True to type?

Archaic Cypriot male statues made of limestone[1]

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During the Cypro-Archaic period (750-450 BC), a large number of statues and figurines were dedicated in sanctuaries throughout the island. These images are made of terracotta and the local limestone, which is easily cut to shape, and they range in size from colossal dimensions to small figurines. Briefly characterized, Cypriot limestone statues are standing, usually with only the front carefully worked; they have a square build; and sculptors often concentrated their technical ability and energy on a meticulous rendering of facial features, hair and beard – and in some cases also the clothing.

Many of the statues were retrieved during uncontrolled excavations during the 19th century, and as a result important information, for instance concerning their contexts, was lost. The Swedish Cyprus Excavations conducted from 1927 to 1931enabled the director Einar Gjerstad to provide a more systematic frame for the material development of the island during the first millennium BC. Where sculpture is concerned, Gjerstad used the results from his stratigraphic excavations in the sanctuary at A. Irini in northwestern Cyprus and Cypriot sculptures found abroad.[2] Today his chronology has been challenged based in particular on Cypriot sculpture found in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos,[3] and a higher chronology is generally preferred.[4] Furthermore, Gjerstad's stratigraphy at A. Irini has been questioned, and it has been suggested that his Proto-Cypriot and Neo-Cypriot styles are contemporary productions located respectively at Soloi and Salamis.[5]

Apart from chronology other issues such as stylistic development and social, cultural and political influences have been discussed. Due to its geographical location Cyprus was an important stepping stone in the communication between Egypt, the Levant and the Mediterranean, and people from many different backgrounds frequented the island and most likely lived there. According to Gjerstad and Pryce, for instance, the political situation

Gjerstad's chronology: Cyprus	Schmidt's chronology: Samos	Schmidt's chronology: Cyprus
1st Proto-Cypriot: 650-560 BC	Proto-Cypriot: 670/660-610/600 BC	1st Proto-Cypriot: 650-560 BC
2nd Proto-Cypriot: c. 600-540 BC		2nd Proto-Cypriot: 600-540 BC
Neo-Cypriot: c. 560-520 BC	Neo-Cypriot: 610/600-560/550 BC	Neo-Cypriot: 560-520 BC
Cypro-Greek: 540-450 BC		

1 I wish to thank the Danish Institute at Athens for granting me a stay, during which this article was begun. I also wish to thank my colleague, Jane Fejfer, for constructive discussions and my reviewers for well-deserved critique.

2 Gjerstad 1948, 207, 318.

3 Schmidt 1968, 94.

4 Fourrier 2007, 103. However, see also Hermary & Mertens 2014, 24.

5 Fourrier 2007, 104; Hermary & Mertens 2014, 23.

of the island during the Cypro-Archaic period had an important impact on the local sculpture.[6] According to Assyrian inscriptions at Khorsabad and the stele erected by Sargon II at Kition, seven Cypriot kings submitted to him in 707 BC, and the later prism of Esarhaddon mentions by name ten Cypriot kings and their kingdoms as tribute payers.[7] Based upon Herodotus, Gjerstad likewise believed in a conquest of Cyprus by the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis shortly after 570 BC,[8] and in 545 BC Cyprus became part of the 5th Persian satrapy; from then on it was involved in the Greco-Persian conflict.[9] Others, like Vermeule, held the opposite view that different garments did not reflect shifting foreign political dominations of the island.[10] Furthermore, discussions pertaining to a possible Mycenaean influx at the end of the Bronze Age and a Phoenician colonization at Kition on the southeast coast of the island have had and still have an indirect bearing on the interpretation of Cypriot culture.[11] Other contributions have focused on the significance of sculpture as social or religious markers,[12] and efforts aimed at identifying specific regional styles have recently been sketched by Counts in his examination of some stone sculptures from the area of Athienou-Malloura.[13]

Archaic Cypriot male statues are interesting because they are dressed in different garments, unlike, for instance, free-standing sculpture produced in the Greek area. The assumption that different messages were embedded in the different outfits and probably denoted specific tasks suggests that the Cypriots found it important to communicate and underline various societal obligations or events through the sculpture dedicated in the sanctuaries. Traditionally, Archaic Cypriot stone sculpture has been classified according to style, attire and foreign influences, and as only the heads of the majority of the large statues survive, headdresses have been used as important criteria for establishing typological groups.[14] However, the present analysis focuses primarily on the garments of three main statue types: statues dressed in a tunic and a mantle/ chiton and himation, statues dressed in the so-called Cypriot pants, and statues wearing an Egyptianizing kilt. A point of departure is taken in the garments and their combination with the various types of head-gear, hair and beard styles, and in the statement made by Counts that "Variations exist among the types of male votaries, suggesting that sculptors mixed and matched attributes and dress to procure more 'individual' pieces. The overwhelming majority, however, conform to a set typology." [15] The intention here is to examine how "true to type" the statues actually are, and therefore statues and larger statuettes preserved well enough to form an opinion of the statues in toto are primarily addressed, assuming that they are more trustworthy as to details than many of the 'mass-produced' small statuettes.

