

# CLASSICAL CYPRUS

*Proceedings of the Conference*

*University of Graz, 21–23 September 2017*

Edited by  
**M. Christidis**  
**A. Hermayr**  
**G. Koiner**  
**A. Ulbrich**



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FORSCHUNGEN ZUM ANTIKEN ZYPERN  
STUDIES ON ANCIENT CYPRUS

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Κυπριακά – Forschungen zum Antiken Zypern  
Studies on Ancient Cyprus  
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## Foreword

Ancient Cyprus during the Classical period was the focus of an international conference, which took place in the Meerscheinschlössl at the University of Graz on 21–23 September 2017. The conference aimed to present and discuss recent research on the archaeology of Cyprus during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, while also taking into consideration the preceding and subsequent decades, and to reassess old research results and gain new insights.

The conference began with opening speeches by the Vice-Rector Peter Scherrer, the Dean of Studies Helmut Eberhart and the Director of the former Institute for Ancient History Wolfgang Spickermann. A particular honour for the conference organisers and participants was the presence of and speech by a representative of the Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus, the consul Christos Makrygiannis.

The twenty-six papers presented excavation results, studies of finds, research on find-contexts, find-assemblages, isolated monuments, settlements, funerary practices, cult and iconography. They also covered broader contextual and economic questions, cultural contexts, historical, epigraphic and research-history topics as well as the application of digital and scientific methods. Lively discussions gave new insights into the complexity of Cypriot society, its culture and its internal and Mediterranean contacts. A visit to the collection of Cypriot antiquities and coins in the Universalmuseum Joanneum at Schloss Eggenberg marked the conclusion of the scientific program.

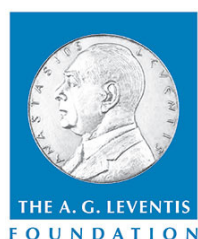
It is gratifying to record as editor that almost all papers were submitted for publication and are collectively published in this volume. Our heartfelt gratitude goes to all authors for their collaboration and trust, and particularly to Gabriele Ambros at the publishers Verlag Holzhausen, who accepted this volume as part of their series *Κυπριακά – Forschungen zum Antiken Zypern*, which also includes the proceedings of the 2016 workshop *Antikes Zypern – Kulturen im Dialog* (Vienna 2017). For layout and typesetting was responsible Maria Christidis.

Many thanks are due to the University of Graz, the government of Styria, the city of Graz, and particularly the A.G. Leventis Foundation, whose generous financial support made the realisation of this conference possible. We should also like to thank the student assistants, who gave invaluable support with the organisation of the conference.

The publishing of the book was made possible through financial support by the Verlag Holzhausen and the University of Graz.

The abbreviations in this volume follow the guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute: <<https://www.dainst.org/publikationen/publizieren-beim-dai/richtlinien>> (July 2020).

The Editors





Group photo of the conference. Participants at the Meerscheinschlössl at the University of Graz

# Adoption and Adaptation of Greek Iconography in Cypriot Votive Sculpture of the Late Archaic and Classical Periods

Anja Ulbrich

## Abstract

The dedication of large numbers of anthropomorphic votive figures in local limestone and terracotta in Cypriot sanctuaries was an integral part of Cypriot cult practice from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. Their iconographies and styles reflect the multicultural society in Cyprus as well as the diplomatic, economic and cultural connections of the island with all its neighbouring regions and cultures, which fluctuated in direction and intensity over those periods, broadly from the Near East towards the Greek Aegean. After summarising this general historical, cultural and religious background, the paper gives an overview of the iconographies and motifs of Late Archaic (CA II) Cypriot anthropomorphic votive-figures, before exploring the gradual adoption and adaptation of Greek iconography from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC throughout the Classical period. The focus lies on certain and possible deity images, during the entire period, while male and female votary figures will be presented more summarily. The paper's conclusion will offer some initial considerations of the ways and mechanisms of Greek iconography to Cyprus<sup>1</sup>.

## Historical and Cultural Background

Cypriot religion, cult and votive-practice of the Archaic and Classical period perfectly reflects the multicultural nature of Cypriot society with its three population groups of different ethno-cultural backgrounds and different languages.

The oldest group was the autochthonous Cypriot population, the so-called Eteo-Cypriots, with their own religion, culture and language(s) as they had evolved on the island by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation about 1200 BC, Greeks from the Aegean settled on the island, bringing the Greek language and their culture with them. The third group were the Phoenicians who settled on the island, particularly in the city-kingdoms Kition and Lapethos, from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards in the course of the Phoenician westward expansion across the Mediterranean. The interaction between these three groups with their different languages and cultures, particularly in the coastal urban centres of the 13 certain and two possible Cypriot city-kingdoms of the Archaic and Classical period (**fig. 1**), produced a truly multicultural society with a unique coherent, but regionally diverse island culture.

Throughout the first millennium BC, Cyprus and its city-kingdoms maintained and developed economic, cultural, diplomatic and political relations with the neighbouring regions, cultures and empires as they evolved. These included the Phoenician city-kingdoms, which, like their Cypriot counterparts, developed political and economic relations with and became vassal states of the expanding Assyrian empire in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The political and diplomatic relations between Cyprus and Egypt in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are less clear, with only Herodotus recording that pharaoh Amasis conquered Cyprus and made it pay tax<sup>2</sup>. During that century Phoenicia, Egypt and Cyprus developed relations with the rising Achaemenid Empire of which they all became a part by 525 BC. Cyprus also had longstanding economic and diplomatic relations with the Greek world, particularly East Greece and Athens, which intensified in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC as well. Cyprus, like Ionia, was part of the Achaemenid Empire and became a battleground for power and influence between Greeks and Persians throughout the Classical period until the conquests of Alexander the Great, whom Cypriot kings allied

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1 This paper provides a first approach to a complex multifaceted topic and a vast body of material, which merits a full, systematic analysis in the shape of a dissertation or research project.

2 Hdt. 2, 182.

themselves with after the battle of Issos. The nature and intensity of all these complex external relations with neighbouring regions and powers shifted and fluctuated through time; they are reflected in the successive adoption and adaptation of iconographic and stylistic influences from all of those regions in Cypriot material culture, including Cypriot votive figures in limestone and terracotta.

### **Religion, Cults, Sanctuaries and Votive Practice in Archaic and Classical Cyprus**

The absence of surviving ancient Cypriot literature leaves us heavily dependent on Greek and Roman authors who only occasionally provide small snippets of information on Cypriot religion, deities and cult-practices. From Homer to Late Antiquity, they refer to Cyprus almost exclusively as the island of (Cypriot) Aphrodite, mostly called *Kypris*, the goddess of Cyprus, by Homer. The goddess is portrayed as an omnipotent and multifaceted principle deity of the whole island, its city-kingdoms and their territories (cf. **fig. 1**). Not before the Roman period do authors mention the cult of other female and male deities in certain Cypriot cities, such as Zeus and Baal in Amathous or Zeus in Salamis and Marion and Athena in Salamis<sup>3</sup>. The epigraphic evidence for the deities worshipped in Archaic and Classical Cyprus consists of a relatively few Greek Cypro-Syllabic, Phoenician and, only from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, Greek alphabetic dedicatory inscriptions<sup>4</sup>. Found in only 23 of the more than 200 archaeologically attested cult sites of the Archaic and Classical period, they identify the deities worshipped there by gender, title, or a specific deity name. Greek Cypro-Syllabic dedications from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards address “the god” or “the goddess”, sometimes by a title, such as “wanassa” (the queen), or by a cult location, e.g. Paphia, Golgia or Tamassios. From the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards these deities are increasingly addressed by specific Greek deity names. The principal god is almost invariably identified with Apollo, rarely with Zeus, while the goddess is still mostly addressed by local names or titles. The name Aphrodite is not attested before the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in a digraphic Greek Cypro-Syllabic/Greek alphabetic dedication to “*Kypria*” (syllabic) or “*Kypria Aphrodite*” from the sanctuary of the goddess on the acropolis of Amathous. Some sanctuaries, e.g. in or near Kition, Idalion and Tamassos, yielded Phoenician dedications to Phoenician deities as well, the majority of which date to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. These name the god (or gods) Resheph, Melqart, Baal, Eshmun, and the goddesses Astarte and Anat.

Bilingual Phoenician and Cypro-Syllabic Greek inscriptions, mostly from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, attest to the identification or equation of Phoenician deities with particular Greek counterparts: Resheph is invariably equated with Apollo in both Idalion and Tamassos-Frangissa, Astarte invariably with Aphrodite, e.g. at Kition or (Palae-)Paphos, and Athena with Anat at Idalion and Lapethos<sup>5</sup>. These dedications suggest that, at least in those sanctuaries, Greek and Phoenician Cypriots alike worshipped the local deity under his or her respective Greek or Phoenician name, whether together with common rituals or separately at different times. It is also uncertain in how many of the other 170+ Cypriot sanctuaries such sanctuary-sharing or even communal worship were practised, which must have been dependent on the ethno-cultural composition of local populations, which were more diverse in coastal cities than in rural inland areas.

