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ICAANE

Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress
on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

Volume 1

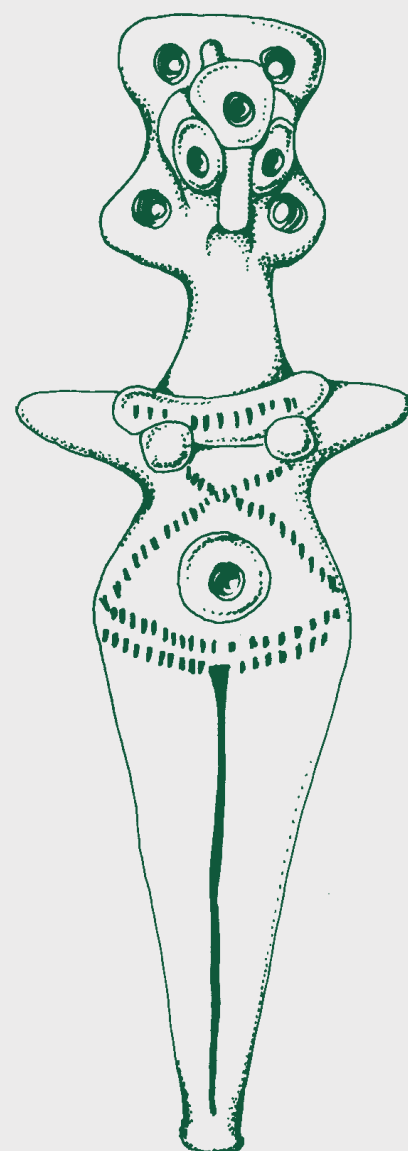
The Environment

Images of Gods and Humans

The Tell

Excavation Reports and Summaries

Varia (Chronology, Technology, Artifacts)



Department of History and Cultures, University of Bologna
Eisenbrauns

*Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on
the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*

22-26 May 2000, Copenhagen

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Edited by
Ingolf Thuesen

Department of History and Cultures, University of Bologna / Eisenbrauns
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Cover image: Middle Bronze IB female clay figurine 5A847 from Tomb II at Hama (after N. Marchetti, *La coroplastica eblaita e siriana nel Bronzo Medio. Campagne 1964-1980. Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla V.* Roma 2001, pl. CCXLI: 1)

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Preface

The decision to organize an international congress requires a commitment to a project of unknown nature and size. The final number of participants will only be known long after many venue and accommodation reservations have been made. Many organizational aspects are associated with a range of unknown and unpredictable variables, from slide projection to securing housing for the delegates. The organization of the Second International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East has not been an exception and therefore depended on several people and institutions. As a basic principle it was decided that students of Near Eastern Archaeology at the Carsten Niebuhr Institute, University of Copenhagen, should handle as many logistic and practical aspects of the congress as possible. The idea was to give them an opportunity to learn to know their discipline through alternative practice. This, of course, resulted in a degree of less than fully professional, but personal service. However, the 300+ participants from the international community of archaeological scholars came to Copenhagen, and were found a place to stay in a week during which we also had to compete for hotel rooms with a huge fashion fair taking place at the same time. With participants from Denmark the total number of delegates reached 400. Eventually more than 250 papers were presented in five parallel sessions, or as posters. Several sessions were organized as mini symposia or workshops by the delegates. Eighty-eight scientific contributions are published in these proceedings of the 2ICAANE (www.icaane.net), while some of the symposium reports have been submitted for publication elsewhere. Beside the scientific reports, the congress hosted a wide range of social activities and an excursion to the Moesgaard Museum in Århus.

My first thanks go to all the participants of the 2ICAANE for coming to Copenhagen and for sharing their results with colleagues, and a special thank to the organizers of the mini symposia and workshops. The possibility of setting up a mini symposium or workshop within the congress appeared to be a popular alternative to traditional sessions.

The members of the scientific committee of the ICAANE were always very helpful in advising the organizers in Copenhagen on many general questions concerning academic and political matters. In Denmark, a National Committee was established as soon as the 2ICAANE became a reality. Its members represented most of the institutions in Denmark with interest or affinities to the congress, and the group supported the organizers in many invaluable ways both in scientific and social matters. In particular, I would like to thank the members representing the Moesgaard Museum for kindly inviting the congress to Århus, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen for receiving the participants in the Town Hall, the National Museum for giving the participants hands-on access to finds from Hama and hosting a reception, and the New Carlsberg Glyptotek for hosting the congress dinner.

Pernille Bangsgaard Jensen, Sarah Kayser and Helle Rasmussen took care of the demanding job of running a secretarial bureau which, from a very early point, had to establish routines to solve the numerous logistic problems of the congress from housing to transportation. It was hard and demanding work which was successfully accomplished.

One of the most complex challenges of the congress was to organize more than 200 papers in sessions that were meaningful. This task was accomplished by a programme committee

including Bo Dahl Hermansen, Charlott Hoffmann Jensen and David Warburton. As is often the case, many compromises had to be made, but in the end the committee worked out a plan which gave room for as many presentations as possible, minimizing unavoidable thematic conflicts.

The organization of the entire congress was coordinated by Tine Bagh, Charlott Hoffmann Jensen and Lea Kaliszan. The tremendous work, stimulating ideas and organizational talent they added to the congress was essential to its success.

The congress would have never taken place if not for the generous donations by the following various foundations and sponsors: The Carlsberg Foundation, the C. L. David Foundation, the H. P. Hjerl Hansen Mindefondet for Dansk Palæstina Forskning, the Danish Council for Independent Research, the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Copenhagen, the Faculty of Theology of the University of Copenhagen, SAS – Scandinavian Airlines System.

