The Physicality of the Other

Masks from the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean

Edited by
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Mohr Siebeck

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Playing the Part

Masks and Ritual Performance in Rural Sanctuaries in Iron Age Cyprus*

Erin Walcek Averett

1. Introduction

Current excavations by the Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP), under the Direction of Michael K. Toumazou, Davidson College, North Carolina, have revealed a rich assemblage of terracotta masks and masker figurines from the large and wealthy sanctuary at Athienou-Malloura in the fertile Mesaoria plain in south-central Cyprus (fig. 1). Other than the urban center of Amathous on the southern coast, this sanctuary has yielded more masks than any other site on an island known for its abundance of masks in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. This paper presents the votive masks from the Malloura sanctuary and contextualizes them within the broader tradition of ritual masked performances in Cyprus.

The eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus provides an important case study to explore the form, meaning, and use of masks in ancient performances. Cyprus not only has preserved a rich tradition of masking, but is also a key location for studying the transmission of cultural ideas and artistic styles in the Mediterranean basin. As an island with a heterogeneous population situated along strategic trade routes, Cyprus offers an interesting setting to explore interactions between Near Eastern and Aegean worlds. Past studies of Cypriot masks focused on linking them with masking traditions from the Levant or Aegean, often without fully exploring their local patterns and uses. My ongoing study attempts to refocus on island masking traditions by providing a comprehensive review of masks from the island, contextualized within their local

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*I would like to thank the organizers of this conference (especially Judith Filitz and Angelika Berlejung) for the invitation to participate, and the University of Leipzig for hosting it. The conference participants and events provided a wonderful opportunity to share interdisciplinary research and thoughts on masks. I would also like to thank Michael K. Toumazou, Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project, for permission to study and publish the masks from the excavation, and the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus for permission to study and publish other masks from the island. Research for this project was supported by National Science Foundation-REU award (#SMA-1156968), a Scheerer grant from the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, a Kripke grant from the Kripke Center, and a Summer Faculty Fellowship from Creighton University. All errors remain my own. For M.A.C.L.

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contexts.\textsuperscript{1} This chapter will present masks from the Athienou-Malloura sanctuary, building on my previous overview of Cypriot masks.

2. The Athienou-Malloura Masks

The sanctuary at Athienou-Malloura has been under investigation by the Athienou Archaeological Project since 1991.\textsuperscript{2} This large and wealthy sanctuary offers insight into Iron Age Cypriot religion in the hinterland since it is one of the few sanctuaries to be scientifically excavated. It is located closest to the urban center of Golgoi (modern Athienou), and not far from the kingdom center of Idalion to the west (and likely under its control), and the coastal center of Kition to the south. The sanctuary is typical of Iron Age Cypriot rural shrines: it was an open-air temenos (sacred precinct) defined by a peribolos (enclosure wall) with some small interior buildings, and a large mud-brick pisé altar as the focus of ritual (fig. 2). The sanctuary was in use for over 1,000 years, from the Cypro-Geometric III through the Roman Period (ca. 8\textsuperscript{th} century BCE – 4\textsuperscript{th} century CE). The earliest architecture dates to the Cypro-Archaic Period, and votive offerings began in earnest in this first floruit. The sanctuary was subsequently reorganized at the end of the fourth-century BCE, when earlier votives and other materials were buried as fill for a new floor and re-used in the new peribolos walls. This reorganized temenos was large, at least 300 sq. m., among the largest rural sanctuaries on the island. Recent excavations have revealed that the sanctuary continued to function into the Roman Period, as evidenced by coins, lamps, and altar use.\textsuperscript{3} Despite the rural setting, the sanctuary was rich in votive offerings, including most notably thousands of limestone votive statuettes and statues and terracotta figurines. Unfortunately, none of the inscriptions elucidate the deity worshipped or the nature of the cult, but the votive offerings indicate that several male deities (and likely female deities to a lesser extent) were worshipped. Iconographically these divine types appear amongst the votive assemblage: Zeus Ammon, Apollo, Pan, Cypriot Herakles, Bes, and Artemis.\textsuperscript{4}

This rich corpus of votive offerings also includes a number of fragments from terracotta votive masks, indicating that ritual masking was a component of the Malloura cult. This chapter will present the evidence for masks and masking at Malloura and then contextualize this within the broader tradition of ritual masking on the island during the age of the city kingdoms.