Thus, the combined literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that during the Archaic and Classical period, Cypriots of any ethno-cultural background basically worshipped largely a principle divine couple either in separate sanctuaries or together as parhedroi in the same sanctuary<sup>6</sup>. This couple comprised Cypriot Aphrodite, the Great Goddess of Cyprus, and her a male counterpart, a Great God of Cyprus or Cypriot Apollo<sup>7</sup>. The only other distinct Greek deity attested through dedicatory inscriptions before the end of the Classical period is Athena in Idalion.

As mentioned above, more than 200 sanctuary sites are attested in Cyprus for the Archaic and Classical periods, all of which yielded large amounts of predominantly anthropomorphic votive figures in local limestone

3 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 30–33. 496–498 (table 1a+b listing literary sources for various deities and their cult-sites); also Bennett 1980, *passim*.

4 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 33–40. 498–504 (table 2a+b, table listing epigraphically identified sanctuaries); Ulbrich 2016.

5 Cf. Ulbrich 2016, 86–87 with references.

6 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 38–39, and table 498–504 (tables 1–2).

7 Cf. Sophocleous 1985; Vernet 2015.

and/or terracotta, ranging in size from small to over lifesize<sup>8</sup>. Their dedication was apparently an essential part of Cypriot cult-practice. The great majority represent male and female votaries, but most sanctuaries produced some votive figures, which depicted or at least iconographically referred to the deity to whom they were dedicated. Anthropomorphic votive figures from epigraphically attributed Cypriot sanctuaries, such as those of Cypriot Aphrodite in Amathous or Paphos (Palaepaphos), of Astarte in Kition-Kathari, or Apollo or Resheph at Idalion and near Tamassos demonstrate a gender specific votive practice in Archaic and Classical Cyprus<sup>9</sup>. Thus, Cypriot Aphrodite and her Phoenician counterpart Astarte received predominantly female votary figures and exclusively female certain and possible deity images. Accordingly, her male counterpart, Cypriot Apollo or his Phoenician counterpart Resheph or Melqart, received exclusively male deity images and predominantly male votary figures. In sanctuaries of an epigraphically identified divine couple, e.g. the sanctuary of Astarte and Melqart at Kition-Bamboula, both male and female deity images and votary figures were dedicated in more equal numbers. This gender-specific votive practice also enables us to determine at least the gender of the deity or deities worshipped in many of the almost 170 epigraphically unattributed sanctuaries with more or less certainty, depending on the amount of iconographically identifiable votive-figures found there.

The iconographic spectrum of certain and possible deity images and votaries is particularly wide in major urban sanctuaries, especially in the eastern half of the island, with several sites producing different image types often at the same time<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, the iconographic spectrum of votive-sculpture in those sanctuaries is comparable, irrespective of whether it produced dedicatory inscriptions to certain Cypriot, Greek and/or Phoenician deities (bilinguals) deities. This suggests that the different image types just refer to one local female or/and male deity in their various aspects or functions.

### Votive-Figures of the Late Archaic and Classical Periods

During the Late Archaic Period (6<sup>th</sup> century BC), Cypriot votive figures show a range of iconographies and styles, both deity images and votary images alike. The older ones, some of which are already attested in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, combine locally developed traditions with influences from the Near East, with which the island had longstanding relations. From about the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards Greek-Aegean iconography was gradually adopted and adapted for both deity and votary images<sup>11</sup>. It became more dominant throughout the Classical Period and almost exclusive in the Hellenistic period. This gradual shift from local, more Near Eastern and Egyptianising inspired iconography towards Greek iconography is evident both in female and male deity images, which are the main focus of this paper, and in male and female votary figures.

### *Female Deity Images*

The earliest possible female deity image, the so-called Goddess with uplifted arms, often wearing a cylindrical high headdress interpreted as polos (goddess crown), is first attested in Cyprus in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC and was possibly introduced from Crete or the wider Aegean. In sanctuaries in western Cyprus, particularly those of Cypriot Aphrodite at Paphos and Marion, it seems to have survived as the predominant, even the only goddess image well into, possibly even the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC or beyond<sup>12</sup>. Another long-lived image type either representing the goddess or, more likely, just referring to her aspect of female fertility are *Kourotrophos* figurines, which depict women with an infant in their arms or on their lap. This iconographic type, already attested

8 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 481–496 list of 208 sanctuary sites by Cypriot city-kingdoms.

9 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 49–62 in more detail, pls. 6–7; Ulbrich 2010, 171–172 (summary).

10 Cf. Ulbrich 2008, 506–510 (tables 4a–b, listing deity images in epigraphically identified sanctuaries).

11 Cf. Cypro-Ionian style in Nick 2006 with further references to French scholars, who established the name of the style as Chypro-Ioniennes.

12 On the type and its distribution see Ulbrich 2010, 173–174 (summary); Ulbrich 2008, 67–70 with further references; 511 (table 5: distribution), pl. 10.

in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, carries on throughout the first millennium and is popular in the Archaic and Classical periods, in terracotta (hand-made and mould-made) during the Archaic period and during the Classical period mostly in limestone<sup>13</sup>.

Particularly in the eastern half of the island, two other types of certain and possible goddess images in terracotta appeared from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. They show clear Near Eastern origins and influence, both in iconography and style, but also in their production technique involving the use of the mould. The earliest are the so-called Astarte-figurines, invariably mould-made in terracotta, which, from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, were dedicated in many sanctuaries, which were epigraphically and/or iconographically (gender specific votive practice) invariably attributed to a female deity (Cypriot Aphrodite or Astarte)<sup>14</sup>. They depict a nude or thinly veiled female, usually with her arms stretched down the sides of her body, while other examples touch one or both breasts with their hand(s), thereby clearly referring to the aspect of female sexuality and potentially fertility of the goddess. This gesture of breast touching was adopted for female votary figures in full Cypriot dress and attire, comprising long tunics underneath a shorter over-tunic, headscarfs or turbans, earcaps and jewellery, with the contours of the nude body often visible through the various garments. Such clothed figures were found for example at Idalion or Arsos, mostly made in terracotta from a mould, but occasionally carved from local limestone in larger sizes, marking all such figures as worshippers of the goddess (**cf. fig. 11**). The earliest Archaic (7<sup>th</sup> century BC) mould-made and invariably nude Astarte-figurines in Cyprus, mostly found in sanctuaries and tombs at Kition and Amathous, or at least the moulds for their production, might well have been actual imports from Phoenicia. However, the great majority of these figures, particularly the Cypriot variations in tight, body-revealing or even full Cypriot dress, were locally produced and dedicated throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> and possibly even into the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Between 600 and 400 BC, another Near Eastern or, more precisely, Phoenician goddess-image called *Dea Tyria gravida*, the pregnant goddess of Tyre, was imported in rather small numbers of small, invariably mould-made terracotta figurines and dedicated in very few Cypriot sanctuaries, particularly in Kition, Amathous and Lapethos<sup>15</sup>. Such figurines depict a pregnant seated or enthroned female, iconographically distinct by large buns of hair arranged on either side of her head and covered by a veil or cloak. Some of those figurines held a hand-moulded child-figurine in their arms, thus becoming the Near Eastern counterpart of Cypriot *kourotrophos* types. Introduced rather late, this type never replaced the locally developed and produced *kourotrophos* figurines in Cypriot sanctuaries, which referred to the exact same fertility aspect of the goddess worshipped by their dedication.

From about 540 BC onwards isolated examples of a new goddess image, this time of Egyptian or Phoenician Egyptianising iconography, appear in very few sanctuaries in Cyprus. This is the image of the Egyptian goddess Hathor in the form of monumental capitals carved in Cypriot limestone in the shape of the goddess' head with her distinctive coiffure, occasionally cow ears, and a shrine on her head<sup>16</sup>. Usually just one of such Hathor capitals was found in some principal urban sanctuaries, invariably epigraphically and/or iconographically attributed to Cypriot Aphrodite or Astarte, e.g. in the sanctuary of Kypria Aphrodite at Amathous or Astarte (and Melqart) at Kition-Bamboula. This and the absence of unequivocal evidence for a dedicated Hathor-cult in Cypriot sanctuaries, e.g. a dedicatory inscription to Hathor, suggests that these capitals actually depicted the Cypriot goddess and specifically referred to a particular aspect of hers which she shared with Egyptian Hathor. Both Hathor and Cypriot Aphrodite were fertility goddesses, but Hathor was venerated in Egypt particularly as “the mother of the pharaoh”, i.e. as a dynastic and political goddess. This special aspect tallies with the

13 On the type and its distribution see Ulbrich 2010, 177–180; Ulbrich 2008, 78–79. 514–515 (table 7, distribution) pls.13–14. Hermery 1989, 419–438 cat. nos. 849–890, limestone statuettes from Golgoi and Idalion from 6<sup>th</sup> through to the fifth century BC.