Ingolf Thuesen

Preface to the digital edition

The papers published here were collected in 2001 by Emily Cocke from the participants in the 2ICAANE and were preliminarily edited in Copenhagen. The two volumes began then to be typeset by Jim Eisenbraun and his staff at Eisenbrauns and they reached the present state of elaboration by mid-2008. Because of a series of reasons, for which ultimately as the editor I must bear the sole responsibility, the book remained as it is since then, with no further editing and standardization or a final proof-reading by the authors. Regrettable as this may be, it has seemed preferable to add no further delay to the publication of this book: while some articles have been updated and published elsewhere, the fact is that most of the information and the materials contained here is still of great scientific value and deserves to be made known. Consequently, we hope in the indulgence of the authors who entrusted to us their papers at the time: present-day scholarship quickly outdates papers, but nonetheless they stay there to document the history of our field and our intellectual quests within a cooperative environment.

Once it was decided that an open access digital edition is the most suitable form of publication, the generous release of copyright by Jim Eisenbraun, whose commitment to ancient Near Eastern studies extends far beyond the logic of commercial publishing, should be acknowledged. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my friend and colleague Nicolò Marchetti, who accepted these two volumes in the open access series OrientLab at the University of Bologna: he took care of updating the table of contents and performed some necessary minor checks on the pdf files, carried out with the help of Gabriele Giacosa, while Massimo Bozzoli was responsible for technical production requirements and the cover design.

Ingolf Thuesen

Copenhagen, 15th December 2016

Near Eastern and Egyptian Iconography for the Anthropomorphic Representation of Female Deities in Cypriote Iron Age Sanctuaries

ANJA ULBRICH

University of Heidelberg

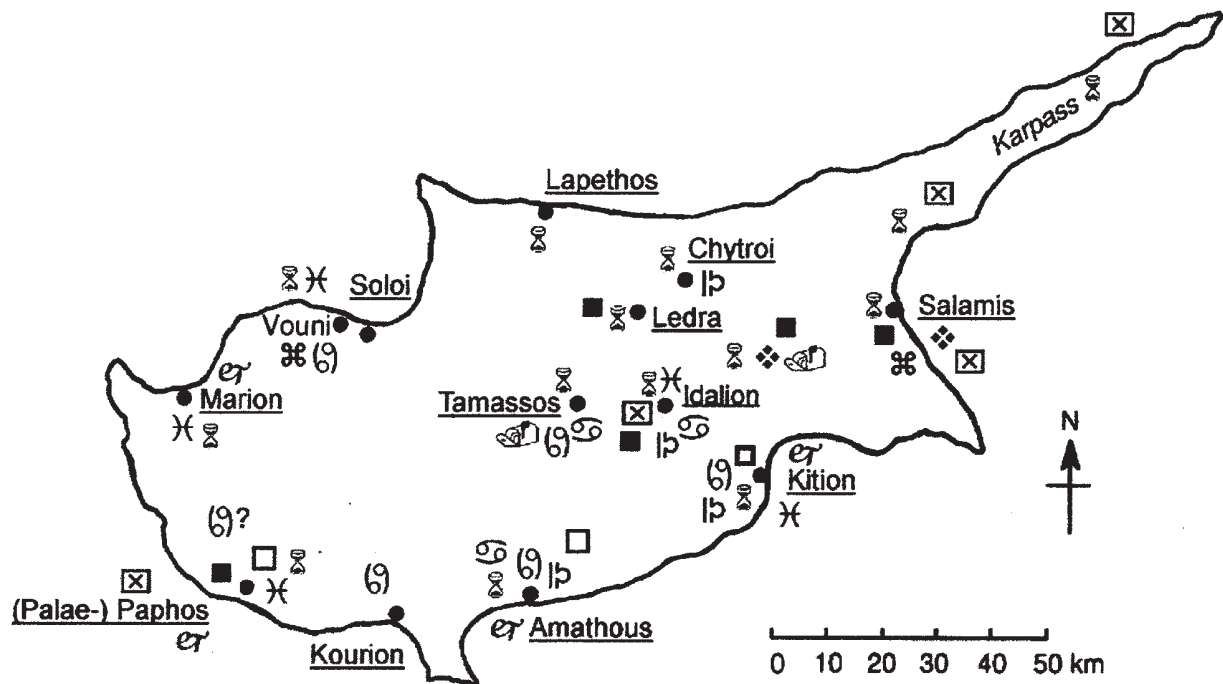
Abstract

Archaic and Classical anthropomorphic votive sculpture from Cypriote sanctuaries of female deities includes some figures which could represent the goddess proper. The identification of the latter, however, is often unclear and ambiguous since exclusively divine iconography and attributes are rare. This also applies to the so-called Astarte- and dea tyria grvida figurines, but not to Hathor-capitals, which all are the focus of this paper. The distribution of these types in Cypriote sanctuaries, their ways of transmission, adaptation and adaption, as well as their religious meaning and social significance will be addressed in an attempt to elucidate the question whether their appearance in Cypriote sanctuaries is due to an actual import of foreign cults or whether, and by whom, they were just adopted and adapted for Cypriote cultic needs.

Cyprus is commonly regarded as a crossroads between Orient and Occident, which is reflected, in different degrees, in its entire material culture from the very beginning of human settlement on the island. Votive sculpture from nearly 300 attested Cypriote sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical periods shows iconographic and stylistic influences from the Aegean, Asia Minor, the Levant and Egypt.¹

While most of the anthropomorphic votive sculptures represent male or female votaries and cult participants, only some could be addressed as priests, priestesses or other cult personnel. Definite representations of deities, however, especially of goddesses, are comparatively rare and often difficult to recognise.² Thus, the so-called goddess-with-uplifted-arms, an often crudely manufactured terracotta figurine with a high “polos” and upraised arms, which originated in Late Bronze Age Crete and was dedicated in Cypriote sanctuaries from the Geometric down to the Late Archaic period, could have been meant to represent either a

1. For this general notion see contributions to the symposium on “Cyprus between Orient and Occident”. Karageorghis 1986. For the iconographic and stylistic repertoire of Archaic limestone sculpture see most recently Mylonas 1999, for terracotta sculpture the series *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus*, vols. III–VI as listed on the second page of Karageorghis 1999.
2. This is particularly valid for the Geometric and Archaic periods, before unambiguously identifiable and standardised Greek types, such as Athena and Artemis were adopted from the fifth century B.C. onwards. For the repertoire of Archaic deity-representations see Sophocleous 1985 and Mylonas 1999. For goddess representations in the Classical period see Hermay 1982 and 1986. On the problems of distinguishing between images of votaries and gods in Cypriote limestone sculpture see e.g., Sørensen 1994.



