An offprint from

CYPRUS

An Island Culture

Society and Social Relations
from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period

edited by

Artemis Georgiou

ISBN 978-1-84217-440-1

www.oxbowbooks.com

CONTENTS

Religion, Cult and Iconography in Ancient Cyprus

Ancient Cyprus and the Mediterranean

PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the 9th annual conference in Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology (POCA 2009), which was held at the Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford from the 19th to the 21st of November 2009. POCA 2009 encompassed 24 presentations by postgraduate students and young researchers, coming from a number of institutions and universities in Europe and the United States. The meeting provided a unique opportunity for the new generation of Cypriot archaeologists to present their work and interact in a friendly and productive environment.

The conception of a conference at which postgraduate students of Cypriot Archaeology could present their ongoing research was first conceived by Dr Kirsi Lorenz, who organised the first Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology meeting at the University of Cambridge in 2001. From that year onwards, POCA continued as an annual meeting and has been successfully organised by a number of universities in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Cyprus and Belgium. Nowadays, POCA has become a well established international institution for students in Cypriot Archaeology. This growth of the POCA meetings coincides with the increasing popularity of Cypriot Archaeology itself, which has been established in recent years as a significant discipline in its own right.

Following the tradition set by the organisers of POCA 2005 in Dublin, and judging by the high standards and original contribution of the 9th POCA meeting, it was decided that the proceedings should be published. All papers were subject to anonymous peer-reviews in order to ensure the quality of the papers presented in this volume.

The keynote article of this volume is based on the plenary presentation by Edgar Peltenburg. In this contribution, Professor Peltenburg discusses the political landscape of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, attempting to combine textual and archaeological sources. The rest of the volume's contributions are divided in three sections. The first, entitled "Settlements, Burials and Society in Ancient Cyprus" begins with a paper by David Sewell, who presents new results from the excavations at the Chalcolithic cemetery of Souskiou-*Laona*. The following contribution by Lisa Graham discusses the ceramic production of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, based on new excavations from the necropolis of Kissonerga-*Ammoudhia*. In the subsequent articles, Luca Bombardieri presents preliminary results from the ongoing excavations at the site Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* and Artemis Georgiou compares and contrasts the topographical, architectural and artefactual characteristics of two short-lived Late Bronze Age settlements, Pyla-

Kokkinokremos and Maa-*Palaeokastro*. Anna Georgiadou presents the ceramic production from a significant tomb discovered at Lapithos and discusses matters of chronology and circulation in the Early Geometric period. In the following contribution, Duncan Howitt-Marshall presents the underwater activities at the site Kouklia-*Achni* and discusses problems and perspectives. Finally, this section closes with the contribution by Philippa Steele, who examines the linguistic and archaeological evidence for the "Eteocypriot" language.

The second section of this publication is entitled "Religion, Cult and Iconography in Ancient Cyprus" and begins with a paper by Matthew Spigelman, re-examining the relation of copper and cult in the Late Bronze Age. In the following articles, Katarzyna Zeman-Wisniewska discusses gender aspects of the Cypriot terracotta production in the Early Iron Age and Aurélie Caribillet scrutinizes the relation of Hathor, the Great Goddess and the production of copper in Cyprus. The paper by Anja Ulbrich presents the votive sculpture from the sanctuary at Maroni-Vournes and explores the cult and iconography at this religious context.

The final part, entitled "Ancient Cyprus and the Mediterranean" is dedicated to the contacts of ancient Cyprus with the Mediterranean world. Lesley Bushnell discusses the role of Cyprus in relation to the circulation of Mycenaean perfumed oil. Anna Paule presents her ongoing doctoral research on the jewellery of Cyprus and Greece and attempts to reproduce the relation of these two areas in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. In the subsequent contribution Alexander Vacek explores the connections between the production of Greek and Cypriot pottery during the Geometric period. The following article by Iva Chirpanlieva contextualises the presence of Attic pottery from Kition and draws interesting results on the significance of this pottery in this particular context. Caroline Autret elaborates on the production and circulation of amphoras in Cyprus and Cilicia during the Early Roman era and discusses the relations between these two areas. Finally, Iosif Hadjikyriakos presents the Venetian elements in the iconostasis of Cyprus and examines the connotations of these aspects for the Medieval society of the island.

The papers included in this volume cover a wide time-span, ranging chronologically from the Chalcolithic period to the Medieval times. They present the results of new archaeological excavations and research, and comprise archaeological, anthropological and scientific approaches to the material culture of ancient Cyprus.

ABBREVIATIONS

Journals and Book Series

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ActaArch	*Acta archaeological*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*
AntJ	*The Antiquaries Journal. The Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
ARA	*Annual Review of Anthropology*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CCEC	*Cahier du Centre d´Études Chypriotes*
CurrAnthr	*Current Anthropology*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IJNA	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*
JAnthArch	*Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
JAR	*Journal of Archaeological Research*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JOBG	*Jahrbuch der österreischichen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MeditArch	*Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OpArch	*Opuscula archaeologica*
OpAth	*Opuscula atheniensia*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
TelAviv	*Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology*
WorldArch	*World Archaeology*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*

Other Abbreviations

Bichr	Bichrome
BlSl	Black Slip
CA	Cypro-Archaic
CG	Cypro-Geometric
DP	Drab Polished ware
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cypriot
EPG	Early Protogeometric
FS	Furumark Shape
HBW	Handmade Burnished ware
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LChal	Late Chalcolithic
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MC	Middle Cypriot
MChal	Middle Chalcolithic
MG	Middle Geometric
MM	Middle Minoan
Psc	Pendent semicircle(s)
PWP	Proto-White Painted
RLWM	Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware
RP	Red Polished ware
RPSC	Red Polished South Coast ware
SM	Submycenaean
WP	White Painted
WPWm III	White Painted Wheelmade III

12

CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY: VOTIVE SCULPTURE FROM THE ARCHAIC TO EARLY HELLENISTIC SANCTUARY AT MARONI-*VOURNES*

Anja Ulbrich

Maroni-*Vournes* on the south coast of Cyprus, halfway between Limassol and Larnaca, is mainly known as a Late Bronze Age (LBA) site occupied from Late Cypriot (LC) I to LC IIC. In its final phase, *Vournes* III, it was equipped with the monumental Ashlar Building and the West Building, separated by a street, both serving administrative and economic purposes, including olive-oil and textile production (Cadogan 1992, 52, fig. 1). The complex was abandoned at about 1200 BC without any sign of destruction (Cadogan 1998, 8; forthcoming with further references). After that, there is no evidence of any occupation or use of the site for about 450 years. Finds of large amounts of Archaic and later, almost exclusively Cypriot, pottery from inside the Ashlar Building indicate that from about the mid-8th century BC onwards the front and central parts of this building were restored and re-used as a sanctuary by people living nearby (*cf.* area-map in Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 1). The style of votive-figures of local limestone and terracotta and the lack of any distinctive Hellenistic pottery suggests that it was in use until about the end of the 3rd century BC when it was abandoned with no evidence of destruction of any kind (Cadogan 1983, 156–157, pls. XXII-XXIII:2; 1986, 44, pl. IX:4; Ulbrich forthcoming).