14 On the type and its distribution including nude and clothed Cypriot variations see Karageorghis 1999, passim (incl. images); Ulbrich 2010, 175–177; Ulbrich 2008, 70–77. 512–514 (table 6, distribution) pls. 11–12.

15 On the type and its distribution see Karageorghis 1999, 254–255 pls; Ulbrich 2010, 175–177; Ulbrich 2008, 77–80 passim, pls. 13–14 (*Dea Tyria Gravida* and *kourotrophoi*); 514–515 table 7 (distribution). A more specific date (-range) for those figurines both in the Phoenician homeland and in Cyprus is still not established any more accurately.

16 For the type and its distribution, see Carbillet 2011, 85–132. 285–295 (catalogue) pls. 2–17; Ulbrich 2010, 184–187; Ulbrich 2008, 80–83 pls. 15–16; 516 table 8 (distribution).

Cypriot find-contexts of Hathor capitals invariably attested mounted on a plinth in main city sanctuaries or palace sanctuaries, e.g. at Amathous and Vouni. There, they functioned probably as cult-marker providing a focus of worship, as an image on one of the Amthousian vases seems to suggest<sup>17</sup>. While the motif of the Hathor head with a shrine on top is inherently Egyptian(ising), other iconographic and stylistic elements of the capitals are typical of Archaic Greek sculpture. These include additional vegetal volutes and rosettes flanking the shrine, the rows of knob-shaped curls ('Buckellocken') framing the goddess' forehead and the 'Archaic smile', so typical of Archaic Greek sculpture, which clearly reflect the adoption and adaptation of Greek iconographies and styles by local Cypriot sculptors. The youngest Hathor-capital in Cyprus, erected in the central courtyard of the palace of Vouni near Soloi, displays clear influence of Greek style in the rendering of the hair surrounding the forehead and the facial features; it is dated to the third quarter or the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>18</sup>.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, another type of female deity image emerged, which continued in different variations and modifications (see below) until the late 4th century. This is the so-called goddess with vegetal crown, either cylindrical or kalathos-shaped and decorated with foliage, flowers, rosettes, occasionally fruits (pomegranates) or other divine symbols or deity-images<sup>19</sup>. This type is attested both in limestone sculpture up to over lifesize and in terracotta figurines in sanctuaries attributed either epigraphically or iconographically to Cypriot Aphrodite. Therefore, it is interpreted either as an image of the goddess herself, characterised through the vegetal crown as a goddess of vegetal fertility, or her priestess. Though developed in Cyprus, this type refers to Greek divine iconography through the high cylindrical or kalathos-shaped crown or polos. This headdress is worn by various Greek goddesses, such as Hera, Artemis, Demeter or Aphrodite, as attested mostly in Athenian black-figure vase painting, but also through Greek terracotta figurines. The Greek high *poloi* or *kalathoi* either have a smooth surface, or are decorated with vegetal or floral ornaments<sup>20</sup>. In Cyprus, the divine identity of such female figures with vegetal crown is occasionally indicated by the addition of various other motifs and attributes with clear divine connotation or association. These include sphinxes (orientalising motif) and doves (figs. 2–3), both on the polos or carried in front of the body as a sacred animal of Aphrodite<sup>21</sup>.

The high kalathos-shaped crown on a female head from the palace of Vouni shows super-imposed rosettes as their sole vegetal decoration alternating with dancing naked male figures, with their legs imitating the Greek Archaic 'Knielaufschema' (bent-knees running) known from dancing Satyrs (and running athletes) on Archaic Athenian black- and early red-figure vases<sup>22</sup>. The head also features the Archaic Greek smile, almond-shaped eyes, high cheekbones and the knob-shaped curls ('Buckellocken') framing the forehead, all indicating iconographic and stylistic influences from East Greece, but still retains the Cypriot ear-caps, an traditional attire of Archaic Cypriot female dress known from earlier female votive sculpture (see below). The overall combination of iconographic and stylistic features date the head to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. A similar combination of iconographic and stylistic culturally mixed features characterise a female head with relief-decorated kalathos-shaped crown and Cypriot earcaps in Worcester, Mass., created within the same time-bracket<sup>23</sup>. The scene depicted on the crown features a whole array of divine symbols, deity images and semi-divine creatures, which draw on both Near Eastern and Greek iconographies. Naked satyrs with grimacing bearded faces and long horsetails, alternating with females dressed in a Greek-style chiton, strongly resembling dancing maenads on Athenian vases, perform a roundelay ('Reigentanz'), all of them depicted in the typical Archaic Greek 'Knielaufschema', well attested on Athenian black-figure vases. Inbetween the dancers Hathor-capitals on low pillars or columns (cf. above) are visible, distributed evenly around the crown and mounted by a rosette, the only remnant of the usually rich vegetal decoration of the typical Cypriot vegetal crowns. Again, this head

17 Carbillet 2011, pl. 37 cat. 117; pls. 30–37 (all vases with Hathor-head/capital).

18 Carbillet 2011, 294 (A24, A25) pls. 15–16.

19 For the type and its distribution see Ulbrich 2010, 181–184; Ulbrich 2008, 85–89 pl. 18; 517–519 (table 10). For further examples in limestone see e.g. Hermary 1989, 399–410, in terracotta see e.g. Caubet et al. 1998, 531–548.

20 Cf. vase images and terracottas of these deities in the respective volumes of LIMC (libraries currently not accessible).

21 Ulbrich 2008, pl. 18,3.9; 20,4; Hermary 1989, 398–410 cat. nos. 309–334 (limestone); Caubet et al. 1998, 442–467. 531–540 cat. nos. 869–900 (terracotta).

22 Karageorghis et al. 2003, 245–246 cat no. 284.

23 Kondoleon – Segal 2011, 28–29 (image); 189 cat. no. 11; <<https://worchester.emuseum.com/objects/7421/colossal-female-head-possibly-aphrodite?ctx=5a6b2deb-46a8-40af-a6a6-ef421fd6b87f&idx=7>> (20.08.2020).

combines Archaic Cypriot ear-caps with Greek iconography and styles ('Knielaufscheema', knob-shaped curls, Archaic Greek smile of the main head, but also in the faces of the maenads and satyrs), while the choker-necklaces and pendants of the main head clearly resemble Greek Late Archaic and Classical Greek jewellery<sup>24</sup>.

The famous sculpture of Cypriot Aphrodite from a sanctuary at Agios Photios near Golgoi, stylistically dated to the mid to late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, still wears a richly decorated vegetal crown. However, the Cypriot sculptor clearly identified her as Aphrodite by the addition of a little winged Eros, so familiar from Athenian vase painting from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards<sup>25</sup>, sitting on her left arm and touching her breast (cf. **fig. 2**)<sup>26</sup>. This gesture is mirrored by three naked Astarte-figurines touching their breast, which are carved at three separate places on the goddess' vegetal crown as well. Thus, even this Late Classical Aphrodite sculpture emphasising the erotic and sexual aspect of the goddess, combines, like the earlier Worcester head, Cypriot iconography (vegetal kalathos/crown) with the even older Near Eastern Astarte-figurine motif of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, and Late Archaic/Classical Greek iconography (and style). The latter is represented not only by the image of Eros but also by the Greek dress (pleated, girded chiton), coiffure reminiscent of Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek korai, and Greek style jewellery (one necklace, earrings) of the goddess. Stylistically, this sculpture also conforms strongly with Classical Greek conventions, e.g. in the modelling of the face, facial features, hair, garment folds and even proportions of the body.

However, the Greek motif of Aphrodite accompanied by, and identified through, a winged Eros, is already attested for the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC by two votive figures from two other Cypriot sanctuaries in Cyprus, both iconographically attributed to Cypriot Aphrodite<sup>27</sup>. A small statuette from one of the sanctuaries of the palace of Vouni near Soloi shows the goddess in a long fold-less dress seated with the naked winged Eros sitting sideways on her lap, the heads of both figures are not preserved<sup>28</sup>. At Marion, a larger, hollow-formed terracotta figure of the goddess in a Greek-style chiton and himation with a standing naked winged Eros leaning to the side of her left leg - again the heads of both figures are not preserved - was found in the cult-chamber of a Classical sanctuary near the city-wall built in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>29</sup>. Greek winged Eros, with (Cypriot) Aphrodite or alone, is also attested among mould-made Late Classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Larnaca (Kition), including the sanctuary at the salt-lake (Salines), Amathous, Salamis and elsewhere<sup>30</sup>.