- ✕ Goddess with upraised arms (CG = tenth century to CAII = sixth century B.C.)
- ☼ Astarte, Phoenician types and Cypriote variants (CA = seventh to first half of the fifth century B.C.)
- Thrones, empty (CAII–CCL)
- ☉ Hathor (CAII = late sixth/early fifth century B.C.): 1. standing sign: capitals, 2. lying signs as indicated in front: Hathor images on vases and votive stelai.
- ☽ Dea Gravidia (CAII = sixth century B.C.)
- Goddess on throne (CAII = sixth century B.C.)
- ☼ Goddess with kalathos (standing or on throne; CAII–CHell = sixth to second century B.C.)
- ☼ Kybele, Goddess standing on lion, Goddess on lion-throne etc. (CCL = fourth century B.C. to CHell)
- ☼ Athena, Greek type (CAII = late sixth to fifth century B.C.)
- ☼ Artemis, Goddess with deer (CCL = fourth century B.C. to CHell)
- ☼ Tyche, Goddess with turreted crown (CCL = late fourth century B.C. to CHell)
- ☼ Greek Aphrodite (CCL = late fourth century B.C. to Roman)

FIGURE 1. Distribution of goddess-representations in Cypriote Iron Age Sanctuaries (CA–CHell). In Ulbrich n.d.

goddess, or a priestess, or a worshipper.³ What the votary, who dedicated such a figurine, saw in it, or how visitors in the sanctuary subsequently perceived it, cannot be reconstructed anymore on the base of the available archaeological and historical evidence. The same problem also applies to female statues crowned by a kalathos, which date from the Archaic down to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁴ Only very few of all Cypriote specimens are clearly marked as goddesses, e.g., a type of Artemis with a deer on her arm or standing by her side, or an Aphrodite with a little winged Eros on her arm or shoulder.⁵ The majority of

3. For the goddess-with-uplifted arms see Karageorghis 1998a: 1–17 incl. plates. Karageorghis 1993: 58–61 with further references.

4. For this type see Hermay 1982: 167–79 incl. (Classical period). Mylonas 1999: 177–182 (Archaic period; with short discussion of interpretation of the figures). Cassimatis 1988 (Hellenistic figurines). On the interpretation as goddess or votary cf. Sørensen 1994: 84–85, 88.

5. For this Cypriote type of Artemis e.g., Cesnola 1882: 223, Fig. 213, probably similar to fragments in Monloup 1994: 81–6, of which the heads have been missing. For Aphrodite e.g., Cesnola 1991 (1878): 106.

the others could well be priestesses or votaries in cult attire, particularly the small-scale figures, e.g., from Amathous.⁶ On the other hand, the female heads with kalathos depicted on coins most certainly refer to the major goddess of the respective cities, especially since some vegetal kalathoi show intermediary stages of their development to a turreted crown, which definitely denotes a city goddess.⁷ It seems that, already in antiquity, such ambiguity of interpretation of most of those figures was not only possible, but also that it might even have been intentional. This phenomenon also applies, more or less so, to the three types of possible goddess representations, which originated in the Near East and Egypt, but were dedicated in some of the Cypriote sanctuaries during the late Archaic and Classical periods. These representations, which are the focus of this paper, include the so-called Astarte-figurines (made mostly in terracotta, but also limestone), the so-called *dea grvida* figurines (exclusively in terracotta), and depictions of Hathor-heads, mainly in the shape of Hathor capitals, (made of local limestone); see Figs. 2–4. While the Astarte- and *dea grvida*-figurines, both originating in the Near East, might denote either a goddess proper, cult personnel or votaries closely related to her cult and function, the Hathor-capitals clearly depict a goddess and refer to Egyptian prototypes, though showing Greek and Near Eastern features.

How is the appearance of those Near Eastern and Egyptianising deity representations in Cypriote sanctuaries to be interpreted? This phenomenon could either reflect the actual adoption of Near Eastern or Egyptian deities, cults and cult practice in Cyprus, or merely indicate the transmission and adaption of their original iconography in Cyprus without its initially underlying religious and cultic implications.⁸ In order to elucidate this problem, it has to be investigated:

1. For which types of Cypriote sanctuaries are these Near Eastern or Egyptianising types attested.
2. When and how these iconographic types might have been adopted, and whether local transformation of the original iconography occurred.
3. Which other deity representations come from the same sanctuaries, and who might have dedicated the Near Eastern or Egyptianising ones.
4. What these types tell us about the nature of the goddess worshipped in those Cypriote sanctuaries, about her cult and about the function and significance of those cult places.

From the early seventh century B.C. onwards, different types of the so-called Astarte-figurines were dedicated in many Cypriote sanctuaries, but also in tombs. They were particularly widespread and numerous in sanctuaries in the Eastern part of the island, mainly in urban and suburban ones, including the city-kingdoms of Kition, Amathous, Lapethos,

6. For such small figures from Amathous see e.g., Hermary 2000: xy.

7. For coins see Hermary 1982 (cf. n.4) who argues (p.171–2) that therefore all kalathos figurines should be identified as images of the goddess. Mylonas (1999: 181–2), however sees “no compelling arguments to identify such figures as goddesses” (English translation by Ulbrich), but rather as votaries of high status in society. Similarly Sørensen 1994: 88.