\textsuperscript{1} AVERETT, Masks.
\textsuperscript{2} TOUMAZOU/YERKES/KARDULIAS, Project; TOUMAZOU/KARDULIAS/COUNTS, Crossroads; TOUMAZOU et al., Light.
\textsuperscript{3} TOUMAZOU et al., Light, 212f.
\textsuperscript{4} Most were “Master of Animals” types, see COUNTS, Master; for Artemis and female deities, see COUNTS/TOUMAZOU, Artemis.
The Malloura Masks

Male Masks

1. Unbearded male mask fragment, CA–CC
   H: 7.8 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1460, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: alluvial/contaminated (EU 24, SU 2402)\(^5\)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 61.

2. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
   H: 4.6 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1651, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: looter’s pit (EU 24, SU 2410)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

3. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
   H: 6.2 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-2683, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: plow zone/contaminated (EU 36, SU 3600)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

4. Bearded male mask fragment, CA, fig. 3
   H: 4.7 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-2891, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: plow zone/contaminated (EU 36, SU 3603)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

5. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
   H: 6.7 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3289, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: clean-up/contaminated (EU 32, SU 3289)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

6. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
   H: 3.8 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3436, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: contaminated (EU 38, SU 3801)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

7. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
   H: 6.5 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3440, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: contaminated (EU 36, SU 3626)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

8. Bearded male mask fragment, CA–CC
   H: 6.5 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3776, Larnaka District Museum
   Context: CC burnt layer, (EU 32, SU 3256)
   References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

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\(^5\) The Athienou Archaeological Project uses the terms Excavation Unit (EU) to define trenches and Stratigraphic Unit (SU) to define stratigraphic levels. For chronological periods, see tab. 1.
9. Bearded male mask fragment, CA
H: 5.8 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3377, Larnaka District Museum
Context: looter’s pit (EU 10, SU 1099.014)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

10. Bearded male mask fragment, CA, fig. 3
H: 7.14 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-4631, Larnaka District Museum
Context: hardpack fill for late 4th-century reorganization (EU 36, SU 3652)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 60.

Female Mask

11. Female protome mask, CA, fig. 5
H: 18.5 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-5115, Larnaka District Museum
Context: cultural, stratified (EU 58, SU 5806)
References: unpublished.

Anthropomorphic Masks

12. Ear from anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC?
H: 5.9 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-742, Larnaka District Museum
Context: Hellenistic layer (EU 10, SU 1099.086)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

13. Nose from an anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC, fig. 4
H: 5.1 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-920, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated layer (EU 10, SU 1099.120)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

14. Ear from an anthropomorphic mask, CA
H: 7.1 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-946, Larnaka District Museum
Context: CA level (EU 10, SU 1099.119)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

15. Mouth from an anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC
H: 4.6 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1269, Larnaka District Museum
Context: looter’s pit (EU 18, SU 1805)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

16. Nose and cutout eye fragment from an anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC
H: 3.1 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1442, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated layer (EU 18, SU 1822)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

17. Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CA–CC
H: 8.7 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1500, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated layer (EU 24, SU 2407)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

18. Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CA–CC
H: 6.2 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-2209, Larnaka District Museum
Context: hardpack fill for late 4th-century reorganization (EU 24, SU 2471)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

19. Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CA
H: 7.4 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3375, Larnaka District Museum
Context: Archaic-Hellenistic fill (EU 10, SU 1018)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

20. Ear from an anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC
H: 6.3 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3400, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated/pit (EU 38, SU 3801)
References: unpublished.

21. Ear from an anthropomorphic mask, CA–CC, fig. 4
H: 5.2 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3579, Larnaka District Museum
Context: looter’s pit (EU 36, SU 3603)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

22. Ear from an anthropomorphic mask, CA
H: 4.9 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3723, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated layer (EU 14, SU 1414)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

23. Anthropomorphic mask fragment, CA–CC
H: 5.4 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3800, Larnaka District Museum
Context: plow zone/contaminated (EU 94, SU 9400)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 62.

Zoomorphic Masks

24. Figurine of human wearing bull mask and cape, CA, fig. 6
H: 10.9 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-1170, Athienou Kallinikeio Municipal Museum
Context: contaminated/pitted (EU 10, SU 1099.144)
References: AVERETT, Ritual, 141f., fig. 10.14; AVERETT Masks, no. 63.

25. Figurine of human with criomorphic head, CA, fig. 6
H: 6.1 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3341, Larnaka District Museum
Context: plow zone/contaminated (EU 96, SU 9600)
References: AVERETT, Ritual, 141f.; AVERETT Masks, no. 64.
Grotesque Masks

26. Grotesque mask fragment, CA
H: 8.5 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-2093, Larnaka District Museum
Context: plow zone/contaminated (EU 28, SU 2801)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 65.