By the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the vegetal crown as an attribute of Cypriot Aphrodite was occasionally combined with a mural crown, which completely replaced the vegetal crown by the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, in both votive figures and Cypriot coin imagery, particularly in and around the territory of Salamis, and continued throughout the Hellenistic period<sup>31</sup>. One prime example is a Late Classical limestone statuette of a goddess with mural crown, dressed in Greek pleated chiton and himation, seated on a throne flanked by lions, a Near Eastern iconographic motif, from a rural sanctuary near the village of Achna<sup>32</sup>. The mural crown, characterising the female wearing it as a city-goddess, appears in Cypriot coinage and votive sculpture earlier than in Greek imagery for the goddess Tyche, which does not pre-date the Early Hellenistic period. This suggests that the

24 <<https://www.worcesterart.org/collection/Ancient/1941.49.html>> (20.08.2020).

25 Cf. entries for and images of Aphrodite (Delivorrias) and Eros in the respective volumes of LIMC.

26 Hermary – Mertens 2014, 263–64 no. 357; <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/242017>> (20.08.2020).

27 Ulbrich 2008, 91 with references, pl. 20,11; 20,3.

28 Hermary 1986, 166–167 pl. 34,4–5.

29 Serwint 1993 incl. pls.

30 Caubet et al. 1998, 574–580 cat. nos. 958–968 (mostly Kition/Larnaca); Ulbrich 2008, 520–521 (table 12; distribution of Aphrodite and Eros figures); Burn – Higgins 2001, 283–286.

31 Ulbrich 2008, 95–96 pl. 22; 522–533 (table 14, distribution); Karageorghis, 1998, 138–143 figs. of cat. nos. 85a. 86. 88b. 93a (coins). 210-1 cat. nos. 159–160 (sculpture). See also the contribution of G. Koiner in this volume with figures of Cypriot sculpture and coin-images.

32 Ulbrich 2008, pl. 22,7. The female deity accompanied by a lion or seated on a throne flanked by lions and sphinxes is another Near Eastern influenced goddess image which is only attested in very few isolated pieces (see Ulbrich 2008, 93–95. 96–98 pls. 21. 23,2; Sophocleous 1985, 108–113 pls. 25,5–28,1).

mural crown as an attribute of the goddess is rather a Cypriot adaptation of the mural crown in Achaemenid art (coins, reliefs, sculpture), which, in turn, drew on older Near Eastern iconographic traditions of the mural crown as a divine headdress since the Late Bronze Age<sup>33</sup>.

From the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, some sanctuaries of Cypriot Aphrodite in eastern Cyprus, namely at Salamis and Achna, yielded mould-made terracotta votive figures in the type of the goddess with vegetal crown, which depict the deity carrying a fawn or deer on her forearm in front of the body (**fig. 3**)<sup>34</sup>. She invariably wears a girded Greek chiton, and her facial features and hairstyle are comparable with contemporary Classical Greek terracottas. The deer characterises the goddess, who they depict or to whom such figurines were dedicated, as a goddess or mistress of wild animals (Potnia Theron) and hunting. The carried or accompanying deer or fawn is a well-documented attribute of the Greek Potnia Theron or Artemis (and her brother Apollo) in Greek iconography from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. It is attested in both Athenian vase painting (black-figure, red-figure) and terracotta figurines, which occasionally depict Artemis with a high cylindrical kalathos<sup>35</sup>. Further diagnostic iconographic attributes of Greek Artemis are a quiver of arrows and/or a bow, with which the goddess was depicted on Athenian vases from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, often also accompanied by a deer<sup>36</sup>. One or all these attributes were also adopted and combined in Cypriot votive figures, but are extremely rare before the Late Classical and Hellenistic period. The only three examples of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (mid to 2<sup>nd</sup> half) include a limestone statuette from a sanctuary in Pyla-Stavros, a fragmentary female statuette with a deer held squeezed underneath her left upper arm from Amathous, and one, also with a small deer squeezed against her side under her left arm, from a sanctuary at Athienou/Golgoi-Malloura<sup>37</sup>. Both statuettes from Pyla-Stavros and Malloura show the goddess wearing a long Greek-Ionian, pleated chiton and a Greek sakkos and carrying the bow and a quiver of arrows behind her left shoulder<sup>38</sup>. Gold coins of king Pnytagoras of Salamis (ca. 370–351 BC) show the head of a goddess with a high hairbun at the back of her head and a quiver of arrows rising above her shoulder<sup>39</sup>. All these Cypriot variations of Artemis-figures in limestone and terracotta were dedicated in sanctuaries of Cypriot Aphrodite. In the absence of any epigraphic evidence for worship of Artemis in Cyprus before the very end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the earlier figurines were most probably created to depict Cypriot Aphrodite herself as a Potnia Theron and hunting goddess<sup>40</sup>.

Another, thoroughly Greek female deity image makes its appearance in the fifth century BC: This is Athena, recognisable by her Corinthian helmet and, in votive figures, the aegis and/or a shield and a lance, which are all standard attributes of the goddess in Greek iconography, both in vase painting and sculpture from the Late Archaic period onwards<sup>41</sup>. Very few Cypriot votive figures depicting the goddess with one to all of these attributes were dedicated as isolated pieces or in very small numbers in very few sanctuaries during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, mostly in the territory of Soloi<sup>42</sup>. The sanctuary on the summit above the palace of Vouni, 7 km east of Soloi, produced eight limestone statuettes of Athena with Corinthian helmet, Aegis and shield<sup>43</sup>. Mersinaki produced a unique large early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC votive terracotta figure of Athena with a Corinthian helmet and

33 Metzler 1994. See also the article of G. Koiner in this volume.

34 For all Cypriot variations of Artemis-figures see Ulbrich 2008, 89–91 with further references. 519–520 (table 11, distribution) pl. 19; Hermary 1989, 411–419.

35 Cf. Beazley-Archive online, s. v. Artemis (in Decoration Description); entry and article on Artemis in LIMC II (Zurich 1984), e.g. 665 nos. 575–595 (figurines from Kanoni, Korfu showing the goddess with kalathos and carrying a fawn). 670 no. 642 (vase image).

36 For examples see LIMC II. s. v. Artemis.

37 For a chronological overview (until the Roman period) of all different variations of Artemis statuettes from Cyprus see Sørensen 2009 with further references; Hermary 1989, 412–414 cat. nos. 835–841; Karageorghis 1998, 133 figs. 79–80.

38 Hermary 1989, 411–412 cat. nos. 835–836.

39 Karageorghis 1998, 140 fig. of cat. no. 87b.

40 Cf. surveys of epigraphic and iconographic evidence for Artemis in Cyprus by Bennett 1980, 360–365; Ulbrich 2008, 159–167; Sørensen 2009.

41 See entries and images in LIMC II s. v. Athena, *passim*.

42 For the type and distribution see Ulbrich 2008, 83–85. 148–159. 516–517 (table with Athena figurines from sanctuaries) pl. 17. Karageorghis 1998, 105–113 figs. 60–63. 66. 67.

43 Karageorghis 1998, 109 fig. 66; Ulbrich 2008, 459 with references to SCE III.

in a peplos holding the reins of a diminutive quadriga, a familiar motif known from Attic black- and early red-figure vase painting<sup>44</sup>. From the same site comes a late 5<sup>th</sup> century small marble relief, clearly a Greek import, showing Athena with a girded chiton and helmet in Classical Greek style<sup>45</sup>. Small, clearly locally made mould-made terracotta figurines from a rural sanctuary near the village of Kakopetria, in the southern territory of Soloi, also depict Athena with Corinthian helmet, shield and lance<sup>46</sup>. Of those sanctuaries, only Mersinaki produced a dedicatory inscription to Athena, which, however, only dates to the Hellenistic period. Before that Athena's worship in Cyprus is epigraphically attested only at Idalion through a 6<sup>th</sup> century BC dedication and the famous tablet of Idalion of about 470 BC, attesting to a sanctuary of Athena on the western acropolis, which however, did not produce any votive figures<sup>47</sup>. Athena or her head with her distinctive Corinthian helmet also appears on Cypriot coins, in Lapithos from the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, in Marion, Salamis and Soloi in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>48</sup>.

As the survey above shows, Cypriot female deity images in votive-sculpture and on coins adopt elements of the iconography of various Greek goddesses from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards (polos). However, they only use clearly identifying iconographic Greek motifs or attributes from the 5<sup>th</sup> and/or the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, e.g. for Athena the Corinthian helmet, the aegis, the shield, and the lance, for Aphrodite Eros, and for Artemis the fawn/deer, bow and quiver with arrows. The sparse to non-existent epigraphic evidence for these particular deities during the Late Archaic and Classical period could suggest that this Greek goddess imagery was originally adopted to depict the various functions of the Cypriot goddess, before actual cults and sanctuaries for these Greek goddesses were established in the Hellenistic period. Athena, however, seems to have emerged and worshipped as separate goddess at least in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### *Male Deity Images*

Like female deity images, the earliest, locally developed male deity images among Cypriot votive figures show predominantly Near Eastern/Phoenician and Egyptian or Egyptianising inspired iconography, before Greek iconography is adopted and adapted from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.