8. This general problem of interpretation of cultural transmission applies to any culture and has received much attention in the study of so-called “acculturation-processes”. Some aspects are discussed in Karageorghis 1986, and more recently on the conference “Transmission and Assimilation of Culture in the Near East” (TAC 2000) in Jerusalem with several papers on Cyprus. The iconographic and other indications (architecture, inscriptions) for transmission of the Near Eastern Cults of Anat and Astarte in Cyprus are also addressed and discussed shortly in Ulbrich in press: 2.

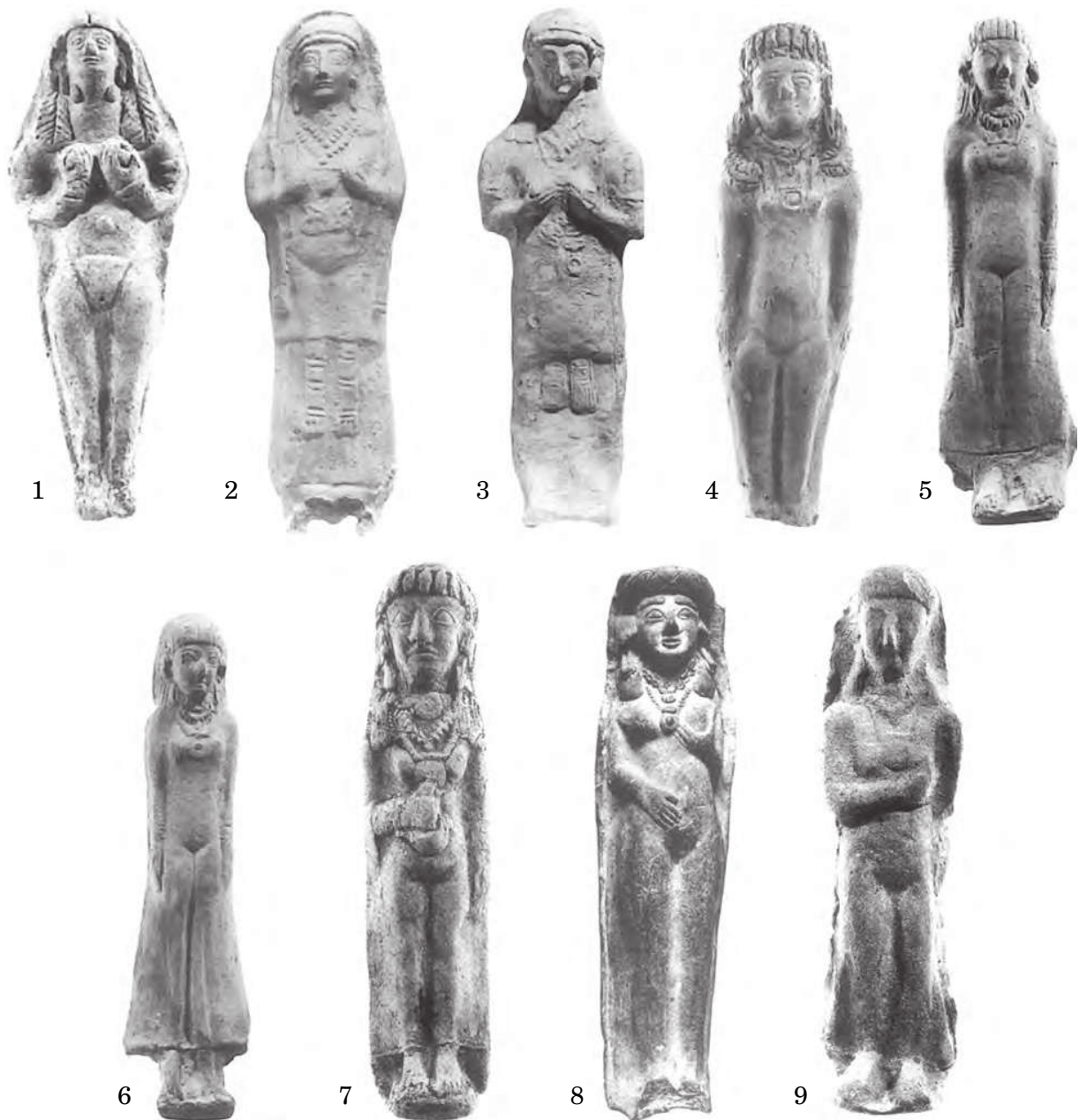


FIGURE 2. Astarte figurines from Cyprus. Images taken from Karageorghis, J. 1999 with kind permission of the author and publisher.

- 2.1: Pl. II.7: No.cat. I(iii)23. From Amathous (necropolis).
- 2.2: Pl. XVII.8 : No.cat. I(ix)173. From Achna (sanctuary).
- 2.3: Pl. XIII.5: No.cat. I(ix) 135. From Cyprus.
- 2.4: Pl. XXI.2: No. cat. II(v)21. From Idalion, temenos of Aphrodite (at Yalias-river).
- 2.5: Pl. XXVI.1: No. cat. II(v)88. From Arsos (sanctuary).
- 2.6: Pl. XXVIII.2: No. cat. II(v)115. From Arsos (sanctuary).
- 2.7: Pl. XLII.1: No. cat. V(iv)45. From Cyprus.
- 2.8: Pl. XXXIV.4: No. cat. III(i)6. From Amathous?.
- 2.9: Pl. XXXV.8: No. cat. III(i)21. From Arsos (sanctuary).