Worshippers approached the *temenos* (*Fig. 12.1*) from a levelled open square with a lime, pebble and stone-chip floor in the southeast of the complex (space A) through a frontal porch (space B), its roof supported by a monumental square pillar (CU).[1] The actual entrance was, as in the 13th century BC, situated asymmetrically in the north-eastern back corner of the porch. In the Archaic period, however, it was intentionally narrowed by a newly erected, approximately knee-height angular stone-structure (DB). It contained various small Archaic and Classical juglets and was originally tentatively identified as a child's cenotaph (Cadogan 1992, 57, pl. 15:2–3). As no such thing is attested for any Cypriot sanctuary in any period, and since the structure is positioned

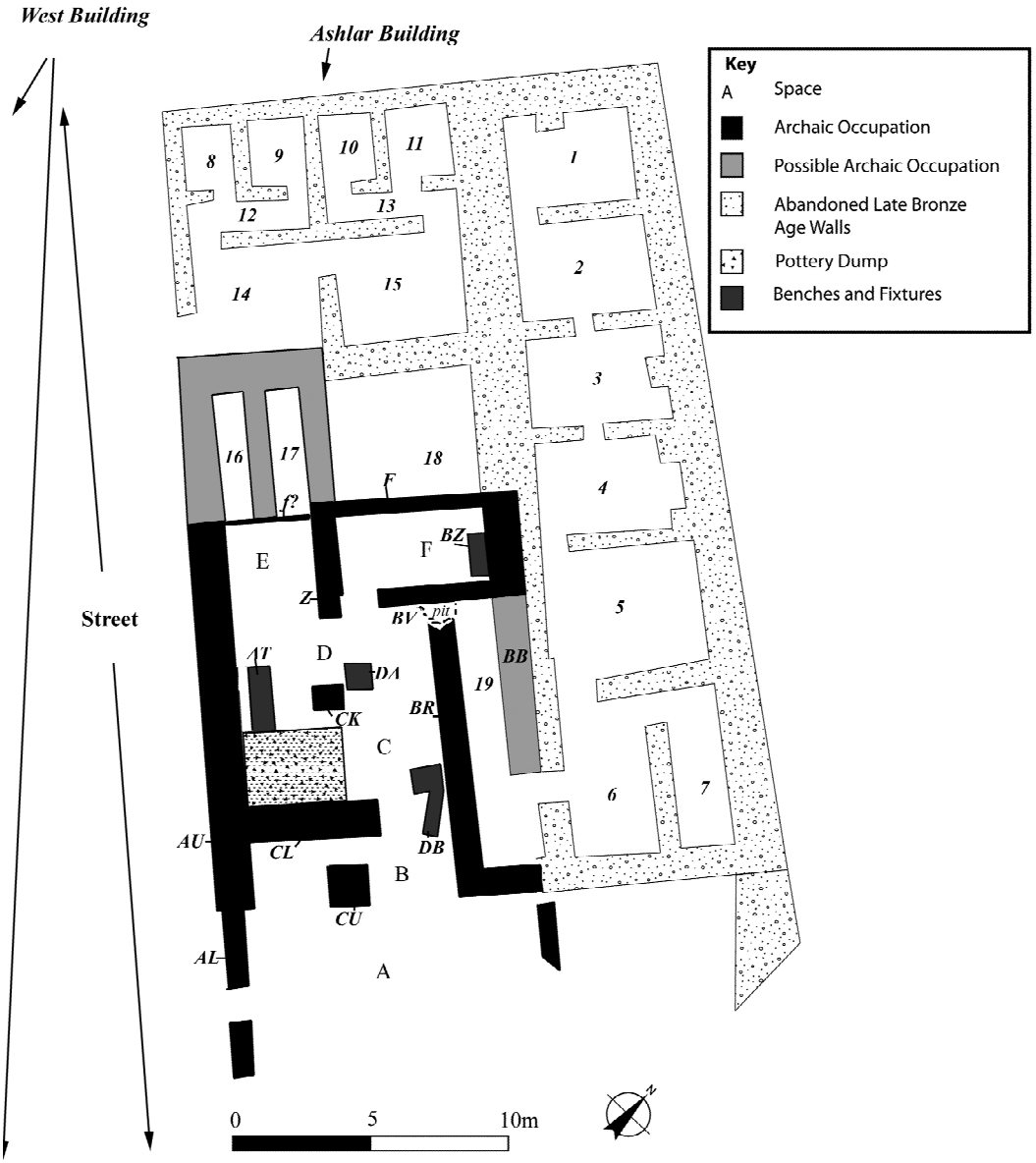

Figure 12.1: Plan of the LBA Ashlar Building at Maroni-*Vournes* showing its re-use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

directly at the only entrance to the *temenos*, it must have rather served as a built *bothros* for entrance-offerings, possibly libations (Ulbrich forthcoming).

The votaries then stepped into a central courtyard (C), probably with a wide porch along its southwest side, its roof supported by a pillar on base CK.[2] There was a built offering bench (AT) in the roofed area, and just outside the porch was an offering table, DA, built from recycled ashlar blocks from unused parts of the LBA Ashlar building.

At the back of the partly roofed courtyard, there were two rooms: Room E was completely open towards the porch and yielded a *bothros* in a central position made of a cut-off LBA pithos-

neck. Various juglets found in its immediate vicinity suggest that it was probably used for libations (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. 22:2). In contrast, Room F was only accessible through a narrow door and featured an altar or offering table (BZ) which was built from re-used ashlar blocks against its north-eastern ashlar wall (BB).

Votive-figures from Maroni-*Vournes*

It was in these rooms as well as in the courtyard and porch towards the north-western backside of the whole sanctuary that, beside fragmentary pottery, lamps and ash-shovels, the fragments of some 35 terracotta figures and 70 limestone statuettes were found (Cadogan, 1983, 156–157, pl. XXII:4–8; 1986, 44, pl. IX:4; Ulbrich 2008, 282–283 [AM 18]; forthcoming, figs. 3–12). Their relatively small number, in comparison with other sanctuaries, some of which yielded hundreds or even thousands of votive figures, suggests that they represent the last set of votive-figures displayed in the *temenos* before it was abandoned at about the end of the 3rd century BC. This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that the majority of the limestone statuettes date to the 4th and 3rd century BC (Cadogan 1983, 156–157; Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 8–11).