The two earliest types are attested predominantly by small to under life-size limestone statuettes and statues dedicated in several sanctuaries in the eastern half of Cyprus from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and are associated with two animals, the lion and the ram. Both types are invariably interpreted as images of the male counterpart of Cypriot Aphrodite in his function as “master of animals”<sup>49</sup>, depicting the principle male deity of Cyprus or “grand dieu de Chypre”<sup>50</sup>, identified in Greek Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards as Apollo<sup>51</sup>.

However, the earliest Cypriot male deity image associated with the lion comes from a sanctuary site at Pyla-Palaeokastro, east of Larnaca. There a votive- or cult-pillar crowned by a colossal head of a bearded grimacing male with leonine features and lion ears was erected sometime in the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the pillar bearing a Phoenician dedicatory inscription to the Phoenician principal city-god Resheph-Shed<sup>52</sup>. This image is commonly addressed as “Bes” due to the strong resemblance to the Egyptian god Bes, as he is depicted in Egyptian

44 Karageorghis 1998, 110 fig. 67; LIMC II s. v. Athena, passim.

45 Karageorghis 1998, 111 fig. 68.

46 Karageorghis 1998, 105–106 figs. 61–63.

47 Ulbrich 2008, 312–314 (Cat. no. ID 1, with references); Karageorghis 1998, 107 figs. 64–65.

48 Markou 2015, 87–89 figs. 14. 15. 20. 29. The provenance of coins depicted on p. 89 fig. 38 and 44 (Hellenistic) is still uncertain. Karageorghis 1998, 138–139 figs. 84b. 85b. 150–152 figs. 100a. 101a. 102a. 156–157 figs. 108a. 109b.

49 Counts 2008; Counts 2010, incl. distribution map on p. 141 fig. 6.

50 Cf. Sophocleous 1985.

51 For Apollo as god of nature and animals see also Vernet 2011; Ulbrich 2008, 506–510, tables 4a–b (male deity images in epigraphically identified sanctuaries).

52 Dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Hermary 1989, 294–296; Counts 2008, 5. 7 fig. 2. Dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC by Tassignon 2013, 49–51 fig. 27 with references.

iconography attested in Egyptian sculpture, scarabs, amulets, figurines and wall paintings since the Bronze Age. From the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets, scarabs and figurines depicting Bes were dedicated in the urban sanctuary of Kition-Kathari and in Archaic tombs of the necropoleis in Amathous and elsewhere in Cyprus<sup>53</sup>. One colossal Bes-type statue of Cypriot limestone carrying a lion hanging by its tail from each hand, and 32 fragments of similar figures of different sizes, all found in the area of the Roman agora at Amathous, are now dated between the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. They were convincingly identified as images of the Phoenician god Baal as principal male god of Amathous in his function as “master of animals” (potnios theron)<sup>54</sup>.

While these colossal Bes-inspired images of a master of the lion are very rare, the more common type is attested mostly by small statuettes to under-lifesize limestone statues found in several sanctuaries of Eastern Cyprus. They were dedicated in sanctuaries at Kition and in the Mesaoria, including Tamassos, Idalion, Golgoi-Agios Photios, Athienou-Malloura, Lefkonoiko, as well as cult-place in the palace of Vouni near Soloi from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, with the majority dating to the late 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>55</sup>. The conventional name of this type, Herakles-Melqart, reflects the fact that it combines Greek and Phoenician divine iconographies associated with Greek Herakles and the Phoenician principal god Melqart<sup>56</sup>. These figures depict the god either wielding a club in a striking pose over his head or carrying a club (**fig. 4**), while wearing a lion-skin with the lion-head placed on top of the head and the front paws tied in a knot across the chest. Some specimen also grasp a small lion by its scruff or hind legs with the other hand by the side of their legs. A few examples also carry a quiver with arrows and a bow either hanging by their side or slung over one shoulder<sup>57</sup>. The god is depicted either bearded, but more often beardless and wears a variety of garment types, most often a knee-long Egyptian-style kilt, with some examples also depicted with a tight t-shirt type top, both garments known from contemporary sculpture depicting male votaries<sup>58</sup>. Fewer examples are depicted in a knee-long chiton-type garment or even naked except the lion-skin.

The Near Eastern iconographic element is the motif of the ‘smiting god’ or ‘striking god’, an iconography associated with the Near Eastern gods Resheph or Baal since the Bronze Age, which was adopted in the famous bronze figure of the ingot-god with horned helmet in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and with the Phoenician god Melqart in the Iron Age. Equally, the carrying of a small lion by its scruff or tail has parallels in Near Eastern or Phoenician iconography<sup>59</sup>. The Greek iconographic elements are all associated with Herakles and well documented in Athenian black- and red-figure vase painting and sculpture from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. They include the lion skin with the beast’s head worn as cap or hood and its forelegs tied in a knot on the chest, the club, the god is swinging, and, in some cases, a bow and quiver with arrows either slung over one shoulder or carried at the side of the body<sup>60</sup>. All these attributes and the striking gesture characterise the god as a master of wild, untamed animals exemplified by the lion.

The sanctuary of Astarte and Melqart in Kition-Bamboula produced quite an iconographic range of partly fragmentary Herakles-Melqart statuettes in the Near Eastern striking pose with lion skin, three of them with an Egyptian-style kilt, one with a local or Greek-inspired type of a knee-long girted chiton and one naked like a Greek kouros<sup>61</sup>. The great majority of the statues from the sanctuaries at Tamassos-Frangissa, Idalion and at Golgoi-Agios Photios and Malloura also feature the Egyptian-style kilts, some also carrying a small lion by

53 Examples in Clerc et al. 1976, pls. VIII–IX (Kition); Clerc 1991, 50. 97–98 and passim (Amathous).

54 Tassignon 2009; 2013, particularly p. 51 for the date-range of the fragments; cf. the contribution of I. Tassignon in this volume.

55 Cf. Counts 2008, 7–12 figs. 4–6, for the findspots see p. 9 incl. n. 26 and p. 20 table 1; Counts 2010, 137–138 fig. 3 and passim. Sophocleous 1985, 30–36; Ulbrich 2008, 506–510, tables 4a–b (distribution of various male deity images in epigraphically identified sanctuaries).

56 Cf. Counts 2008, 10; Sophocleous 1985; Caubet et al. 2015, 319.

57 For an overview of the range of variations of the statues see descriptions and figures in Counts 2008; Counts 2010; Sophocleous 1985, 28–56 pls. V–VII.

58 Faegersten 2003.

59 Karageorghis 1998, 33 fig. 8; Bonnet 1988; Cornelius 1994; Counts 2008, 11–13.

60 Cf. Counts 2008, 10 fig. 7 and other vase images and sculpture in LIMC s. v. Herakles and Herakles-Melqart.

61 Caubet et al. 2015, 330 figs. 1–5. 319–332.

its scruff, while two examples from Agios Photios carry a bow and quiver or arrows like Herakles in Greek imagery<sup>62</sup>. The predominant type of garment for all figures is Egyptianising or local, with only two club-wielding figures each either featuring a knee-long girded Greek inspired kneelong pleated chiton or being naked<sup>63</sup>. However, the modelling of the hair and faces of the majority of statues, which date between mid-6<sup>th</sup> and mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, invariably feature the typical Archaic smile and Greek style curls framing the forehead.

The image of the striking god wielding a club and wearing a lion-skin like Greek Herakles also appears on coins with Phoenician legends minted in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC by the city-kingdoms of Kition and Lapethos, both founded by Phoenicians and ruled by Phoenician kings<sup>64</sup>.