Chytroi, Idalion and Tamassos as well as some sanctuaries in the Eastern Mesoria, such as Arsos and Achna. There are just some isolated pieces from an urban sanctuary at Marion, and the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos (cf. Fig. e 2).⁹

Cypriote mostly mould-made, but also hand-made “Astarte-figurines” depict females with clearly and prominently indicated breasts and genitalia, either nude or clad in a more or less transparent and tight fitting garment, underlining their sexual features (cf. Fig. 2). The arms are either hanging down close to both sides of the body (Fig. 2.4–6), while other females clasp one (Fig. 2.8–9) or both breasts (Fig. 2.1–3) or, less often, point to the pubic triangle with one hand (Fig. 2.8). While most of them are bare-headed, only few of them wear a veil (Fig. 2.2–3), a turban (Fig. 2.8) or some sort of kalathos.¹⁰

In Cyprus and the Near East, representations of nude females, at least partly identifiable as goddesses, have been common since the third millennium B.C.¹¹ This iconography is clearly associated with the general and early concept of female fertility and sexuality, in the human as well as in the divine sphere. In the Near Eastern images, e.g., on seals and jewellery, some of those nude females show divine iconography, such as having wings or standing on animals.¹² In the Late Bronze Age, terracotta and stone statuettes of naked females were dedicated in Near Eastern, but also in Cypriote sanctuaries and tombs. They are commonly interpreted as representations of, or—at least—as referring to one of the local Great Goddesses and their aspect of fertility and sexuality. In Homeric times, perhaps already in the Late Bronze Age, the Greeks identified such goddesses in the Near East and Cyprus with Aphrodite.¹³ Unlike in the Near East, however, nude and (pseudo-)dressed females supporting their breasts disappear completely in Cypriote iconography at the end of the Bronze Age, when the above-mentioned “goddess-with-uplifted-arms” was introduced and soon became the only possible goddess-representation in Cypriote votive sculpture in sanctuaries all over the island until the end of the eighth century B.C.¹⁴ It is not before that time, that depictions of nude females were re-introduced in Cyprus, mostly on metal objects with strongly orientalising imagery.¹⁵ Slightly later, the first Near Eastern type Astarte-figurines were

9. The most recent comprehensive compilation of all types of Astarte-figurines, their distribution and possible workshops on the island is J. Karageorghis 1999 with further references. See also Sophocleous 1985: 93–106. Their distribution and amount in the individual sanctuaries will be investigated in more detail by the author, cf. Ulbrich (n.d.). For the piece of Marion, e.g., see Smith 1997: 80, Fig. 3.
10. J. Karageorghis 1999: Types I–IV. For a kalathos-type head-dress see Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: Pl. LVI background left, which is actually only 28 cm high as shown Richter 1893: Pl. L. For handmade figures touching their breasts see Karageorghis 1998a: Types I (IV), Pl. XIV.
11. For the Near Eastern representations cf. Winter 1983: 93–201, incl. pls., for Cypriote ones see J. Karageorghis 1976: 18–121 (until end of Bronze Age).
12. Cf. Winter 1983: Figs. 134–6 (wings), Figs. 36–42 (goddess standing on animal).
13. On Bronze Age Near Eastern figurines see Winter 1983: 98–127. For “Astarte-plaques” most recently Keel and Ühlinger 1998: 97–108 with further references. See also Henshaw 1997: 277–283, particularly 277–80 (Appendix III). For Cypriote representations of the Great Goddess of Cyprus and “Aphrodite” see most recently Karageorghis 1993: 1–16 and J. Karageorghis 1976: 72–117 *passim*.
14. For the Cypriote hiatus cf. Karageorghis 1998a: 21. For introduction of goddess with uplifted arms see Karageorghis 1998a: 1–17.
15. e.g., on horse blinkers and trappings of the famous horse burials in the royal tombs of Salamis: Karageorghis 1969: 87, Fig. 23; 107 (plates without page numbers) Fig. 49; cf. also Sophocleous 1985: 79–80. On jewellery found in Late Geometric and Archaic tombs of the cemetery of Amathous: Laffineur 1992: 25, T 334/57_–_ incl. pl. VIII.

dedicated in urban and suburban Cypriote sanctuaries and necropoleis, such as Kition, Amathous and others (see above). From there, they spread quickly to other urban centres, thereby inspiring the creation of various Cypriote variants in terracotta as well as in local limestone, both from figurine to statuette size (up to ca. 40 cm). Again, most of such sculptures come from city-kingdoms and areas with a strong Phoenician presence.¹⁶

Some of the Cypriote Astarte figurines are clearly marked as votaries or priests with sacrificial animals (Fig. 2.7) or as musicians,¹⁷ while others without any clearly divine or human attributes, could also depict the goddess proper in her aspect of female sexuality and fertility. The Astarte-gesture of pressing both breasts was also adopted for statuettes otherwise fully clothed in the typical Cypriote dress and decorated with rich jewellery, their head sometimes covered by a veil (cf. Fig. 2.2–3).¹⁸ Looking rather human, such figures, nevertheless, clearly refer to the aspect of female fertility and nursing, granted by the goddess who received such a gift. Likewise, the naked Astarte-figurines embellishing the kalathos of a life-size female terracotta-statue from a temenos at Idalion, otherwise clothed in full, not transparent Cypriote dress, also indicate this particular aspect of the goddess worshipped at this site. The actual identity of the statue proper, however—goddess, priestess or worshipper?—remains ambiguous.¹⁹

Another type of a possible deity representation of Near Eastern origin in Cyprus is the so-called *dea tyria gravis*-figurine, always a small, mould-made terracotta-figurine of a pregnant seated or standing female with a curious hairdo of two braids fastened in snail-shape above the temples on either side of the head, sometimes covered by a veil. The woman can additionally have an infant in her arms or hold a tympanon (see Fig. 3.1–3).²⁰ This type was mainly found in sanctuaries of female deities and tombs at the Levantine coast and in some Cypriote sanctuaries, appearing e.g., in Tyrus between the eighth and the sixth century, in Cyprus in the 6th century.²¹ Examples were found at least in two urban sanctuaries of the city-kingdom of Kition, the principal sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria on the acropolis of Amathous, and a single piece is attested for an urban or suburban sanctuary in Chytroi (cf. Fig. 1).²² Since the motif of a pregnant female on a throne-like seat refers to the iconography of Egyptian goddesses, which was also adopted and transformed in Phoenicia, those

16. For distribution, ateliers etc. see above incl. note 8. Variants in terracotta and stone Sophocleous 1985: 93–107; Mylonas 1999: 120–21. For the Phoenician presence in various city-kingdoms see Seibert 1976: 3–28. A compilation of epigraphic evidence for the Phoenician presence in Cyprus is collected by Szyner and Masson 1972 and Magnanini 1972: 84–134.