Most of the fragmentarily preserved terracottas seem to be of an earlier date, as they are made in the style of the Archaic period (Cadogan 1983, 156). In particular, the small, handmade and solid terracottas of animals and humans could have escaped earlier clearouts, a practice which is well attested at many sanctuaries in Cyprus and Greece. On the other hand, solid figurines of this style could have been produced well down to the Classical and possibly even the Hellenistic period in Cyprus, even after the introduction and production of mould-made Greek-style types from the 5th century BC onwards. Of the latter, Maroni yielded only one example, a figurine of a female votary. However, there were fragments of up to life-size, partly wheel-made, hollow terracotta figures which suggest that these Archaic pieces (such as Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 6–7) might have been intentionally kept in the *temenos* during the whole time-span of its use, probably for cult-related reasons. Considering the evidence from other Cypriot sanctuary sites, it can be safely assumed that there existed *favissae* for discarded votive-figures near Maroni-*Vournes*, but these were not found during the excavations between 1983 and 1994.

Maroni-*Vournes* yielded no dedicatory inscriptions identifying the deity or deities worshipped at the site, as is the case for almost 170 of the more than 200 archaeologically attested Cypriot sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical period (Ulbrich 2008, 49–50 including catalogue and tables in 263–504). Therefore, the iconography of the votive-figures from Maroni is the only way to determine the identity of the deity or deities and to assess their meaning and

function for the local community. Furthermore, the iconography elucidates elements of the cult proper.

Such "iconographic identification" is made possible thanks to a distinctly gender-related votive-practice in Cyprus from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period. In essence, the sex of the deity or deities worshipped at a site is clearly reflected in the sex of the vast majority of the votive-figures dedicated there. This applies not only to the relatively rare certain or possible examples of deity-images, but also to the votary-figures (further elaborated in Ulbrich 2008, 49–63, pls. 6–7). This practice, which is well attested for sanctuaries in which the deities are identified epigraphically, allows the attribution of epigraphically unidentified *temene* through the iconography of the votive-figures. For example, more than 80% of several hundred votive-figures from the epigraphically identified sanctuary of "Aphrodite Kypria" on the acropolis at Amathous depict females, including all certain and possible images of the goddess herself, and the vast majority of the votaries (Ulbrich 2008, 51, 268–271 [AM 1]; Hermary 2000 with plates). The sanctuary of "Apollon" or "Reschef" at Tamassos-*Frangissa*, securely identified by epigraphic testimonia, such as Greek and Phoenician bilingual dedicatory inscriptions, yielded a similarly large corpus of votive-figures, more than 80% of which depicted males (Ulbrich 2008, 51, 475–476 [TA 4] with references and pl. 7; Buchholz 1991, 5–15, pls. 3–6). Furthermore, there is epigraphic evidence of sanctuaries dedicated to a divine couple which is also reflected in a more balanced numerical proportion between male and female types of votaries, and the presence of male and female deity representations side by side. One case in point is the sanctuary of Astarte and Melqart in Kition (Ulbrich 2008, 345–348 [KI 2]; Gjerstad 1937, 1–75, pls. V-XXXIX; Calvet 1993, 116–122 with figures; Bonnet 1996, 70–73). Principally, the number of deity-figures in Cypriot sanctuaries constitutes a fraction of the total number of votive-figures in terracotta or local limestone. In their majority they represent votaries and, less frequently, animals. Nevertheless, these deity figures, however small in number, provide the most explicit or diagnostic indicators for the sex and the function of the deity worshipped at any site, complemented by the iconography of the rest of the votive figures (Ulbrich 2008, 53–62).

Deity images

Despite the relatively small number of votive-figures preserved at Maroni-*Vournes*, three types of statuettes representing a deity, albeit fragmentary, were found within the *temenos*.

The earliest is a head of the so-called "Goddess with vegetal crown", dated to the second half of the 5th century BC (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 10) (*Fig. 12.2*). The crown is rather stylised but clearly derived from more elaborate examples of this type, *e.g.* from Idalion (*cf.* Ulbrich

Figure 12.2: Head of a goddess with vegetal crown (Photo by the author).

2010, 182, fig. 9:6; Hermary 1989, 406–410, particularly nos. 823, 826, 834). Female figures with either a cylindrical or kalathos-shaped vegetal crown of leaves and flowers, some additionally decorated with divine symbols or animals, are well attested by small to up to life-size or even colossal votive sculptures and terracottas dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the 6th to the 4th century BC (on the type see Ulbrich 2010, 181–184, fig. 182; 2008, 85–89, pl. 18; Hermary 1989, 398–410 with figures and further references). All epigraphically identified sanctuaries, for which this type is attested, are attributed to Cypriot Aphrodite or her Phoenician counterpart in Kition or Lapithos, Astarte (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 547–548, tab. 10). This suggests that most of such votive-figures can be identified with the "Great Goddess of Cyprus" or Cypriot Aphrodite herself, or at least her priestess (*cf.* also J. Karageorghis 2005, 177–178, figs. 100–202, 206, figs. 239–240; Karageorghis 1998, 201–210, figs. 150–152, 154–158).

Such interpretation is corroborated further by divine symbols on some of the crowns, as well as the appearance of heads of such figures on Cypriot coins, invariably depicting deities or divine and royal symbols (Ulbrich 2008, 42–47; Karageorghis 1998, 136–139 with figures). Examples include coins from Paphos, home of Aphrodite's most famous sanctuary in the ancient world, and Salamis (Hill 1904, 44, no. 47, pl. 8:9; Karageorghis 1998, 138, no. 84a-b). Even more compelling is a limestone sculpture of Aphrodite with vegetal crown and winged Eros on her arm from one of the sanctuaries around Golgoi (Ulbrich 2010, 190, 192, fig. 9:9; Karageorghis 1998, 207, fig. 154). The majority of the figures with vegetal crowns, including the earliest and most elaborate, come from cult-sites in the fertile Mesaoria plain, mostly from extra-urban *temene* in the territories of Idalion, Golgoi and Salamis (Ulbrich 2008, 88–89, 547–548, tab. 10). The vegetal crown depicts the goddess as a deity of vegetal fertility (Ulbrich 2010, 181–184) which is also poetically reflected in Hesiod's *Theogonia*, 195–197. It narrates that grass started to grow rapidly under the goddess' feet when she first set foot on the island of Cyprus,

Figure 12.3: Head of a goddess with turreted crown (Photo by the author).

and was greeted and adorned with flowers by the *horai*, the "seasons". The dedication of such a figure at Maroni-*Vournes* in the 5th century BC and the fact that it had been kept within the sanctuary precinct until its abandonment at the end of the 3rd century BC suggests that Cypriot Aphrodite was worshipped there as goddess of vegetal fertility.