The second iconographic type of the master of animals is the locally developed Cypriot ram-god, attested through small limestone statuettes, less often terracotta votive figurines. These were dedicated in inland sanctuaries in eastern Cyprus from sometime in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; some of those sites also produced Herakles-Melqart images. Conventionally, this type is called either Zeus Ammon or Baal Hamon, perfectly demonstrating the confusion about this type's iconographic and cultic origins and associations of this Cypriot god. These figurines depict a fully bearded male figure, either with ram-head or human head and ram horns, dressed in a long tunic, and seated on a throne flanked by rams (**fig. 5**)<sup>65</sup>. The ram characterises the male deity as a pastoral god, responsible for animal husbandry and everything related to it, including rainfall necessary for the fertility of pastures, thereby also doubling as weather god. These interdependent functions are common to the principal or highest male deities in ancient Greece, Zeus, his Egyptian counterpart Amun, called Ammon by the Greeks, and their Near Eastern (Phoenician) counterpart Baal. The earliest iconographic link to the Cypriot image-type leads to the ram-headed Egyptian god Amun, but both Phoenician Baal Hamon (in Tyre and Carthage) and Amun-Ra in Libya and Cyrene, where the Greeks identified the god as Zeus Ammon in the Classical period<sup>66</sup>, could also be depicted with a bearded human head and ram horns<sup>67</sup>. The use of this image type as adornment for the stands of small limestone thymiateria in Cypriot sanctuaries associates it strongly with the cult of the Phoenician god Baal Hamon with incense-burning an important cult-practice for Baal<sup>68</sup>. Throughout the Cypro-Classical and into the Hellenistic period this image type did not change its iconography, but was gradually replaced from 300 BC onwards by the image type of "Cypriot Pan", invariably attested by small limestone statuettes. They depict a standing nude youthful beardless male with a goatskin cape hanging down his back from his shoulders, goat ears, goat horns on the top of his head and a syrinx on his left arm, thereby clearly drawing on the iconography and attributes of Pan on Athenian red-figure vases<sup>69</sup>.

In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC another male deity image makes its appearance among Cypriot votive figures, which is purely inspired by Classical Greek iconography. Statues or statuettes of Cypriot Apollo were dedicated in several sanctuaries in the eastern of Cyprus from the 5<sup>th</sup> to at least the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. These include the sanctuaries at Tamassos-Pediaios, Tamassos-Phrangissa, Idalion, Potamia, Golgoi-Agios Photios and Athienou/Golgoi-Malloura, Lefkonoiko but also at Voni, south of Chytroi and a rural sanctuary at Maroni-Vournes. These sites, at some of statuettes of Herakles-Melqart and Zeus were also dedicated, are all iconographically attributed to the principle Cypriot god, who in Greek dedicatory inscription is invariably identified as Apollo, in Phoenician ones mostly as Resheph. The Apollo figures depict the god in full Greek iconography and

62 Hermary 1989, 301–304 nos. 600. 602–607 (Idalion, Golgoi Agios Photios, Athienou-Malloura); Hermary –Mertens 2014, 236–240 cat. nos. 300–320 (Golgoi Agios Photios).

63 Cf. Myres 1946, pl. 14 nos. 406–409 (chiton).

64 Markou 2015, 78–79. 86–87 (coin-images, Kition). 115–17; Karageorghis 1984, 151 no. 101b.

65 Examples, variations, distributions and origins of this type are presented and discussed in Ulbrich 2008, Ulbrich 2009 and Ulbrich 2010, with figs; Sophocleous 1985, 58–69 pls. XIII 2–XVI 1; Hermary 1989, 307–309 nos. 611–616; Kleibl 2010. See also Ulbrich 2008, 506–570 tables 4a–b (list of epigraphically attributed sanctuaries and deity images found there).

66 Hdt. 2, 42; 4, 181.

67 Kleibl 2010 who traces the origins of the two different iconographic types, referring to Amun on pp. 154–155. Most of the surviving images of figurines of this god from Cyrene or Carthage, however, date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods, so it is unclear, whether they preceded and, therefore, potentially influenced the Cypriot figurines of this type. Fourrier 2003, 98.

68 Examples in Counts 2009, 107 fig. 11,6; Kleibl 2010.

69 Counts 2008, 19–23 (incl. distribution table and fig.); Ulbrich 2013, 39–42 fig. 7 (Maroni); LIMC VIII (1997) s. v. Pan (Boardman).

style as youthful, beardless, with long hair worn in various Greek hairstyles known for Apollo, crowned by a laurel wreath or fillet, and occasionally carrying a lyre his left hand. He either wears a pleated Greek chiton, sometimes with himation, or just a himation over an otherwise naked torso<sup>70</sup>. The bronze head of the famous Chatsworth Apollo of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, found in the riverbed of the Pediaios-river near Tamassos, was part of a life-size Apollo votive statue or, potentially, even a cult-statue<sup>71</sup>. A sanctuary at Voni, which alphabetic Greek dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo, Artemis and Zeus of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, produced two early Hellenistic colossal limestone sculptures of Apollo with long hair, laurel wreath, wearing chiton and himation. One of them carries an eagle, the attribute of Zeus, the other, now lost, a small deer in his left hand, an attribute animal shared between Apollo and Artemis (**fig. 6**). Both animals characterise the god worshipped at Voni as god of the skies, weather, animals and nature in general, aspects also addressed by the early deity image types of Herakles Melqart and Baal<sup>72</sup>. The iconography, style and attributes of Cypriot Apollo figures, i.e. the young beardless face, the long hair and laurel wreath, the Greek chiton and himation, the lyre or kithara, are all very familiar from Athenian black- and red-figure vases and sculptures as is the style<sup>73</sup>.

The above survey of male deity images shows a comparable iconographic and stylistic development to the female deities in the Late Archaic and Classical period, shifting from Near Eastern and Egyptianising to Greek influences.

### *Male and Female Votaries*

The great majority of Archaic and Classical Cypriot votive figures in terracotta and limestone, ranging from small figurines to colossal size sculptures, depict female and bearded or beardless male votaries. Their iconographies vary mainly concerning the type of dress, headdress and hair-styles (coiffure), which can be shown, depending on the figurine size and production technique, from a very summary fashion to great detail. Votaries carry a variety of votive gifts, such as sacrificial animals (sheep, goats, birds), flowers, and other objects, or wear armour and weapons identifying them as warriors. During the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC male and female votary figures, particularly in limestone, from sanctuaries in the eastern half of the island, feature a range of garments, headdresses, hairstyles and jewellery. From the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the gradual adoption and adaptation of Greek-style, particularly Ionian, dress and hairstyles and jewellery can be observed in both male and female votary figures, often combined with older Cypriot features. The following overview focusses on the iconography of limestone statues and statuettes and only occasionally refers to terracotta-figures when they show comparable iconography.

The iconographic development of male votary figures from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century BC is well documented by limestone votive figures from the Apollo sanctuaries of Golgoi Agios Photios, Idalion, and Lefkonoiko as well as other, less comprehensively published sites, all in the eastern half of the island<sup>74</sup>. From the late 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, Near Eastern influence is obvious in bearded and unbearded male votary figures wearing an Assyrian-style conical helmet or cap with top-knob, known from Assyrian reliefs. They wear a long foldless under-tunic underneath a cloak, occasionally with a tassel fringe, under which the right arm bent at the elbow is wrapped across the chest (**fig. 7**)<sup>75</sup>. Votaries with this headdress and dress, but a wider variety of garments types including knee-long or shorter tunics and cuirasses, are also well attested in the contemporary large scale

70 On iconography and distribution of the type see Ulbrich 2013, 42–44 fig. 8 with references to examples. Images of most in Karageorghis 1998, 114–119 figs. 72–78 (Potamia), 74 (Athienou-Malloura). 75 (Tamassos, Chatsworth Apollo); Buchholz 1991/1992, 3–15 pl. 5b (Tamassos-Frangissa); Hermary 1989, 315–319 cat. nos. 627–630 (Athienou-Malloura).

71 See n. 70 (Chatsworth Apollo).

72 Karageorghis 1998, 218–219 fig. 169; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. 42,1. For Apollo as god of nature and animals see Vernet 2011.

73 For examples see LIMC I s. v. Apollon, passim.

74 Hermary – Mertens 2014 (Golgoi); Hermary 1989, passim (mostly Golgoi); Senff 1993, passim (Idalion); Myres 1946 (Lefkonoiko).

75 Hermary 1989, 32–36 nos. 1–30; Hermary – Mertens 2014, 30–40 cat. nos. 1–18; Senff 1993, pls. 3–7, 51–52; Myres 1946, pl. 12, 5.

terracotta figures dedicated at the sanctuaries of Ayia Irini, Salamis-Toumba and elsewhere<sup>76</sup>. Another common headdress is the turban, usually worn by beardless males in a long or knee-length foldless tunic, in some cases combined with a cloak<sup>77</sup>. Another 6<sup>th</sup> century BC male votary type, only attested in limestone sculpture, is the standing beardless youth, usually with a rosette-decorated diadem, small creole earrings, who wears a tight t-shirt type top over swimming-trunk shaped short with broad belt around his waist, his legs completely naked<sup>78</sup>. All these types described above are genuine Cypriot creations and mostly dedicated in sanctuaries of the eastern half of the island. The same applies to 6<sup>th</sup> century BC small to colossal limestone statuettes and statues with Egyptian or Egyptianising iconography concerning hairstyle, headdresses, garments (kilt), with the widest range of variations attested at Golgoi-Agios Photios<sup>79</sup>. These votaries with or without beard feature either only an Egyptian wig-style coiffure, later even a short Greek-style one, and different types of headdresses, such as conical helmet, knobbed cap or diadem. Their upper body is either naked, sometimes adorned with a relief-decorated pectoral, or clothed in a tight short-sleeved t-shirt, but all wear an Egyptian thigh- or knee-height kilt, occasionally adorned with so-called uraeus snakes, a stylized rearing cobra, as symbol of divine and royal authority. A very small number of the statues also wear an Egyptian pharaonic double crown, which could be interpreted as representation of Cypriot kingship, with a particularly elaborate example coming from a sanctuary in Paphos<sup>80</sup>.

