultural beliefs, such as on gender. It is unclear to what extent women would have been involved in the more hands-on labour of K-AD, if they were restricted to the household or if they participated in work like harvesting and fabric production. Elite women, as the Tombs 11/9 and 13/12 have revealed, might have been given increased levels of power in the community, but with a restricted childhood if they underwent the act of headshaping. It's possible that, as individuals

[315] McLean, L. (2014) KAMBE Project, University of British Columbia.
[316] Meacham, J.A. (2015) "Metaphors for Understanding Children and Their Role in Culture"; p.154-155.

of ‘physical capital’ they might have had a strict and curated lifestyle, where non-elite women were able to move more freely.

Conclusion

The subadults in tomb complexes 11/9 and 13/12 at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios are all likely of the elite class of the settlement. As such they were likely to be connected to the administration of the industrial production on the site, or the trading of the site’s produce for foreign exotic goods. The context and remains of the women found in the tombs suggests a religious or ceremonial aspect to conduct at K-AD which offers an alternative lifestyle for the subadults, and also that women could obtain administrative positions of power. The body in T13 portrays the possible physical modification of headshaping surviving subadults may have undergone as a result of their elite status. That infants and children are included in these burials shows that, while they were valued in the culture, there was no strict treatment of the remains required. An analysis of the architectural environment of K-AD has helped to suppose a way of life for the subadults of other social categories, envisioning a combination of familial and community wide education that helped them to develop the skills, knowledge and beliefs required for joining the active working community of K-AD.

The combination of observed child development and capability from outside cultures guided by the current literature of theoretical approaches has helped to propose real life scenarios for the subadults within the tombs. Unfortunately the work was hindered by issues of extant evidence and at times limited publication, resulting in a reliance on the adults buried in the tombs as a source of archaeological and social context. But as the lives of adults and subadults are intrinsically tangled, it would have been an oversight not to investigate the adult remains as well as the subadult. The impact of gender on the growth and development of the subadults was unable to be explored without a confirmation of the remains, meaning the analysis could not truely be tailored to each individual, but this is an expected side effect of the often poor preservation quality of subadult bones and the soil conditions of Cyprus.[317]

Future research may be able to deepen this investigation if DNA analysis of the remains can be obtained,[318] allowing us to better consider either the biological or social relations between those in the tombs. A similar analysis conducted on the other tombs in K-AD would help to broaden the consideration of the impact of age on the lifestyle and social expectations of the

[317] Manifold, B. M. (2015). Skeletal preservation of children's remains in the archaeological record; p.521.

[318] South, A. (2021) “Voices from the Grave: a Late Bronze Age Population from Kalavasos and their Tombs”; time stamp: 19.23.

elite in this settlement, enabling a comparison with other trade sites to see if this was a cultural practice or limited to Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios.

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