This suggestion is strengthened by the find of a later, well attested image-type of Cypriot Aphrodite, represented by just one small 3rd-century BC head of a limestone statuette: the goddess with turreted or mural crown and veil (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 11) (*Fig. 12.3*). The facial features and crown of this fragmentary limestone statuette are again rather stylised or "impressionistic", but typical for the period and its size (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 418, no. 847, 437, no. 901). This iconographic type was created in Cyprus in the late 5th century BC as a variation of the goddess with vegetal crown, and was dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries far into the Hellenistic period (for this type see Ulbrich 2010, 188, fig. 9:8, 192; 2008, 95–96, pl. 22; Hermary 1982, 169–173, pl. XXXVII; 1989, 416–418, figs. 843–848; Monloup 1994, 32; Papageorgiou 1997, 69–70, 73–76, 140–143, 158–160, including figures). In the 4th century BC, this image-type of Cypriot Aphrodite is attested on coins struck at Salamis and Paphos, depicting the goddess with either a combined vegetal and turreted crown or with a mural crown (Hermary 1982, pl. XXXVII:3; Karageorghis 1998, 141–143, figs. 88b, 93a). Again, epigraphically identified sanctuaries, which yielded figures with turreted crowns, were invariably dedicated to Cypriot Aphrodite (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 522–523, tab. 15), thus suggesting that these sculptures represented Cypriot Aphrodite herself (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 2005, 103, fig. 99, 220, figs. 322–324; Karageorghis 1998, 210–211, figs. 159–160). This is supported by a Hellenistic sculpture with turreted crown from the epigraphically identified sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria at Amathous which carries a dove, the sacred animal of Aphrodite (J. Karageorghis 2005, 103, fig. 99; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415–417; Delivorrias 1984, 4 with reference to Sappho). The turreted crown, which was known in the Near East and Anatolia already since the 2nd millennium BC (Metzler 1994), appears in Cypriot divine imagery before it is attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (*e.g.* the famous Tyche from Antioch). The mural crown characterises the deity as a strong invincible city-goddess in the broadest sense, who protected and blessed the city or, in the case of rural Maroni, the local community.

Figure 12.4: Statuette of Cypriot Pan/Opaon Melanthios (Photo by the author).

Also in the 3rd century BC, other deity statuettes were dedicated at Maroni-*Vournes*. Two limestone statuettes were found representing a naked young man with long hair, goat ears, goat horns right on top of his head, and a Pan-flute or *syrinx* in his left hand, his cloak covering only his shoulders and back (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 9; *cf.* Hermary 1989, 312–314, figs. 621–625; Flourentzos 1989, pls. XXIV-XXIX; Karageorghis 1998, 192–194, figs. 140–142) (*Fig. 12.4*). He can be identified as Cypriot Pan or Apollon/Opaon Melanthios, the "Opaon" denoting Greek "o΄ pá-on" (herdsman, pastor), which is the origin of the name of the Greek god Pan (Karageorghis 1998, 192; Flourentzos 1989, 121; Hermary 1989, 311; 1994, 54–55; Boardman 1997, 923; Bennett 1980, 354–355; 441–446). This image type, exclusively rendered in limestone, is not attested in Cyprus before the very end of the 4th century BC or the beginning of the Hellenistic period, which might indicate a link with the establishment of Ptolemaic rule and the associated surge of hellenisation of the island (Karageorghis 1998, 193; Hermary 1989, 313).

Such statuettes were found in various sanctuaries, mostly extra-urban or rural. Examples come from the *temenos* at Vavla-*Kapsalaes*, *c.* 18km northeast of Maroni on a high mountain ridge in the lower Troodos mountains (Ulbrich 2008, 281–282 [AM 17]; Morden and Todd 1994, pl. 15:c), the peri-urban site of Voni, *c.* 4km southwest of ancient Chytroi (Ulbrich 2008, 289–290 [CHY 5], pl. 24:10; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. 42:5), Golgoi-*Agios Photios* (Ulbrich 2008, 299 [GO 3]; Cesnola 1885, pl. CXIX, nos. 856–868; Counts 2008, 22, fig. 11), Petrofani (also known as Athienou)-*Malloura* (Ulbrich 2008, 303 [GO 6]; Tomazou *et al.* 1998, 378; Counts 2004, 181, including note 30), the Apollon/Reschef sanctuary in the city-kingdom of Idalion (Ulbrich 2008, 319–321 [ID 4]; Senff 1993, pl. 49:d-f), and the 6km distant peri-urban *temenos* of Potamia-*Ellines* (Ulbrich 2008, 327–328 [ID 16]; Karageorghis 1979, pl. XLIV:2, 4, 12, 42, 83, 23, 48, 148). They are also attested at a *temenos* at Pyla-*Stavros* (Ulbrich 2008, 357–358 [KI 13]; Hermary 1989, 311, no. 619, 313, no.

622) and at Lefkonoiko (Ulbrich 2008, 433–434 [SA 12]; Myres 1946, 65, nos. 370–374, pl. 19 lower photograph). In the sanctuaries where the male deity who received such "Pan"-votive figures is identified by dedicatory inscriptions, the god is invariably "Apollon", like at Voni, Chytroi, Agios Photios, Idalion or Pyla, or his Phoenician counterpart "Reschef" at Idalion, but not before the end of the 5th or even the 4th century BC (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 502–504, tab. 2:b). All these sanctuaries yielded other, older and contemporary, male deity images which most probably represented the same local god ("Apollon"). These other images are (*cf.* Counts 2004, 180–182, 187, tab. 1):

1. "Zeus Ammon" or "Baal Hammon", first ram-headed, then with ram-horns on a human head, and often seated on a throne flanked by rams, or as a figure riding a ram functioning as a stand for the bowl of a thymiaterion (incense burner) dedicated from the 6th century BC until the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*cf.* Sophocleous 1985, 58–69, pls. XIII-XVI:1; Hermary 1989, 305–310 nos. 608–618; Counts 2004, 178–181, 189, figs. 2–3; Counts 2008, 19–21 fig. 10).
2. Club-wielding or club-holding "Herakles-Melqart", "Cypriot Herakles" or the "Master of the Lion" (Counts 2008, 20, tab. 1) from the later 6th to the 4th century BC (Sophocleous 1985, 28–56, pls. V:3-IX; Hermary 1989, 299–304, nos. 597–607; Counts 2004, 180, 190, fig. 5).
3. Long-haired beardless Apollon from the 5th century BC onwards (Sophocleous 1985, 156; Hermary 1989, 315–319, nos. 627–630; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. XLII:1).