27. Nose and upper lip from a grotesque mask, CA–CC
H: 5.4 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-2232, Larnaka District Museum
Context: contaminated layer (EU 30, SU 3008)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 65.

28. Miniature grotesque protome with button eyes, CA–CC?, fig. 8
H: 8.96 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3080, Larnaka District Museum
Context: looter’s pit (EU 36, SU 3603)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 65.

29. Forehead with applied disc and cutout eyes from a grotesque mask, CA, fig. 7
H: 7.3 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3314, Larnaka District Museum
Context: clean-up/contaminated (EU 94, SU 9403)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 65.

30. Grotesque mask fragment, CA
H: 5.9 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-3590, Larnaka District Museum
Context: looter’s pit (EU 28, SU 2891)
References: unpublished.

31. Grotesque mask fragment, CA, fig. 7
H: 2.3 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-4013, Larnaka District Museum
Context: clean-up/contaminated (EU 88, SU 8869)
References: AVERETT, Masks, no. 65.

32. Grotesque mask fragment, CA, fig. 7
H: 7.3 cm. Inv. no. AAP-AM-4808, Larnaka District Museum
Context: stratified altar area (EU 40, SU 4045)
References: unpublished.

This corpus of under-life-size terracotta votive masks and two masker figurines is among the largest collections of ritual masks from Iron Age Cyprus. As noted in the above catalogue, most of the masks were found in secondary/contaminated contexts and very few come from datable levels. Some were found buried as fill for the hard packing used for the new floor in the late-4th-century BCE reorganization of the sanctuary. Others were found in the early 20th-century looters’ pits that plague the site. Others were found in clean-up or disturbed contexts, such as the plow zone. Thus, most of the masks are dated stylistically to the Cypro-Archaic or Cypro-Classical
Period. For others that are too fragmentary or have no direct comparanda, the date is unclear.

The masks from Malloura represent the three general types found on Cyprus and throughout the Mediterranean basin: anthropomorphic (primarily male), zoomorphic (primarily bovine), and grotesque. On Cyprus, similar terracotta masks have been found especially in the Cypro-Archaic Period in rural and urban sanctuaries and in selected tombs (primarily at Amathous).6

Most of the preserved Malloura masks are anthropomorphic; when the gender is identifiable they depict males, with only one clear female example. The male masks are under-life-size, and most depict bearded males (fig. 3). When preserved, the faces have cutout eyes, incised beards and preserve traces of black and red painted details. Other mask fragments preserve parts of the face (e.g. ear, cheeks, forehead, nose, eyes, hair), but the gender is not clear (fig. 4). Recent excavations in 2015 unearthed an excellently preserved female mask, the only example from the site, from a cultural deposit in the western part of the sanctuary (fig. 5).

In addition to the number of anthropomorphic masks, excavations have unearthed two terracotta figurines depicting maskers (fig. 6). One figure wears a bull skull (buccranium) mask and hide cape that is held up off the face, which peaks out beneath. The gender and dress of the figure is simple and indeterminate. The second masker is less well preserved, but the upright body and arm position together with the ram head suggests that this represents a cromomorphic masker.

The last type of mask found at the Malloura sanctuary is the grotesque. This category of masks is stylistically more diverse. In general, the grotesque mask fragments are distinguished by their grimacing mouths with exposed teeth, slanted narrow cutout eyes, forehead knobs, or striations covering part or all of the face (fig. 7). One unique example from Malloura is a miniature grotesque protome, depicting a concave grotesque face with applied button eyes, applied ears, a grimacing mouth, and horns (fig. 8).

3. Masks in the Age of the City Kingdoms

The Malloura masks are not isolated examples, but are part of a long tradition dating back to the Late Cypriot III Period and continuing until the dissolution of the autonomous city kingdoms at the end of the fourth century, when the island was subsumed within the Ptolemaic kingdom. With the end of the royal kingdoms, changes to the Cypriot socio-political structure affected local religious customs. Such masks, therefore, cease to be used in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (although there are scattered references to past traditions).7 Almost all masks, with the exception of the buccrania masks, were under-life-size copies that were not actually worn, but rather reference likely perishable masks used in performances. The types found at Malloura are

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6 See Averett, Masks for up-to-date catalogue and overview.
7 For changes in the Cypriot religious system in the Hellenistic Period, see Papantoniou, Religion. For the end of masking on the island, see Averett, Masks, 21–23.
found throughout the island, at both rural and urban sanctuaries dedicated to gods and goddesses, as well as in select tombs. Such widespread use suggests that the masks, what they depict, and what ceremonies they were used in was not limited to a certain deity or ritual, but were rather used for broader purposes.