From around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, limestone statues and statuettes of male votaries gradually adopted Greek iconography concerning their stance (leg position), hairstyle (short or long tresses), headdresses (wreath of leaves or laurel), garments (chiton, himation) or, very occasionally, the lack thereof. Some votaries, clearly inspired by the Late Archaic to Early Classical East Greek or Ionian draped kouroi, are depicted bareheaded with long hair in the style of Ionian kouroi, their tresses falling both down the back and the front of their shoulders, some also wearing wreaths (**fig. 8**). While short Greek hairstyles and knob-shaped curls around the forehead were gradually introduced from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, some figures still feature the Egyptian wig-shaped shoulder-long coiffure. All wear Ionian-style chitons, some with a central bundle of folds tumbling down in front of the legs but clearly revealing the shape of the body underneath, and a himation slung diagonally across the body over their left shoulder<sup>81</sup>.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC into the Hellenistic period, the repertoire of dress and headdress assimilates even further to almost canonical Greek votary iconography consisting of the long, pleated chiton and himation worn diagonally across the body over the left shoulder. Both bearded and beardless votaries feature contemporary short Greek hairstyles, almost invariably wear a wreath of leaves now, the thin diadem or fillet worn by the early Ionian figures becoming increasingly rare and disappearing altogether in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (**fig. 9**)<sup>82</sup>. This dress as well as the way the folds of the himation, and sometime the chiton are depicted with a descending zig-zag hemline is well known from images of gods and worshippers in early red-figure Athenian vase-painting as well as in early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Greek sculpture.

The same shift from more Near Eastern and Egyptianising to Early Classical Greek iconography can be observed in female votary figures, particularly from sanctuaries in the eastern part of Cyprus, e.g. at Idalion, Golgoi, Achna, and Arsos, though the repertoire of styles, dresses and headdresses is slightly less varied. Female votary figures in terracotta from small to large, both hand- and mould-made, and limestone of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century BC invariably wear a long, fold-less tunic, held occasionally together by a belt with long ends hanging down

76 Karageorghis et al. 2003, 151. 170–192 cat. nos. 193–210. 213–214. 216. 219–222; Karageorghis – Kiely 2019, pls. 13. 17. 20. 26–30. Further examples for larger and medium sized terracottas in Karageorghis 1993, *passim*.

77 Senff 1993, pl. 37; Karageorghis et al. 2003, 187–188 cat. no. 215. 192 cat. no. 220; Karageorghis – Kiely 2019 pl. 59a (left figure); Karageorghis 1993.

78 Hurschmann 2003; further examples in Hermary – Mertens 2014, 47–57 cat. nos. 25–39; Senff 1993, pl. 60 b–c.

79 Cf. Hermary – Mertens 2014, 58–74 cat. nos. 40–61; for a collation of Egyptianising male votive figures see Faegersten 2003.

80 Cf. Hermary – Mertens 2014, 73–74 cat. no. 60; Senff 1993, pl. 61 a–b (Idalion); Maier – Karageorghis 1984, 186–187 fig. 175 (Paphos).

81 Hermary – Mertens 2014, 75–98 cat. nos. 62–75; Myres 1946, 64 no. 180 pl. 3,3 (Lefkonoiko, colossal statue).

82 Hermary – Mertens 2014, 99–122 cat. nos. 76–129; Senff 1993, pls. 12–25; Hermary 1989, 113–218 (heads with wreath of leaves). 263–276 (Greek dress; chiton, himation).

the front of their legs underneath a shorter over-tunic or a cloak (**fig. 10**). They are usually richly adorned with multiple necklaces of varying lengths, chokers, and the typical Cypriot ear-caps and earrings. Their hair falls down to or just below their shoulders in one mass like in Egyptian sculpture. In larger scale terracotta figurines, curls and strands can be indicated, particularly around the face, but in both limestone and terracotta figures alike, it can also be covered by a head scarf or kerchief, while some figures wear a turban or a fillet/diadem<sup>83</sup>.

From the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, limestone statuettes and statues gradually adopt the iconography and styles of Greek korai concerning dress, hairstyles, headdresses and jewelry, which can be observed in limestone sculpture from Idalion, Golgoi, Arsos and Vouni (**fig. 11a**)<sup>84</sup>. From the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onward, the long pleated chiton makes an appearance, which some of the women occasionally grab at the thigh with the left or hand in the style of Greek korai; some such figures also wear a short Ionian style mantle worn diagonally across the upper body and later increasingly replaced with the typical long Greek himation<sup>85</sup>. The hair falls down the back to just below the shoulders or in long strands or tresses down the back and in front of the shoulders reminiscent of Greek, particularly Ionian kouroi and korai. Headdresses include the diadem or rosette band, but also the Greek sakkos or kekryphalos worn by Greek korai. The traditional Archaic Cypriot ear-caps were gradually replaced by Greek-style disc- or rosette-shaped stud earrings and later conical drop earrings, but both features were often combined until the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and beyond (**fig. 11b**). The typical Cypriot multi-strand chokers and multiple necklaces gradually give way to single Greek style bead-necklaces, with a choker and a necklace occasionally combined as well. All the Greek iconographic elements closely mirror depictions of female figures on Athenian vases, Greek stone sculpture and mould-made terracottas and imitate their style in the rendition of the face and facial features including the Archaic smile and almond-shaped eyes, the hair, and the garment folds (zigzag hems) as well. Like male votaries, female votaries in limestone become more uniform in dress in the course of the Classical period until they reach a canonised form of chiton and himation.

## Summary

Cypriot anthropomorphic votive sculpture from the Late Archaic period of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the end of the Classical period shows a large range of iconographic types of male and female deity and votary images, particularly in sanctuaries of the eastern half of the island. From about the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC a gradual shift from Near Eastern influences to Greek influences, can be observed, with iconographies from both regions evident during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The adoption and adaptation of Greek iconography for both deity and votary images in Cypriot votive figures accelerated and became more prominent in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, but the figures always retain their Cypriot character marked by a certain degree of iconographic and stylistic simplicity, with often very summary rendition and workmanship.

The question arises in which ways and through which types of objects Greek iconographies were transmitted to Cyprus, where they were adopted and adapted by Cypriot sculptors for their votive figures. The wider archaeological evidence from Cyprus, and all its neighbouring regions, but particularly East Greece and the Greek settlement at Naukratis in Egypt, points to several mechanisms of transmission of Greek iconography, which probably were at play simultaneously. They share a common underlying key factor which is the island's geo-strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean and the role Cyprus played in the wider Eastern Mediterranean trade network between the Greek Aegean, the Near East and Egypt. Cyprus' economic and political-diplomatic connections with the Greek Aegean were well established in the Archaic period and intensified in the course

83 For examples of limestone sculpture see Hermary 1989, 321–338 cat. nos. 633–672 (Idalion, Golgoi); SCE III, pls. (Arsos); for terracotta figures Caubet et al. 1998, 190–202 nos. 285–307 (Idalion); Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pls. 11–12 (Achna). 48–56. (Idalion) and Karageorghis 1993; Karageorghis 1999 with pls. (various site).

84 Cf. Hermary 1989, 339–374 cat. nos. 674–759 (Idalion, Golgoi); Karageorghis et al. 2003, 247–253 cat. nos. 285. 287–288. 290 (Vouni). 266–267 (Mersinaki).

85 Compare the beginning or early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC statuettes from Idalion and Golgoi in Hermary 1989, 367 cat. nos. 741–742 with a statuette from Idalion of the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Hermary 1989, 367 cat. no. 739) or from Vouni in Karageorghis et al. 2003, 251 cat. no. 288.

of the Late Archaic Period of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. This is reflected in the steady increase of imports of Archaic Greek pottery from East Greece and Athens, particularly Athenian black-figure and red-figure vases of various shapes to Cyprus<sup>86</sup>. In turn, Archaic Cypriot votive figures in terracotta and limestone were found in East Greek sanctuaries, e.g. in Miletos, Samos and Lindos on Rhodes<sup>87</sup>.