It is the first of these types which, through its ram association, is iconographically and iconologically more closely connected with the Pan-statuettes and their goat iconography, which obviously replaced the "ram-god" at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 305; Counts 2004, 180–181; 2008, 19–22, figs. 10–11). Cults of Zeus and his Phoenician counterpart Baal are epigraphically attested in Cyprus and, like Apollon and Reschef (see above), they were identified with the Cypriot "grand dieu" as counterpart of Cypriot Aphrodite (Bennett 1980, 453, 454, 480; Sophocleous 1985, 26–28, 156). Zeus in Greece and Baal in Phoenicia functioned, among other things, as weather gods. As such, through the rain-dependent fertility of the pastures, they were highly significant for the survival of livestock (*cf.* Sophocleous 1985, 26; Röllig 1992, 55; Dils 1992, 500–501; Lipinski 1992, 57–58). Livestock in Cyprus consisted mostly of sheep and goats which also were the predominant sacrificial animals, *e.g.* for Cypriot Aphrodite in Amathous (*cf.* Hermary and Columeau 2006, 167–181). The function of the Great

Cypriot god as "pastoral god" or shepherd god (Counts 2004, 183: "divine shepherd"), who granted the survival and fertility of livestock, is visualised equally by the older and the newer image with ram- or goat-iconography, "Zeus Amon/Baal Hammon" (*cf.* Bennett 1980, 470–471) as well as "Cypriot Pan". Both depict the same god and do not mark a change of cult or deity worshipped through their dedication as already argued above. At Maroni, this Cypriot god is exclusively attested by the "Pan"-imagery, and obviously functioned primarily as fertility god of livestock and pasture, an appropriate *parhedros* of Cypriot Aphrodite as vegetation goddess in this rural area.

There is no archaeological, epigraphic or literary evidence from Greek or Cypriot sanctuaries demonstrating that one god worshipped at any given site was essentially replaced by a different one; however, another god or goddess could join the original deity at a later point. The iconography of the few probably Archaic terracottas from Maroni is rather inconclusive as to the identity of the deity or deities worshipped here from the foundation of the sanctuary onwards, at about 750 BC. However, a number of Archaic male votaries, a centaur (see below) and animal figurines that were excavated at Maroni seem to point to a male pastoral fertility god, which was eventually depicted as Cypriot Pan in the 3rd century BC. However, at least from the 5th century BC onwards, Cypriot Aphrodite was worshipped here as his female *parhedros* as evidenced from the head with vegetal crown. Together, this divine couple granted the fertility of land, vegetation and livestock, all of which constituted the existential basis for the prosperity of the rural community at ancient Maroni. In this function, both deities also acted as city- or village-gods in the broader sense, visualised by the latest image-type of the goddess wearing a mural crown.

Centaur

Among the Archaic terracottas from Maroni-*Vournes* is a piece which explicitly refers to the male god worshipped here: It is a life-size humanoid head, moulded fully in the round, with rather distorted features, a wide and somewhat angular face with a wide open mouth, and traces of a bump on the left corner of his forehead which can be identified as a broken off bull-horn (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 7) (*Fig. 12.5*). It can be identified as an image of a Cypriot "centaur", depicted mostly with a bull-horned head and upper body of a human figure on a quadruped's (bull or horse) body. This type is attested by much smaller terracotta figurines (*cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 1–9, figs. 1–6, pls. I-VI, particularly 7, figs. 4–5 and pl. III:3 and V:3; Monloup 1984, 107–110, no. 438 and fig. 7). From Cyprus, we also know depictions of humans with bull-masks, but these are invariably depicted with a bovine and not a human face (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 291, no. 588; 2000, 133, no. 877, pl. 71; Karageorghis 1995, pl. XXVII:8-XXVIII:3).

Figure 12.5: Head of a centaur (Photo by the author).

Bulls and bull-figurines are of great significance in Cypriot cult already from the Middle Bronze Age, as some sanctuary models from a tomb at Kotchati show (Karageorghis 1991, 142–143, pl. CII:2-CIII:4). Bull cult was also important during the LBA (*cf.* Webb 1999, 216–219; Karageorghis 1993a, 35–43, pls. XXI-XXII). Even deity-figures had horns or horned helmets, such as the Horned God or the Ingot God from Enkomi (*cf.* Karageorghis 1998, 30–34, figs. 7–8; Webb 1999, 223–228). In the Geometric and Archaic periods, bull-figurines, as well as centaurs, were common votive-figurines, predominantly in sanctuaries of male deities**,** such as at Ayia Irini, Meniko and Kourion (*cf.* Karageorghis 1993a, 67–69, 71–73, pls. XXIX-XXXI, 92–94, pls. XLI-XLII; 1996, 1–9, pls. I-VI (centaurs), 29–35, pls. XV-XX). Therefore, the monumental Cypriot centaur-figure from Maroni-*Vournes*, unique in its size, seems to explicitly refer to the male fertility god worshipped there, which was later depicted as a shepherd-god in the image of Pan (see above). In fact, the cultic meaning of this centaur-figure might be the very reason why it was kept, apparently for centuries, in the sanctuary precinct until its final abandonment, and was excavated there 2000 years later.

Votaries

The other fragmentary anthropomorphic votive-figures of Maroni-*Vournes* represent male as well as female votaries. In view of the gender-related votive-practice addressed above, this is just another indication for the worship of a divine couple at Maroni-*Vournes*. Some of the votaries carry offerings which further elucidate the identity and various aspects of the gods worshipped through the dedication of such figures. This applies also to the animal-figures dedicated to the deities.

The terracotta votaries, most of them male, do not carry votive gifts, as far as they are preserved. They range from the small handmade figurines in snowman technique (one depicted with beard and possibly a peaked helmet or cap), to almost life-size wheel- and handmade figures, all with some kind of fillet (Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 5–6). A wheelmade tubular body is marked as female by the indication of the breasts (*cf.* bodies in Karageorghis 1993b, LIV:3, LIX:2, LX:1), while a mould-made head, with somewhat African features, on a kind of socket must have been inserted in such a tubular body, albeit smaller (Cadogan 1986, 44, pl. IX:4). The

only late and mould-made figurine depicts a small female votary of the late 4th century BC (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 2005, 195, figs. 248–249 for dress and hairstyle).