Male Masks

All three mask types appear in the LC III Period (12th century BCE) when just a few examples are found at two coastal urban sites, perhaps inspired by Levantine practices. These earliest masks include terracotta bearded male examples, zoomorphic masks crafted out of bucchane, and terracotta grotesque masks. The majority of anthropomorphic masks (approximately 137 known examples) represent men, most of them bearded and mustached.

The earliest male masks come from the large urban center of Enkomi on the east coast. Excavations have unearthed eight fragments from just under life-sized bearded and/or mustached male masks (fig. 9). These are handmade and have cutout eyes and perforated holes around the edge for attachment or hanging, and were originally painted and decorated with incised geometric patterns and stamped circles to indicate facial hair. They were found in the metallurgical workshops next to and associated with the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God, whose cult likely lent sacred protection to the industry. Slightly later, three Cypriote-Geometric I-II male masks come from the sanctuaries (Temenos A and a bothros associated with Temple 5) at Kition-Kathari, a monumental sacred area also associated with metallurgical workshops (fig. 10). Another bearded male mask (dating either to the LC III or CG) was found in a disturbed context outside the site of Toumba tou Skourou on Morphou Bay on the north coast.

After these few examples, the number of male masks dramatically increases in the Cypriote-Geometric III through Cypriote-Archaic Periods, with the majority of examples from rural, extra-urban, and urban sanctuaries. In addition to Malloura, male masks were also found at the important extra-urban sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Hylates outside Kourion, which yielded five bearded male mask fragments in addition to figurines wearing anthropomorphic masks. Examples have also been found at urban sanctuaries, including seven bearded mask fragments from Temple 5 (or associated

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8 Carter, Masks; Culican, Masks; Kletter, Image; Markoe, Emergence; Nys, Use; Stern, Masks.

9 Carter, Masks, 366–369, fig. 15; Caubet/Courtois, Masques, 44f.; Dikaios, Enkomi II, 745; Dikaios, Enkomi III, pl. 146:5; Karageorghis, Notes II, 10f., pl. 20:3; Karageorghis, Coroplastic II, 33f., nos. 1.3–5, pls. 19:7; 20:2–3; Karageorghis, Enkomi, 21f., nos. 5:2–4; Markoe, Emergence, 15, fig. 3; Nys, Use, 20; Walters, Catalogue, 16, no. A105.


11 Vermeule/Wolsky, Terracotta, 54, pl. 4.4; Vermeule/Wolsky, Toumba, 155.350f., no. TC2.

12 Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 112.114, nos. 13–15.28, pls. 65:2–4; Karageorghis, Art, 136, no. 222; Young/Young, Terracotta, nos. 384.824, pls. 6.11.
bothroi) at Kition-Kathari,\textsuperscript{13} from a bothros linked to Temenos B,\textsuperscript{14} and from a courtyard in the sacred precinct.\textsuperscript{15} A figurine wearing a bearded male mask was excavated at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous,\textsuperscript{16} while two bearded fragments and an unbearded mask fragment were excavated at the urban sanctuary at Polis-Peristeries.\textsuperscript{17} From the eastern part of the island, a bearded protome mask was found at the Sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at Meniko,\textsuperscript{18} and at the large urban center of Salamis one fragment of a bearded mask and four male protomes are associated with the urban sanctuary of Zeus.\textsuperscript{19}

Male masks or figurines wearing male masks have also been found in tombs in the eastern and western necropoleis at Amathous (for example, e.g. fig. 11).\textsuperscript{20} In addition to mask fragments, a figurine wearing a bearded male mask was found in Tomb 557 in the eastern necropolis.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, a mask depicting a male figure with horns was found in Tomb 83 in the eastern necropolis (fig. 12), and two other similar examples were found in the North Wall deposit on the Amathous acropolis.\textsuperscript{22}

**Anthropomorphic and Female Masks**

While there are several anthropomorphic masks of indeterminate gender, there are far fewer securely identified female masks. In addition to the one female mask and several anthropomorphic fragments from Malloura, other female and anthropomorphic masks are found at the same rural and urban sanctuaries as the male masks, as well as some in select Amathous tombs. From the Malloura sanctuary 12 anthropomorphic mask fragments were recovered,\textsuperscript{23} and several anthropomorphic masks as well as figurines wearing them come from the Apollo Hylates sanctuary.\textsuperscript{24} They have also been found at

\textsuperscript{13} Karageorghis, Coroplastic II, 92, nos. 1.4, pl. 41; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/2, pls. 19.21.23; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/2, 42, no. 1; 43.46, no. 23; 60f., nos. 1.23; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/1, 68.94–96; Smith, Art, 121.198f.210.