17. Particularly many in Lapethos, e.g., J. Karageorghis 1999: Pl. LXXX.

18. Further examples in J. Karageorghis 1999: Pls. LXXXI and LXXXII.

19. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: Pl. LVI, foreground right for Astarte-figurines on kalathos. Usually the kalathoi of Cypriote female figures, from figurine up to life-size, were purely vegetal, thus referring to the vegetation aspect of the goddess, but they could also be embellished by sphinxes or doves which clearly point to the divine sphere. On the different figural decorations on kalathoi see Cassimatis 1988: Pl. XIV and XV and Queyrel 1991 incl. pls.

20. For the Cypriote figurines see Sophocleous 1985: 113–116 incl. Figs. 7a, 8 and 9 (= Figure 3.1–3) and, most recently, J. Karageorghis 1999: 254–5.

21. For Near Eastern and Cypriote types, chronology and their variants see most recently J. Karageorghis 1999: 254–5 with further references. For examples for Near Eastern figurines see Winter 1983: 369–374 incl. Figs. 381–386.

22. For such figurines from Kition-Kathari: Karageorghis 1998b: 107, Pl. 5; from Kition-Kamelarga (Caubet 1986: 161–162); for *dea gravis* figurines from Kition see also Yon and Caubet 1989: 31–33. For Amathous see Hermay 2000 (not seen yet). Chytroi: unpublished. References will be given in Ulbrich (n.d.).



FIGURE 3. Dea tyria gravida figurines from Cyprus. After the drawing by Sophocleous 1985: Figs. 7.a, 8 and 9.

figurines could be interpreted as representations of a pregnant goddess. Pregnancy is referred to e.g., in Ugaritic literature and a terracotta plaque from Byblos shows the enthroned Baalat Gubal with a rather prominent lower abdomen being worshipped by a man, possibly the king.²³ Considering the small size of such terracottas, however, and the fact, that none of them shows any unambiguously divine features or attributes, they could also be representations of a human woman expecting a child, sometimes carrying one of her older children. Either way, those figurines at least refer to one important aspect of the goddess, who received such statuettes, as a guarantor of female fertility and an easy pregnancy and birth.

Only the Hathor-capitals, dedicated in Cypriote sanctuaries between the last third of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century B.C., unambiguously depict a goddess, or at least her head as *pars pro toto* (see Fig. 4.1–2). If the find context is known or can be recon-

23. Cf. Winter 1983: n.21. Also Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 435–6. For the Baalat Gubal- plaque see most recently Bonnet 1996: Pl. III.1.



FIGURE 4. Hathor-capitals from Cyprus. 4.1: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1993: Taf. CC.3. From Larnaca (Kition-Bamboula). Now Louvre. 4.2: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1993: Taf. CC.1. From Larnaca (Kition-Bamboula?). Now Berlin. 4.3: Drawing after S. Hartmann in Hermay 1985: 671, Fig. 16. From Amathous. Now Limassol.

structed, such large-scale representations were exclusively found in or at least near principal urban or suburban, including palatial sanctuaries of several Cypriote city-kingdoms, such as Amathous, Vouni (Soloï), Kition, Tamassos, Kourion and Paphos (cf. Fig. 1).²⁴

Hathor-capitals originate in Egypt where they embellished, at least since the Late Kingdom, the upper part of pillars in sanctuaries of female deities, not only Hathor.²⁵ This universal and multi-functional Egyptian goddess²⁶ was also venerated in the Near East since the Bronze Age, e.g., in Byblos, where she was assimilated to local great goddesses, such as Astarte or Anat, who had a similarly complex nature. Those goddesses adopted the iconography of Hathor, especially the head with the peculiar Hathor-hairdo or bovine ears, during the second millennium B.C. Such Hathor-heads were depicted on Near Eastern and, in the first millennium, on Phoenician jewellery, ivories and other bronze objects.²⁷ Those were also imported and imitated in Cyprus, thus probably introducing this motif on the island.²⁸ However, it is not before the last third of the sixth century, that Hathor-iconography first appears

24. A list of Cypriote Hathor capitals and their features is given in Hermay 1985: 663–670. Further fragments of from the Kourion plateau were indicated to the author during personal communication with the excavator D. Christou.