Male votaries in limestone from *Vournes* are all beardless and rather youthful and are mostly depicted wearing a wreath of leaves, some of the examples as big as a low crown (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII:7), probably visualising the vegetation aspect of the god. As per the gender related votive-practice in Cyprus, a male god generally received images of male votaries (see above). Such figures were dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the 6th century BC until the end of the Hellenistic period (Hermary 1989, 112, examples in 113–218, nos. 219–441). Other male votaries wear the Macedonian *kausia* (*Fig. 12.6*), which was fashionable in Cypriot votive-sculpture since Cyprus was submitted to Alexander the Great and continued until the end of the 3rd century BC. This headdress was often, but not exclusively, worn by the so-called "temple-boys", representing crouching male infants (Hermary 1989, 236–243, figs. 476–491).

All male votaries carry a variety of votive gifts, for example a bird, identified as a duck or a goose, judging by its shape (*Fig. 12.6*). The latter bird is one of Aphrodite's sacred animals (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 417; Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4, 96–98, nos. 905–915, pls. 89–90). Another votary probably carries a bird, possibly a dove, judging by its upturned wing (*Fig. 12.7*). The dove is a well attested offering in Cypriot votive sculpture from the 5th century BC onwards (*e.g.* Karageorghis 2000, 209, no. 335). Alternatively, this figurine could be depicted carrying a ram's head, which would constitute a rather unique representation. In any case, this detail of the statuette is too worn to securely identify it. A dove would refer to Aphrodite at Maroni, the dove being one of her sacred animals and an appropriate gift to the goddess (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415–417; see Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4 for the literary and epigraphic evidence). A ram's head could be interpreted as part of such an animal sacrifice or as a votive gift which could be associated with both deities at Maroni: Aphrodite could be associated with rams, sheep and goats (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 98–100, nos. 947–976, pls. 93–95; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415), as she received not only figurines but real sacrifices of sheep and goats in her sanctuaries in Greece as well as in Cyprus, for example in her sanctuary at Amathous (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 384–388; Hermary and Columeau 2006, 167–181 with tables and graphs). However, the ram-head could equally well refer to the pastoral god worshipped at Maroni in the Cypriot "Pan"-image with goat's ears and horns (*Fig.12.3*). In the case of Maroni this is even more likely. In fact, a Pan-statuette from Pyla depicts the god carrying a ram's head himself (Hermary 1989, 311, no. 619; Karageorghis 1998, 193, fig. 141).

Figure 12.6 (left): Male votary with duck or goose (Photo by the author).
Figure 12.7 (right): Male votary with ram's head (or dove) in his left, and a bread-roll in his right hand (Drawing by Clara Vasitsek).

Other votive gifts include an ear of wheat and a small round or elliptical cushion-like object with rounded edges (*e.g. Fig. 12.7* right hand). In publications on Cypriot stone sculptures, such objects are either completely ignored (*cf.* Karageorghis 2000, 230, no. 362 depicted in the left hand of a temple boy) or just vaguely described as "round-shaped" or "disc-shaped" objects (*cf.* Karageorghis 2002, 216–216, nos. 280–281, depicted in the left or right hand of two temple boys). Because of their shape, these objects cannot be identified with a pyxis, which is clearly shown as a cylindrical object with a disc-shaped lid, larger than the body, and carried more upright and in front of the votary (*cf.* Karageorghis 2000, 246–247, no. 402). The cushion-like objects carried by some of the Maroni votaries look, in shape and size, rather like the small bread-rolls or cakes known in Cypriot coroplastic art. I would consider the latter suggestion more viable for their identification (*cf.* Karageorghis 2006, 121–129, figs. 104–106, and figs. 110–

Figure 12.8 (left): Female votary with partridge (Photo by the author).
Figure 12.9 (right): Female votary touching her left breast (Photo by the author).

116). The ear of wheat (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII.8) and such possible bread-rolls or cakes, unambiguously refer to the fertility of the arable land. Such offerings point to the agricultural aspect of the gods of Maroni, mostly of the goddess herself, who was characterised as a vegetation goddess, judging by the vegetal crown in one of her two images at Maroni. Both the wheat and the (possible) bread link Cypriot Aphrodite closely to Greek Demeter as goddess of agriculture, who is often presented with an ear of wheat (Beschi 1988, 844–847, *e.g.* 850–851, nos. 31 and 34, see images in 1988-II, 564–565, 858, no. 121). However, the cult of Demeter is not securely epigraphically attested in Cyprus before the 3rd century BC (Ulbrich 2008, 168–172; Bennett 1980, 380–384).

The majority of the female votary-figures in stone**,** dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, do not carry any votive-gifts. Many are clothed in long garments with their mantle or a veil pulled over their hair (*cf.* heads in Cadogan 1983, 156–157, pl. XX:5). One of them, however, carries a bird which, by the shape of body and beak could be identified as a partridge (*Fig. 12.8*). This bird is most probably a gift or even a sacrifice for the Kypris of Maroni, as Aphrodite is associated with various birds (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 444–445, Sophocles

fragment 941). A partridge is among the sacrificial animals attested in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria on the acropolis of Amathous (Hermary and Columeau 2006, 167, tab. 7).

Additionally, two female figures from Maroni of the 3rd century BC seem to be touching their breasts with one hand (*Fig. 12.9*), thereby imitating the gesture of some Astarte figurines (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. XXXIV-XXXVII:3). These two figures are rather exceptional, as such Astarte figurines are usually rendered in terracotta and in their majority they are shown supporting both breasts (J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. I-XIX), as can be seen in older votary-figures from a *temenos* of Cypriot Aphrodite at Achna (J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. XII-XVIII and XXXVI; 2005, 208 figs. 284–290)**.** Naked Near Eastern type Astarte-figurines and their partly clothed Cypriot variants were found in numerous sanctuaries of Cypriot Aphrodite and her Phoenician counterpart Astarte**.** They represent yet another type of deity image, in use since the 7th century BC, and depict the goddess as one of female sexuality and fertility (for the type see J. Karageorghis 1999; Ulbrich 2010, 175–177, fig. 9.2; 2008, 70–77, 512–514, tab. 6, pls. 11–12). With their gesture, these two votaries directly address that specific characteristic of the goddess at Maroni.

Animals

Among the animal figures dedicated at Maroni are quadrupeds which, due to their fragmentary preservation and their general crude style could depict horses, donkeys, bovines, goats or sheep (*cf.* animal figurines in Karageorghis 1996, 23–39, pls. XI-XIV, XIX-XXII). However, there are two fragments of a cloven-hoofed animal, which excludes a horse, but suggests a rather big bull-figurine, with a hollow and wheelmade body. Several such bull-figurines were found for example in the sanctuaries of Agia Irini and Potamos tou Kambou near Soloi, both dedicated to a male fertility god (*cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 29–33, pls. XV-XVII *passim*). Bovines, goats and sheep were suitable sacrifices for both deities worshipped at Maroni-*Vournes*, Cypriot Aphrodite and Apollon or Opaon Melanthios. All these animals constituted the vast majority of the animals sacrificed to Aphrodite Kypria in her sanctuary on the acropolis of Amathous according to the faunal evidence from the site (Hermary and Coloumeau 2006, 167, tab. 7, 170–174 including tables and graphs).