\textsuperscript{14} Karageorghis, Excavations VI, pl. 17; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/1 Plans, 38, nos. 17.59; Smith, Art, 121.210.

\textsuperscript{15} Karageorghis, Excavations VI, pl. 40; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/2, 87, no. 41.

\textsuperscript{16} Hermaty, Amathonte, 1911, no. 199, pl. 15.

\textsuperscript{17} Averett, Masks, no. 97.

\textsuperscript{18} Karageorghis, Sanctuaries, 26, pl. 6:8; Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 113, no. 20, pl. 66:4.

\textsuperscript{19} Calvet, Protomes, 143–150, nos. 1–2.5.7, pls. 20.21:5; 22; Monloup, Salamine, 189f., nos. 681–682, pl. 34.

\textsuperscript{20} Culi\c{c}an, Masks, 64, fig. 19; Hermaty, Figurines, 18f.; Flowrentzos, Report, 90f., fig. 152; Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 108–113, nos. 5.7–8.12.18.37, figs. 87–88.90–92, pls. 63–66; Nicolaou, Excavations, 266, no. 132, pls. 50.96; Smith, Excavations, 31, nos. A173; A175; Walters, Catalogue, 31f., nos. A173; A176.

\textsuperscript{21} Karageorghis, Coroplastic IV, 54, no. 3, fig. 30, pl. 27:8.

\textsuperscript{22} Louca, Masques, 81f., nos. 35–36; Smith, Excavations, 112, fig. 164, no. 5; Walters, Catalogue, 31, no. A174; Karageorghis, Notes II, 9f., no. 3, pl. 3:1; Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 117, no. 33, pl. 68:1; Hermaty, Figurines, 18f.

\textsuperscript{23} Averett, Masks, no. 62.

\textsuperscript{24} Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 114, no. 25; Young/Young, Terracotta, 40f., nos. 815–816.823, pl. 11; Winter, Terracottas, 94.132, nos. 211.2711, figs. 70:10a.b.
Temples 4 and 5 and Courtyards A and C at Kiton-Kathari. Anthropomorphic masks have been found at the Amathous palace area and west terrace, and at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. A fifth-century example was found at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos, and at the Polis-Maratheri sanctuary. Anthropomorphic masks have also been found in tombs in the eastern and western necropoleis at Amathous. Additionally, a figurine holding an anthropomorphic mask comes from an unspecified tomb at Ormidhia.

Far fewer female masks can be identified. The earliest examples are two miniature female protomes from Enkomi excavated from the open court west of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (fig. 13). In the Cypro-Archaic Period female masks also come from Amathous in the North Wall deposit, the West Terrace, and in graves in the eastern and western necropoleis. Additionally, two female protome masks were found at the rampart area with debris associated with an urban sanctuary at Salamis.

Bovid & Zoomorphic Masks

The zoomorphic maskers from Malloura belong to a tradition dating back at least to the LC III Period. Approximately 100 animal skulls, primarily from male cattle, were discovered in the LC III Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi; they were scattered across the floor and on the north and west benches. An unspecified number of these skulls appear to have been worked, with the occipital sections and mandibles deliberately removed, leaving only the smoothed front part. They could have been altered for use as masks, or perhaps to hang on walls to demarcate sacred space. Similar bucraania have been found at Kiton-Kathari, where an unspecified number of worked skulls was found in Room 12 of the northern metal workshops, which also contained ritual objects and a grotesque mask. Additional worked skulls were found in the northern aisle.

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25 Karageorghis, Excavations VI, pls. 23.137; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/2, 38, no. 3683F, 42, no. 1, 49.52, nos. 43, 60.62.
27 Leibundgut Wieland, Terrakotten, 65.182, no. 908, pl. 17.
28 Averett, Masks, no. 99.
29 Karageorghis/Houby-Nielsen/Åstrom, Cyprus, no. 259; Smith, Excavations, 96.117; Herry, Figurines, 18; Karageorghis, Terracottas, 12, nos. 141.145–146, fig. 20, pls. 28–29.
30 Karageorghis, Art, 147, no. 226; Karageorghis, Coroplastic IV, 54, no. 1, fig. 29; see also Hadjicosti, Omridea.
31 Courtois, Sanctuaire, 335, figs. 147.149; Courtois, Alasia, 76, nos. 758.782, fig. 27.1, pl. 11:2; Karageorghis, Coroplastic II, 34, nos. 10–11, figs. 18–19.
32 Florentzios, Report, 91f., fig. 151; Karageorghis, Terracottas, 12, nos. 140(possible) 146.707, figs. 17.107, pls. 28–29; Herry, Amathonte, 80, no. 516; Louca, Masques, 81, no. 33.
33 Calvet, Protomes, 150, nos. 4.6, pl. 22; Monloup, Salamine, 190, nos. 683–684, pl. 34.
34 For the general significance of bucraania in Cyprus, see Averett, Masks, 4.23f. with references.
35 Courtois, Sanctuaire, 183–186.278, figs. 3.78.128; Courtois/Lagarce/Lagarce, Enkomi, 33.165f.; Karageorghis, Notes I, 262f.; Karageorghis, Kition, 102–105; Karageorghis, Use; Nys, Use, 26f.