25. For Egyptian Hathor-capitals see Mercklin 1962: 5–13. Clerc 1988: 452. Haeny 1977: 1039–1041.

26. For the diverse aspects of Hathor see Daumas 1977: 1024–1033.

in Cypriote sanctuaries in such an ostentatious form as the large up to colossal Hathor-capitals produced of local limestone. They were up to two meters high and displayed on top of a free-standing pillar or column somewhere within the sacred precinct, thus serving as a cult-monument, as evident from an Amphora of the "Amathous-style" of the late sixth century B.C. On this vessel, a cultic procession towards a colossal Hathor-capital is depicted, a scene which the vase-painter might well have seen in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria on the summit of the acropolis in Amathous, in the proximity of which fragments of sculpted Hathor-capitals were found.²⁹ Again, the earliest specimens of Cypriote Hathor-capitals, which are closest to the Egyptian Phoenician prototypes, come, revealingly, from Kition, the only truly Phoenician city-kingdom in Cyprus. In the sanctuary at Kition-Bamboula close to the late Archaic and Classical military harbour of the city, miniature-size one-sided Hathor-capitals moulded in terracotta were found as well, which are, so far, unique in Cyprus.³⁰ The capitals of Amathous show more Greek influence, including the addition of Greek-orientalising ornaments, such as rosettes, lotus buds, but also typically Phoenician winged solar discs, which were very popular in contemporary Cypriote sculpture, but are all completely absent on Hathor-capitals in Egypt. This clearly indicates, that they were sculpted by non-Egyptian craftsmen, either Phoenicians or Greek Cypriots.³¹ That, in addition to the early date of the Kitian capitals, their size and manufacture in Cypriote limestone as well as their miniature variants, suggests that this type and its iconography was created by Phoenicians resident in Kition and, from there, transmitted to other Cypriote city-kingdoms. All city-kingdoms where such capitals were found had close trade connections either with Kition or directly with the Levantine coast, and/or a strong Phoenician element in their population, as evident from the archaeological evidence.³² Though no actual Hathor-capitals are known from Idalion, votive-stelae with Phoenician capitals showing a Hathor head on the spandrel were excavated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Eastern Acropolis by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1893, who also recorded several Astarte figurines.³³ The dedication of stelae in sanctuaries is rather a Near Eastern custom, already in the Bronze Age, but it is also attested for other Cypriote Iron Age sanctuaries, which show strong Near Eastern affinities in the votive practice and the iconography of votive sculptures, such as the acropolis sanctuary of Amathous or the suburban sanctuary at Marcellos, just outside the northeastern city-wall of Palaepaphos.³⁴ Like the Astarte-figurines in full Cypriote dress, such stelae with vegetal capitals and small Hathor-head depictions in relief can be seen as a Cypriote variant of

27. For Hathor- iconography and its adoption in the Near East see Clerc 1988: 452. For the adoption of the Hathor-head or the typical Hathor hairdo more details are given by Borker-Klan and Calmeyer 1972–5: 148–150.
28. Examples of Hathor images in Cyprus in Hermary 1985: 676–7, 681 as well as in Sophocleous 1985: 136–7. e.g., Salamis: Hathor-head between wings depicted above a naked goddess in Karageorghis 1969: 107 (plates without pagination) Fig. 49.
29. For the vase see e.g., Hermary 1985: Fig. 26 with references to further examples of such images; on the capitals from Amathous most recently Hermary 2000: 144–9, Nos. 968–972.
30. For the two Kitian capitals see Hermary 1985: 666–676, Figs. 8–111. For the miniature size votive-stelae see Hermary 1985: 678–9, Fig. 25 and Calvet 1993: 118–120 incl. Fig. 8.
31. Cf. Hermary 1985: 682–6.
32. For Phoenician presence cf. references in note 16.
33. Masson and Hermary 1988: 3–14 incl. Pls. 1–6 (all stelai; with Hathor nos. 9 and 13). For the whole iconographic repertoire of the votive sculpture from this sanctuary, recorded by Ohnefalsch-Richter in the unpublished manuscript Idalion and Tamassos, see Ulbrich (in preparation).

Hathor-images, adaptations created in Cyprus proper, either by Phoenician or Greek Cypriot craftsmen.

It has become evident, that all possible Near Eastern and Egyptianising types of goddess-images started to appear in urban sanctuaries in the coastal city-kingdoms of Kition and Amathous where the Phoenician element in the population was strong and contacts abroad via the sea frequent. Kition, where the Near Eastern cult of Astarte and other Phoenician gods is attested epigraphically,³⁵ must have played a key-role in the introduction and dispersion of such representations of female deities. Gradually, Near Eastern iconography was adopted and transformed for the votive sculpture in urban sanctuaries of other city-kingdoms, including the inland city-kingdoms of Tamassos and Idalion, both of which also show a strong Phoenician presence because they owned and exploited the richest copper-mines of the island.

However, does such Near Eastern iconography in Cypriote votive sculpture indicate the actual import of Near Eastern or Egyptian gods, cults and beliefs in Cyprus and their adoption by all Cypriots? Does the dedication of such images reflect a change in the nature or character of the Cypriote deity who received such a sculpture? Those questions can only be answered, if the complete archaeological evidence from the respective cult places is taken into account.

In all the principal urban sanctuaries at Kition, Idalion, Tamassos and Paphos which yielded Near Eastern type deity representations, we can also find the Aegean type goddess-with-uplifted-arms, which was dedicated even earlier than but also simultaneously with Astarte- and dea-gravida-figurines, and/or even Hathor capitals. In most of these sanctuaries, also genuinely Cypriote deity representations were found, such as those with a flower carried in front of the bosom and a high kalathos decorated either with branches and floral elements or with divine symbols (see Fig. 1).³⁶ For example, both from Kition-Bamboula and the acropolis of Amathous come goddesses-with-uplifted-arms, Astarte-figurines, Hathor-capitals, the Cypriote goddess with a kalathos and, in the late Classical period in Amathous and Kition Kathari, representations of a Greek-type Aphrodite, which also appear in other Cypriote sanctuaries in this period.³⁷ Another type, which appears from the middle of the fourth century B.C., e.g., on the acropolis in Amathous, is the goddess with a turreted crown, originating in Hittite art of Asia Minor, which marks her as the city-goddess of a town. Later, this iconography was associated with Kybele and Tyche.³⁸ How are we supposed to identify and name the deities in those sanctuaries with a whole assemblage of different, chronologically partly overlapping goddess-representations? Late Classical Greek-alphabetic dedicatory inscriptions from the acropolis sanctuary in Amathous name the deity Kypria and Aphrodite Kypria.³⁹ A Phoenician dedicatory inscription from Kition-Bamboula

34. For Amathous, see Hermary 2000: xx. For Paphos see e.g., Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 186–92 incl. Figs. 173–178, with further references.