Among the late Classical or Hellenistic terracottas are a rooster or hen (*Fig. 12.10*), and a pig or piglet (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII:4; *cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 39–40). Both are possible animals for sacrifice. A terracotta votive relief from Locri shows a female votary offering a rooster to Aphrodite, who is depicted with a goose or swan (Delivorrias *et. al.* 1984, 89, nos. 810, pl. 81). Although the pig is occasionally sacrificed to Aphrodite (Delivorrias *et al.*, 1984, 4 with

Figure 12.10 (left): Head of a rooster, front view, double crest (Drawing by Clara Vasitsek).
Figure 12.11 (right): Turtle/Tortoise, head broken off (Photo by the author).

reference to Kallimachos, fragment 200a), in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria at Amathous only one pig-sacrifice is attested (Hermary and Columeau 2006, 170, tab. 11, 178), which might explicitly refer to Demeter who received such animals as a regular sacrifice and is sometimes depicted carrying a piglet (*cf.* Cadogan 1983, 156; Beschi 1988, 845–846, examples 847, nos. 105–106, 864, fig. 214). Like for Demeter in Greece, patronage of agriculture is one, if not the primary, function of Cypriot Aphrodite at Maroni, as shown by the wheat-ears depicted as votive-gifts in votive-sculpture (see above). The goddess of Maroni-*Vournes* might even have been identified with Demeter during the 3rd century BC. Such identification is actually attested epigraphically in the sanctuary of Apollon and Aphrodite at Golgoi-*Agios Photios* in the 3rd century BC (Ulbrich 2008, 169, 297–301, 499, tab. 2:a).

However, a tortoise or a turtle, made of marble in the 3rd century BC and dedicated at Maroni (*Fig. 12.11*), would rather refer to Aphrodite, being one of her sacred animals (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 234–236). An alphabetic Greek, thus Hellenistic or Roman, dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite from her famous sanctuary in Paphos has a tortoise or turtle carved on top (Gardner *et al.* 1888, 253, no. 117), but dedications of such figures were by no means exclusive for Aphrodite, and their interpretation seems completely uncertain and ambiguous (Bevan 1988, 1–6). If the figure from Maroni indeed represents a turtle, this sea-animal would refer to Aphrodite as a goddess of the sea. After all, she was not only born from the sky and rose from the sea according to Hesiod (*Theogonia*, 176–188) but was worshipped as a goddess of seafaring ("euploia" and "eleémon") as well (Ulbrich 2008, 105–106;

Figure 12.12: Female lyre-player with vegetal crown (Photo by the author).

Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 433–439; J. Karageorghis 2005, 224). The shore is just 500m away from Maroni-*Vournes* (*cf.* map in Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 1).

Cult at Maroni must have included animal sacrifice as well as offerings of fruit, ears of wheat and possibly bread. The large corpus of pottery from Maroni – mostly bowls, but also some cooking ware – suggests ritual drinking and dining (Ulbrich forthcoming). But there was also music, attested by the fragment of a tambourine player and two statuettes of female lyre-players. One of them even seems to wear a vegetal or turreted crown, like the goddess for whom she performs (*Fig. 12.12*) (Ulbrich, forthcoming, fig. 8; *cf.* Hermary 1989, 437, nos. 899 and 901). The ash-shovels found at Maroni could suggest either burnt sacrifice, for which there is, however, no further evidence, or incense-burning. Bones and other organic material from the site still await investigation, but most of the material comes from LBA contexts.

Conclusions

Despite the relatively small number of votive-figures from Maroni-*Vournes*, the range of their iconography identifies the deity or deities worshipped at this site as a divine couple: Cypriot Aphrodite and her male counterpart Apollon. The gods of Maroni were venerated as complementary fertility deities in the broadest sense, but most specifically of arable land, pasture and livestock. As such they granted the prosperity of the rural community or communities living in eye-sight and walking distance around the little knoll of *Vournes*, beside a small stream in this still fertile land, sloping down to the sea, not 500m away.

The worship of Cypriot Aphrodite and Cypriot Apollon at this remote place near the territorial border of the city-kingdom of Amathous towards Kition lasted uninterruptedly – though with a few changes in the iconographic repertoire – from the foundation of the *temenos* at about 750 BC until its abandonment in the late 3rd century BC, long after the final abolishment of the city-kingdoms by Ptolemaic rule in 294 BC (Maier 1994, 333–334).

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Gerald Cadogan, director of excavations at Maroni-*Vournes*, for the permission to publish the Archaic to Roman remains from the site; the Deutsche

Forchungsgemeinschaft for funding a postdoctoral research fellowship to prepare this publication, and the A.G. Leventis Foundation for funding various other associated expenses of this project.

I would also like to thank Clara Vasitsek for the drawings (*Figs. 12.7* and *12.10*). The photographs were taken and edited by the author.

Notes

1 The letters in brackets refer to the structures as indicated in *Fig. 12.1*. For a description see Ulbrich forthcoming.
2 According to Jan Driessen, who is studying the Bronze Age architecture for the final publication, a porch along the southwest side of the court is more likely than a porch in front of the two backrooms as assumed in Ulbrich, forthcoming. Personal communication with Jan Driessen.

List of References

Bennett, C. G. (1980) *The Cults of the Ancient Greek Cypriotes*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan microfiche.

Beschi, L. (1988) "Demeter" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* IV, Zürich and München, Artemis Verlag, 844–892.

Bevan, E. (1988) "Ancient Deities and Tortoise-Representations in Sanctuaries" in *BSA* 83, 1–6.

Boardman, J. (1997) "Pan" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* VIII, Zürich and München, Artemis Verlag, 923–941.

Bonnet, C. (1996) *Astarté: Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*, Contributi alla stroria della religione fenicio-punica II, Colezzione de studi fenici 37, Rome, Consiglio nazionale della ricerché.

Buchholz, H.-G. (1991) "Tamassos-Phrangissa 1885" in *CCEC* 16/2, 3–15.

Cadogan, G. (1983) "Maroni I" in *RDAC*, 154–157.

Cadogan, G. (1986) "Maroni II" in *RDAC*, 40–44.

Cadogan, G. (1992) "Maroni VI" in *RDAC*, 51–58.