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of Temple 5, which in this phase was linked to the metallurgical industry. Another worked bucranium of uncertain date (either LC III or CG) was found outside the north entrance in a disturbed context at Tounta tou Skourou. The practice of wearing modified animal skulls as masks continues into the Iron Age, with new evidence for this custom provided by several figurines wearing such masks and costumes (similar to the one at Malloura). The sanctuary at Golgoi-Ayios Photios, close to Malloura, has produced several limestone examples of this type, including a bearded male head with bull mask held above his head from a life-size statue, and smaller statuettes depicting a man wearing a bull mask and cape, a man holding a lion mask to his head, and one depicting a man wearing a stag mask. A similar limestone bull masker statue was found in the “baetyl sanctuary” in the Amathous palace (fig. 14). Smaller terracotta figurines depicting bull maskers were dedicated at the rural sanctuaries of Ayia Irini, Apollo Hylates at Kourion, Peyia-Maa, and in tombs at Amathous and Ormidhia (fig. 15). Finally, terracotta bull mask fragments have been found at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous, and in an Amathous tomb. Grotesque Masks

The earliest grotesque masks come from Enkomi, where three life-size grotesque fragments and one miniature example were discovered in secondary depositional con-

36 Karageorghis, Excavations V, 105f. 169.244.256.260; Karageorghis/Demas, Excavations, pls. 94:2; 156, plan 28; Nobis, Tierreste, 422f., pl. A; Nys, Use, 26; Smith, Art, 103f., fig. 3:15.
37 Nys, Use, 26f.; Vermeule/Wolsky, Mound, fig. 29; Vermeule/Wolsky, Tounta, 150.390f., fig. 9.
38 Worked bucraania continue at Kiton, now found in Temple 1 (Hermarry, Statuette, 739; Karageorghis, Notes I, 262f.; Karageorghis, Use; Karageorghis, Excavations VI, pl. 24:3; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/1 Plans, pl. 18; Karageorghis, Excavations VI/1, 95, pl. 24:3; Nys, Use, 26f.).
39 Caubert/Hermarry/Karageorghis, Art, 140f., no. 167; Hermarry, Statuette, 734f., nos. 1–2, figs. 8–9; Hermarry/Mertens, Cesnola, 196f. 198, nos. 247–248.250; Myres, Handbook, nos. 1029–1031.
40 Hermarry, Amathonte, 133, no. 877, pl. 71; Petit, Remarques, 295, fig. 11.
41 Gierstad, Cyprus, 697.789, no. 589, pl. 233:8; Hermarry, Statuette, 737, no. 4; Karageorghis, Notes I, 262, figs. 2–3; Karageorghis, Coroplast IV, 55, nos. 3.57, pl. 28:1; Karageorghis/Houbi-Nielsen/Ästrom, Cyprus, 162, no. 187; Sjöqvist, Kultgeschichte, 344–347, fig. 11.
42 Hermarry, Statuette, 737, no. 5, fig. 11; Karageorghis, Notes I, 262, fig. 5; Karageorghis, Coroplast IV, 136, fig. 90; Karageorghis, Coroplast III, 119; Young/Young, Terracotta, 40f., nos. 814.825.826–829.829 not identified as a bull mask). 834–839.845.949–951, pls. 11.14.
43 Karageorghis, Coroplast IV, 55f., no. 4, pl. 28:2.
44 Amathous: Karageorghis, Coroplast IV, 55, nos. 1–2, fig. 31, pl. 27; Tytgat, Nécropoles, 129f. Ormidhia: Hermarry, Statuette, 737, no. 6; Karageorghis, Coroplast IV, 56, no. 5, pl. 28:3; Myres, Handbook, no. 2046.
45 Hermarry, Amathonte, 81f., nos. 530–531, pl. 35.
46 Frourentzos, Report, 90f., fig 154. This does not include numerous bull protomes, see Averett, Masks.
texts (one from the bottom of a wall in a shop, and others from streets; e.g., fig. 16).