35. Cf. Guzzo Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977 *passim* (cf. index of deity names including Astarte, Resheph, Eshmoun Melqart, Baal etc.).

36. The iconographic repertoire of each sanctuary, mentioned here and in the following text is listed with references in the catalogue of Ulbrich, in preparation.

37. The iconographic repertoire of the acropolis sanctuary in Amathous is now conveniently presented in Hermary 2000. For an idea of the iconographic repertoire at Kition-Bamboula see Caubet 1986: 155–9, Calvet 1993: 120–123, and Ulbrich *in press*.

38. e.g., Hermary 1982: 169–173. For Kybele, the turreted crown is not attested before the Hellenistic period, as remarked by Simon 1997: 765.

identify the deity as Astarte.⁴⁰ Roman literary sources identify the deity worshipped in the sanctuary on the Eastern Acropolis of Idalion as Venus.⁴¹ However, the iconographic repertoire during the Archaic and Classical period from such sites is almost the same, including the Aegean type goddess with uplifted arms, Astarte, Hathor, sometimes Aphrodite, sometimes Tyche (cf. Fig. 1). Tyche-images were found particularly often at sanctuary sites in the northeastern part of the island, closest to Salamis, where the goddess with a turreted crown is first attested on coins of Evagoras II before the middle of the fourth century B.C.⁴² The first Greek type Aphrodite-representations, mostly in terracotta, again seem to appear at Kition in the second half of the fourth century B.C.⁴³ They soon supplant all former goddess-representations in the sanctuaries, appearing in Amathous e.g., side by side with Isis-images.⁴⁴ The iconographic repertoire in other sanctuaries narrows down on representations of Tyche, the city-goddess with her turreted crown, which is preferably depicted in large scale stone-sculpture. Thus, the deity representations rather reflect regionally different, chronologically successive but often overlapping, iconographic and stylistic influences from orient and occident. They do not necessarily indicate the worship of goddesses with different identities, though a Phoenician worshipper might well have worshipped the Cypriote Great Goddess as his Great Goddess Astarte.

Though the worship of Near Eastern deities, such as Anat, Astarte, Baal and Melqart, is attested by Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions in urban Cypriote sanctuaries,⁴⁵ the different types of goddess-representations from one and the same sanctuary do not necessarily reflect different deities. For example, the goddess Hathor is never mentioned in any inscription or literary source concerning Cyprus, but appears in large-scale votive sculpture in sanctuaries, which are epigraphically attested as belonging to Astarte or Aphrodite, such as Kition-Bamboula or the acropolis of Amathous (see above). Even though the Near Eastern iconography was initially introduced and used by travelling, later probably resident Phoenicians in Cyprus, it was soon adopted and transformed by the Cypriots themselves, but the different types must have been used and dedicated by different groups or classes of people. The small scale Astarte- and dea gravis figurines could have been mass-produced through a mould, and were iconographically appropriate dedications to a goddess who granted human female sexuality and fertility. While anyone down to the lowest classes could afford such figurines, the monumental Hathor-capitals were probably dedicated by wealthier and more powerful people, and with rather different intentions. Their sheer monumentality must have had a special connotation and significance. It is interesting and revealing, that their appearance are restricted to principal urban sanctuaries and sanctuaries in palace contexts. In both

39. For the inscriptions see: Hellmann and Hermay 1980: 259–66 no. 63. Hermay and Masson 1982: 235–240 no. 64.

40. Guzzo Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977: no. C 1. See also Caubet 1986: 158 incl. note 14.

41. The “Venus from Idalion” (Vergil, *Aenaeis* V 760) is the same goddess as the “Idalia” which has a sacred grove on the heights of Idalion (Vergil, *Aenaeis* X.51.86 and I.692). The sanctuary on the acropolis, where according the votive sculpture a city-goddess must have been worshipped from Archaic to Roman times, thus, be assigned to the goddess “Venus”.

42. Cf. Figure 1 and Hermay 1982: 169.

43. Karageorghis 1977: 164 (plates without pagination) Fig. 100 (from the Astarte and Melqart sanctuary at Kathari).

44. Aphrodite and Isis from Amathous, see Hermay 2000 or Aupert et al. 1996: 120–122.

45. Most Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions to Phoenician deities are included in Magnanini 1972: 84–134. The deities attested in Cyprus are listed in Lipinski 1995: 289 and, in more detail in Masson 1960: 137–142.

places, the kings of the Cypriote cities must have worshipped a principal and universal goddess of the city-kingdom⁴⁶ who was simultaneously war-, love- and fertility-goddess for both humans and animals, and who granted the rich harvest of the economic resources of agriculture and the copper-mines. In Egypt, Hathor was not only worshipped as a universal and principal Egyptian deity who held the key of life and death, and who granted the “fertility” of mines as well, but also as mother of the king, similar to Astarte in Phoenicia. As the Cypriote goddess in her principal urban or a palace sanctuary must also have been a protectress of the dynasty proper, her depiction in the form of Hathor, the protective goddess of the Egyptian pharaohs, was a very appropriate one.⁴⁷ Thus, such comparatively rare monumental Hathor-capitals could have well been dedications by members of the royal families, if not by the kings themselves.

All different types of Near Eastern and Egyptianising goddess-representations in Cyprus were introduced by the Phoenicians. However, they were soon generally accepted and adopted by a broader Cypriote population, including the kings, who all would have regarded those types as an appropriate representation for the various different aspects of their universal, but, until then, iconographically rather elusive Great Goddess.

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46. For similar considerations see Sørensen 1993: 88.

47. Such a function is also underlined by the royal dedications e.g., to Aphrodite Kypria on the acropolis sanctuary in Amathous where Hathor-capitals were found (see above. For references on the dynastic and royal aspects and meanings of Hathor in Egypt, as well as her significance for the mines cf. Daumas 1977 (see above).

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