Cadogan, G. (1998) "The Thirteenth-Century Changes in Cyprus in Their East Mediterranean Context" in S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 7–12.

Cadogan, G. (forthcoming) "Bronze Age Maroni-Vournes: a review" in A. Demetriou *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the IV. International Cyprological Congress*, *Lefkosia 28 April - 3 May 2008*.

Calvet, Y. (1993) "Kition, travaux de la mission française" in M. Yon (ed.), *Kinyras: L´Archéologie française à Chypre*: *table-ronde tenue à Lyon, 5–6 novembre 1991, Traveaux de la Maison de l'Orient* 22, Lyon, Maison de l´Orient, Paris, De Boccard, 107–138.

Cesnola, L. P. di (1885) *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*. I: *Sculptures*. Boston, J.R. Osgood.

Counts, D. (2004) "Art and Religion in the Cypriot Mesaoria" in *CCEC* 34, 173–190.

Counts, D. (2008) "Master of the Lion: Representation and Hybridity in Cypriot Sanctuaries" in *AJA* 112/3, 3–28.

Delivorrias, A. (1984) "Aphrodite" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* II, Zürich and München, Artemis Verlag, 2–141.

Dils, P. (1992) "Zeus Ammon" in E. Lipinski (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Tornhout, Brepols, 500–501.

Flourentzos, P. (1989) "The Iconography of the God Pan in Cypriote Sculpture" in *RDAC*, 121–126.

Gardner et al. (1888) "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887–1888: Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti" in *JHS* 9, 192–260.

Gjerstad, E. (1937) *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. III: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931*, Stockholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

Hermary, A. (1982) "Divinités chypriotes I" in *RDAC*, 164–173.

Hermary, A. (1989) *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre*: *Sculpture*, Musée de Louvre, Department des antiqutiés orientales, Paris, Réunion des musées nationeaux.
Hermary, A. (1994) "Opaon Melanthios" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*) VII.1, Zürich and München, Artemis Verlag, 54–55.
Hermary, A. (2000) *Les figurines en terre cuite archaïque et classiques. Les sculptures pierres. Amathonte* V*, Études Chypriotes* 15, Athens, École Française d' Athènes, Fondation A. G. Leventis.
Hermary, A. and Columeau, P. (2006) "Les restes faunique" in S. Fourrier and A. Hermary (eds), *Le sanctuaire d' Aphrodite des origines au début de l'époque impériale, Amathonte* VI, *Études Chypriotes* 17, Athens, École Française d' Athènes, 165–181.
Hill, G. F. (1904) *A Catalogue of Greek Coins of Cyprus, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum.
Karageorghis, J. (1999) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus V: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Small Female Figurines: B. Figurines moulées,* Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, J. (2005) *Kypris: The Aphrodite of Cyprus: Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, V. (1979) "Material from a Sanctuary at Potamia" in *RDAC*, 289–315.
Karageorghis, V. (1991) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus I: Chalcolithic-Late Cypriot I*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, V. (1993a) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus II: Late Cypriote II-Cypro-Geometric III*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, V. (1993b) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus III: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Large and Medium Size Sculpture*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, V. (1995) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus IV: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Small Male Figurines*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation.
Karageorghis, V. (1996) *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus VI: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Monsters, Animals and Miscellanea*, Nicosia, A. G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia.
Karageorghis, V. (1998) *Greek Gods and Heroes in Ancient Cyprus*, Athens, Commercial Bank of Greece.
Karageorghis, V. (2000) *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in The Metropolitian Museum of Art*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Karageorghis, V. and Boardman, J. (2002), *Ancient Art from Cyprus in the Collection of George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides*, Nicosia, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
Lipinski, E. (1992) "Baal Hamon" in E. Lipinski (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Tornhout, Brepols, 500–501.
Maier, F. G. (1994) "Cyprus and Phoenicia" in *The Cambridge Ancient History, VI. The Fourth Century*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Metzler, D. (1994) "Mural Crowns in the Ancient Near East and Greece" in S. B. Matheson (ed.), *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art. Catalogue for the Exhibition Held at the Yale University Art Gallery, Sept. 1-Dec. 31, 1994,* New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery, 76–85.
Monloup, T. (1984) *Salamine de Chypre XII. Les figurines de terre cuite de tradition archaïque*, Paris, De Boccard.
Monloup, T. (1994) *Salamine de Chypre XIV: Les terres cuties classiques: Un sanctuaire de la Grande Déesse*, Paris, De Boccard.
Morden, M. and Todd, I. (1994) "Vavla-Kapsalaes: An Archaic Sanctuary Site" in *Archaeologia Cypria* 3, 53–74.
Myres, J. L. (1946) "A Sanctuary Site at Lefkoniko" in *BSA* 41, 54–68.
Ohnefalsch-Richer, M. (1893) *Kypros, the bible and Homer*, London, Asher & Co.
Papageorgiou, G. (1997) *Το* ***Τ****ειχόμορφο Στέμμα στην Τέχνη της Μέσης Ανατολής και της Αρχαίας Ελλάδας έως το Τέλος της Ελληνιστικής Εποχής*, Thessaloniki, Aristoteleion Panepistimion.
Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1994) *L' Aphrodite grecque*, *Kernos* supplement 4, Athènes/Liège, Centre International d' Étude de la Religion grecque Antique.
Röllig, W. (1992) "Baal", in E. Lipinski (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Tornhout, Brepols, 55.

Senff, R. (1993), *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion. Architektur und Statuenausstattung eines zyprischen Heiligtums*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (SIMA)* 94, Jonesered. Paul Åströms Förlag.

Sophocleous, S. (1985) *Atlas des représentations Chypro-Archaïques des divinités*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocket-Book 33, Göteborg, Paul Åströms Förlag.

Tomazou, M. *et al.* (1998) "The 99th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America: Athienou Archaeological Project 1997: The Eight Season of Investigations at Athienou-Malloura" in *AJA*, 102/2, 378.

Ulbrich, A. (2008) *Kypris: Heiligtümer weiblicher Gottheiten auf Zypern in der kyproarchaischen und kyproklassischen Epoche (Königszeit)*, *Alter Orient and Altes Testament (AOAT)* 44, Münster, Ugarit Verlag.

Ulbrich, A. (2010) "Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her Sanctuaries During the Age of the City-Kingdoms" in A. C. Smith and S. Pickup (eds), *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 167–194.

Ulbrich, A. (forthcoming) "The Archaic to Early Hellenistic Sanctuary at Maroni-Vournes" in A. Demetriou *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the IV. International Cyprological Congress, Lefkosia 28 April-3 May 2008*.

Webb, J. (1999) *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 75, Jonsered, Paul Åströms Förlag.