These masks, unlike the anthropomorphic examples, are crafted of coarser fabric and are thicker than the finely made male masks. Another LC III grotesque mask with horns was found at Kition-Kathari, in Room 12 of the metal workshops.

During the Iron Age grotesque masks continue to be found in sanctuaries, including the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous, Rantidi-Lingrin tou Dhiyeni, a bothros at Ayia Phylaxis, and at both the Polis-Peristeries and Polis-Maratheri sanctuaries (fig. 17). Grotesque masks have also been found in the palace of Amathous as well as in select tombs. Unlike the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic examples, however, no figurines wearing grotesque masks have been found.

4. The Malloura Masks in Context

The Setting

The number of masks found from the end of the Late Bronze Age through the era of the Cypriot kingdoms (until the end of the fourth century) underscores the prevalence of masking rituals throughout the island, flourishing especially in the Cypro-Archaic Period. My previous study demonstrated that masks are primarily associated with elite areas: wealthy, international, and urban sanctuaries associated with metal working (and those who controlled it) in the LC III Period, and later with palatial, urban, or extra-rural sanctuaries used to define kingdom boundaries in the Iron Age, many still linked to the metallurgical industry. Religion and sacred spaces seem to have been a key component in legitimization of royal power and the establishment of territorial frontiers. It is likely that masked rituals had a powerful political function in these strategic religious centers where authorities used ritual performances to legitimize and display power.

The widespread distribution of the evidence further suggests that masked performances were not associated with a specific cult or deity. Masks have been found in sanctuaries of male deities (Athienou-Malloura, Ayia Irini, Golgoi, Kition, Kourion,

47 Dikaios, Enkomii II, 779, nos. 5887.2–3, pl. 149:17 (incorrectly photographed); Karageorghis, Coroplastic II, 33f., nos. 6–7, pls. 20:4–5; Karageorghis, Enkomi, 21f., nos. 5.1; 5.5; Lagarce/Le Garce, Masque, 349–354, figs. 1–2.

48 Karageorghis/Demas, Excavations, no. 553, pls. 149.214; Nys, Use, 23–25; Smith, Art, 147f., figs. 4.21 (unrestored).

49 Hermary, Amathonte, no. 256, pl. 35.

50 Averett, Masks, no. 107.

51 Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, nos. 9–10, figs. 93–94, pls. 64:6.33.

52 Serwint, Mask, no. 80.

53 Hermary, Amathonte, 79, no. 509, pl. 32; Hermary, Figurines, 18f.; Karageorghis, Coroplastic III, 117f., nos. 32.35, pls. 67:7; 68:3; Karageorghis, Notes II, 6–9, pl. 1:2; Smith, Excavations, 111f., fig. 164, nos. 4.14; Walters, Catalogue, nos. A148; A178.

54 Averett, Masks, 23–25.

55 Fourrier, Coroplastic; Fourrier, Territoires; Hermary, Recherches; Papantoniou, Religion, 86–116; Papantoniou, Cyprus.
Meniko, Peyia-Maa, Polis, Rantidi-Lingrin tou Dhiyeni, Salamis, those dedicated to male-female pairs (Polis-Maratheri), and were also dedicated in sanctuaries of goddesses (the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous, the Aphrodite sanctuary at Palaepaphos, and the Polis-Peristeries sanctuary). It is likely that there were differences in meaning and use at these different areas. For example, mask use in palatial shrines, such as the beatyl shrine at Amathous, differed from mask use at sanctuaries in frontier zones, such as Malloura.

Iron Age masks are found, however, in more numbers in sanctuaries likely dedicated to male deities, ones similar to Athienou-Malloura. Although the deity worshipped is often elusive, many of these sanctuaries are outside urban centers, wealthy, and linked to a male god associated with agriculture and warfare through the dedication of votives depicting horse-and-riders, chariots, and warriors. Nonetheless, due to the paucity of textual and literary evidence, ascertaining not only theonyms but also the nature of the divinities worshipped at most Cypriot sanctuaries is notoriously problematic. Moreover, the complicated nature of Mediterranean religions, the likelihood that more than one deity was worshipped at most sanctuaries, and the evolving nature of sacred sites used over centuries further complicates a simple understanding of ritual practices.