While Greek iconography in Cypriot votive-sculpture gradually appears from about the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, almost no actual imports of Greek votive sculptures are attested in Cyprus before the Late Classical period<sup>88</sup>. Small mould-made terracottas with purely Greek iconography, either manufactured in and imported from Greece or produced in Cyprus with imported moulds from Greece, do not predate the late 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Furthermore, the distinctive Cypriot character of the votive sculpture with adopted and adapted Greek iconography, exclusively carved from Cypriot limestone, clearly shows that it was created by local Cypriot sculptors. This all suggests that, at least from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the middle or late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the most likely main candidate for the transmission of Greek iconography, particularly deity imagery, to Cyprus through actual Greek imports is Athenian black-figure and red-figure pottery, which was regularly referred to in the course of this article. It was found in large numbers on the island, particularly in many coastal city-kingdoms, e.g. Amathous, Kition, Marion, Soloi, Vouni etc., but also inland<sup>89</sup>. The main find contexts are tombs, but also settlement and, particularly, the palaces at Amathous and Vouni, which also served as economic centres<sup>90</sup>. Athenian pottery of various shapes, e.g. cups, amphorae, hydriae, and lekythoi, provided Cypriots buyers and users, among them potentially Greek sculptors, with an array of images of Greek deities with their respective attributes. These include the Greek half-god Herakles with the lion-skin, a bow and a quiver of arrows, Athena with her Corinthian helmet, aegis, shield and spear, Aphrodite accompanied by winged Eros, Artemis with bow and quiver of arrows or/and accompanied by a deer, and youthful, longhaired Apollo with laurel-wreath and kithara or lyre. In this chronological order, their attributes were gradually adopted by Cypriot sculptors and, to a lesser degree, coroplasts, to create new image types for Cypriot deities. The Greek garment types, headdresses, wreaths of leaves, jewellery etc. adopted for both Cypriot deity and votary images closely mirror the images on Athenian vases in their chronological development as well. However, given the close trade and diplomatic connections between Cyprus and Greece in the Late Archaic and Classical periods, with the presence of Greeks in Cyprus and Cypriots in Greece, it is highly likely that Greek fashion and jewelry also found their way to Cyprus and became fashionable there<sup>91</sup>.

The whole phenomenon of so-called Cypro-Ionian or, in French scholarship, Chyro-Ioniennes limestone statuettes suggests other, more complex parallel and interdependent ways and means of transmission of Greek iconography from East Greece, particularly Ionia, to Cyprus. The just-introduced term is predominantly used for statuettes combining Cypriot and East-Greek iconographies and styles, which were found outside Cyprus in the above-mentioned sanctuaries in the Aegean and in the Greek settlement of Naukratis with its epigraphically identified sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite. Despite relatively recent studies on the composition and origins of the limestone as well as their iconographies and styles in relation to limestone statuettes produced for and dedicated in sanctuaries on Cyprus, many questions remain and new ones arise<sup>92</sup>. They concern the identity or cultural background of the sculptors producing these statues, the possible locations of their workshops, and the identities and motivations of the people who bought these statuettes for dedication in local sanctuaries of Greek deities outside Cyprus. Cypro-Ionian statuettes found in East Greek or Ionian sanctuaries and in Naukratis depict predominantly male and female votaries, whose iconography is

86 Cf. Raptou 1999; Kushnet 2014 provides the latest overview of East Greek and Athenian pottery in Cyprus.

87 Cf. Kourou – Karageorghis 2002; Henke 2016.

88 Cf. Koiner 2017, particularly p. 79, where the author lists just three marble examples of the Late Archaic and Early Classical period.

89 Cf. the contributions of V. Lewandowski (Marion), Ch. Peverelli (Palaepaphos) and M. Christidis (Cyprus Museum) in this volume.

90 Cf. Kushnet 2014; Eriksson 2011, who analyses the preferences of the ancient Cypriots for certain shapes and iconographies.

91 Cf. Raptou 1999; Pouiloux 1988 (Kition, Salamis). Centres for the adoption and adaptation of Greek culture and fashion were the courts of Cypriot kings, though the literary and archaeological evidence belongs mostly to the 4th century BC, cf. Koiner 2020.

92 For “limestone statues of Cypriot type” found in the Aegean see Kourou – Karageorghis 2002, for limestone statuettes from Naukratis see Höckmann 2007 who calls them Cypriot-Greek and Nick 2006 who calls them Cypro-Ionian.

close to but not completely identical with the wider range of contemporary votary figures dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The so-called lion-tamer among them, holding a small lion by the scruff or its hind-legs at the side or in front of the lower body<sup>93</sup>, is the only type, which refers to a male Cypriot deity image, namely the master of the lion or Herakles-Melqart, which can, in isolated pieces, carry a small lion in the same way. Petrographic analysis of the limestone shows that it came mostly from Cyprus, but also from limestone deposits or quarries in East Greece and near Naucratis.

These findings would support various complex and interconnected scenarios and mechanisms, through which Greek iconography was adopted and adapted in Cyprus across the Mediterranean, all based on the trade network in the Eastern Mediterranean and involving Cypriot and/or Greek traders and sculptors. Thus, Cypriot sculptors could have migrated to East Greece or Ionia on trade ships to work there as migrant craftsmen either at local workshops alongside East Greek sculptors or to set up their own workshop. Either way, they would have encountered locally produced Greek votive sculpture, both in the workshops and in the local sanctuaries for Greek deities, where they went to worship by dedicating votive-statuettes together with local male and female worshippers, which must have worn the latest Greek fashion concerning garment types, headdresses, hair-ornaments and jewelry. Both, actual live votaries and their votive-statuettes could and would have inspired the Cypriot sculptors to adopt and adapt Greek iconographies for a new production of votive-statuettes, possible sculpted from imported soft and light Cypriot limestone, they were used to work with, but occasionally also using locally quarried limestone. Their statuettes would have sold both to local residents and travelling visiting tradesmen, many of whom might have been fellow Cypriots, who all dedicated these figures in local sanctuaries. Cypro-Ionian statuettes could also have reached Naucratis through the Eastern Mediterranean trade-network, where they were dedicated in the local sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite, probably by Cypriot and/or Greek traders either travelling to Naucratis or even resident there. They seem to have become so popular in Naucratis that statuettes with this iconography and style were produced locally from either imported Cypriot or local Egyptian limestone and alabaster, possibly also by Cypriot sculptors who had settled there. Cypriot sculptors who had worked in Ionia or Naukratis might have returned to Cyprus, where they continued to produce votary statuettes of this style in their workshops on the island. These statuettes might have been sold to passing Greek tradesmen on their way from or to Naucratis or, possibly with slightly altered iconography adapted to the taste of Cypriot residents for dedication in local Cypriot sanctuaries.

Finally, the presence Greeks and most likely Greek sculptors in Cyprus, at least from the mid or late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, and the occasional import of Greek sculpture must have added an additional impetus for the adoption and adaptation of Greek iconography as well as of Greek life-style in general.

The various aspects of the gradual adoption and adaptation of Greek iconography in Cypriot votive-sculpture of Late Archaic through the Classical into the Hellenistic period and the actual mechanism and means of its transmission are complex. However, their investigation through self-contained research projects linked across several disciplines, would prove challenging but provide invaluable and fascinating insights into the cultural connections and interactions between Greece, the Near East and Egypt during the first millennium BC.

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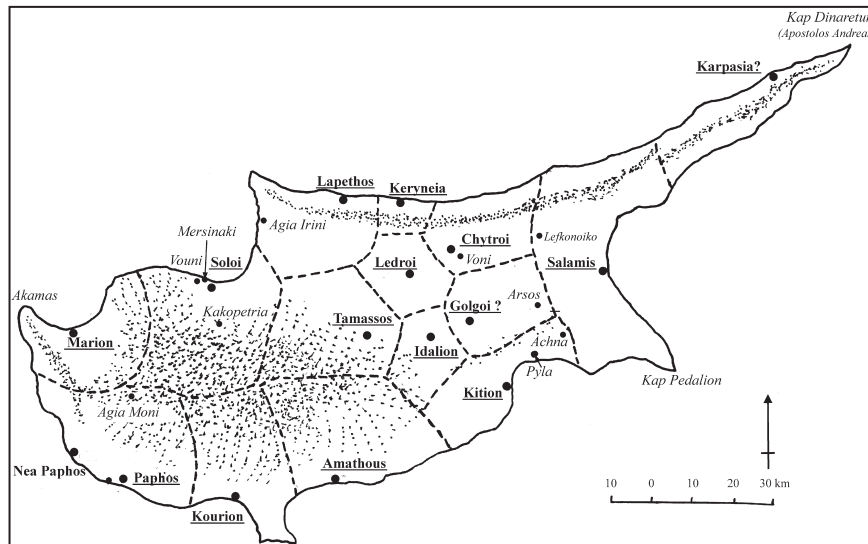


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