Nevertheless, masks seem more prevalent at sanctuaries predominately dedicated to male deities. Moreover, of the masks whose gender can be ascertained, the number of male masks exceeds the number of female examples: approximately 90% of masks from the florum of the tradition in the CGIII-CA Period are male.56 Significantly, all but one possible masker figurine appear to be male.57 There are no overtly female maskers: they lack breasts and the elaborate jewelry that characterizes female figures in the coroplast and limestone record. This dramatic emphasis on maleness in the types of masks, the maskers, and the deities most commonly associated with masks suggests that it was primarily males wearing the masks. Among the zoomorphic examples, the bull is by far the most dominant type, and the male and bovine imagery is combined with the three examples of male masks with horns and with male maskers wearing the helmet-style bull masks.

**Performing Masked Rituals**

Beyond being part of a religious system used by royalty and elites, masks were also integral to the performance of rituals in the Iron Age that reached broader audiences. More than other votive objects from Cyprus, masks especially evoke the performative aspect of ritual. Not only do votive copies survive, but representations of men wearing masks are also preserved. These representations of maskers include not only the masked figurines discussed above, but also examples in the glyptic record and on gold plaques. Given the lack of textual sources, these representations provide important

56 AVERETT, Masks, 20.
57 With the possible exception of a figurine with zoomorphic head (they may represent an animal mask) with breasts from a CGI grave in Lapithos. See AVERETT, Masks, 23, no. 12.
evidence that masks were actually worn.\textsuperscript{58} In the LC glyptic record, there are several representations of zocephalic figures engaged in various ritual human activities (fig. 18). The bull-man figure is the most common, with at least 40 known examples, and is often depicted bringing animals to deities. These figures are likely representations of bull maskers, related to the bucrania masks and bull masked figurines, but the grotesque and anthropomorphic masks find no parallel in the glyptic record. Figures wearing helmet-style zoomorphic masks continue in the Iron Age, as seen on a Cypro-Archaic cubical seal depicting individual bull- and ram-maskers (fig. 19).

From the Iron Age, a pierced gold plaque (one of three identical examples) likely from Amathous depicts two heraldic male figures, each wearing long pleated garments and touching a date-palm tree with one hand (fig. 20).\textsuperscript{59} One wears a conical headdress, while the second wears a horned animal mask covering his eyes and forehead. This representation of a horned headdress resembles the three masks from Amathous that depict a bearded male wearing a horned headdress (fig. 12).

In addition to these depictions, figurines of maskers can also be useful for reconstructing aspects of the performances. Unlike the glyptic and plaque representations, most figurines depict static, individual figures, standing with legs together wearing long robes, some with tassels when details are provided. The only movement shown is one or both hands holding the edge of the mask in an act of donning, adjusting, or removing it. This action accentuates the act of masking, the moment when the identity of the masker is separate from the object that changes the persona temporarily. This gesture emphasizes the performance – that this is a mortal performer putting on a costume. This might seem apparent, but in many cultures it is the metamorphic power of masks that is emphasized by showing the transformed masker. In other words, most representations of maskers do not emphasize the fact that these figures wear a costume, but instead accentuate the phenomenon achieved through the performance: a conversion. Thus, in Cyprus artisans emphatically illustrated the act or process of becoming transformed, not the final effect of an altered actor.

The maskers from Kourion offer additional details. Of the over 20 masked figurines dedicated there, most are arranged in groups on rectangular platform bases. The figurines are relatively small and wear anthropomorphic and bovine masks. They usually hold the mask edge with their hands in the same gesture as individual terracotta and limestone maskers. The preserved groups indicate that they occur in pairs or groups of three, possibly more; the figures face each other while holding their hands to the mask in various poses intended to underscore the act of masking. Beyond this, these figurines do not offer many other clues on the performance details.

I have argued that the performers wearing these masks were elite men, perhaps at some sites like Amathous even the kings themselves, acting as religious attendants in rituals involving animal sacrifice or libation.\textsuperscript{60} The audience of these rituals is even more challenging to reconstruct, and it likely differed from sanctuary to sanctuary. But we can imagine that at large, rural sanctuaries in the hinterland or outside cities, like

\textsuperscript{58} For possible textual sources, see AVERETT, Masks, 21.
\textsuperscript{59} KAPER, Amathus, 109, nos. 4–6, pl. XIV:6.
\textsuperscript{60} AVERETT, Masks, 24f.
Malloura, Kourion, or Ayia Irini, the performances were for larger audiences that consisted of local worshippers in addition to perhaps dignitaries and elites from the royal center or surrounding urban centers. The large open-air temene could support large outdoor spectacles for worshippers from the surrounding areas. In these contexts, performances involving masked characters with doubled identities (representing elite religious personnel dressed as sacred animals such as bulls and rams, important male and female religious figures, etc.) would have resonated with local farmers, shepherds, as well as with visiting dignitaries.
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