Subsequently the paper addresses other relevant issues currently discussed in other fora, such as material, size, appearance and context, from a local as well as a Mediterranean perspective. During the Archaic period only the local limestone was used by the Cypriot sculptors to produce stone statues. This is interesting considering the island's geographical proximity to the marble-rich islands of Naxos and Paros and the Greek enthusiasm for this particular material. In both Greece and Cyprus statuary was produced in different sizes, but while the Greeks more or less stuck to the naked kouros formula, the Cypriots engaged different types of statues in connection with dedications of images of males in the Cypriot communities. According to the present knowledge, Cypriot stone statues were produced to act as votives, or images of their donators, in the local sanctuaries; as such they seem to have played an important role in the religious and cultural life of the communities.

6 Gjerstad 1948, 339; Pryce 1931, 5.
7 Gjerstad 1948, 449
8 Gjerstad 1948, 466.
9 Gjerstad 1948, 471-78.
10 Vermeule 1974, 290.
11 For recent contributions cf. Jacovou 2008, 650; Hermary 2005; Sommer 2010, 118.
12 Cf. for instance Counts 2001; Faegersten 2003; Senff 2005, 100.
13 Counts 2012, 151. For regional productions of Cypriot terracottas cf. Fourrier 2007.
14 For instance Hermary 1989; Senff 1993; Sørensen 1994; Counts 2001.
15 Counts 2001, 157.

Fig. 1. *Bearded male statue in tunic and mantle, H: 166 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2468).*

Fig. 2. *Bearded male statue in tunic and mantle from the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. H: 191.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2460).*

Statues wearing a tunic and a mantle/ chiton and himation

During the Cypro-Archaic period the standard Cypriot male statue, bearded as well as unbearded, is dressed in a long tunic and a mantle, and wears a pointed cap atop a bag-shaped hairdo. The tunic is plain and the mantle is tight-fitting and draped over the left shoulder, carried across the back to cover the right shoulder and arm and leaving the left arm free. The right arm is bent in front of the body with a clenched fist resting on the chest (Fig. 1),[16] and in some cases the end of the mantle carried from behind is visible on the left shoulder.[17] The vertical edge of the mantle may be incised, raised or raised with indentations,[18] probably indications of a special fabric or fringes, which are also seen on statuettes and early terracotta statues and probably betray Near Eastern influences.[19] The early stone sculptures wear a wig-like haircut of Egyptian inspiration and a large beard, which is either plain or divided into vertical tresses sometimes terminating in snail curls.[20] A later statue (Fig. 2) wears the same narrow mantle with a raised indented border and an additional row of incised zigzags, which suggests a double row of fringes.[21] The mantle is now provided with softly modelled folds following the curved edge of

16 Cesnola 1885, pls 44, 281; 60, 407; Hermary 1989, 22; Senff 1993, 26.

17 Cesnola 1885, pl. 47, 284. Fringes are prominent on some small terracottas, but only few of the large the terracottas from A. Irini carry the mantle draped in this particular manner. Karageorghis 1993, figs 9-12, pl. 12.

18 Karageorghis 1969, fig. 39; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 3.

19 Senff 1993, pl. 51, d; Karageorghis 1993, nos. 35, 37, 47-8, 73; Hermary 1989, 22.

20 A row of curls may likewise appear above the forehead, cf. Hermary 1989, nos 1-5; Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 171. Large beards are also seen on early terracottas, cf. Karageorghis 1993, nos 34, 46, 62, 66, 68-9; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, pl. 67; Fourrier 2007, pl. 3, 1. Early terracottas demonstrate that this type of statue is sometimes provided with a short plain beard, and limestone heads with similar beards probably also belong to the type, cf. Karageorghis 1993, nos 5, 7, 23, 44; Hermary 1989, nos 23-4, 50.

21 Cesnola 1885, pl. 60, 407; Karageorghis et al 2003, no. 173; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 12.

Fig. 3. *Beard-less male in tunic and mantle, H: 61 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2646).*

Fig. 4. *The so-called priest with dove, H: 217.2 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2466).*

the mantle, and the pointed cap is more ornate. The large beard and the hair at the nape of the neck are divided into rows of snail curls and a single row of curls run across the forehead. Markoe, following the conventional date, suggested that the row of curls above the forehead is inspired by Achaemenid art and he referred to Ridgeway for a similar suggestion concerning Greek sculpture.[22] On the other hand, Markoe suggested an Ionian influence in the short moustache and the low-cut beard line with clean-shaven under-lip (above the chin) also seen on heads with an Egytianizing crown.[23] However, although Markoe is right that Assyrian and Achaemenid beards cover a larger part of the cheeks it should be mentioned that the low-cut beard-line is seen even on the earliest Cypriot stone sculpture, like the colossal head from Golgoi-A. Photios, and a short moustache is seen on the early terracottas.[24]

The tight-fitting mantle continued to be used throughout the 6th century BC. In some cases the vertical edge is provided with parallel folds, which terminate in Greek zigzag folds, and the long locks falling to the chest show inspiration from Greek kouros statues (Fig. 3).[25] However, the wreath around the head is not a familiar trait of Greek kouroi. In other cases shorter "kouros-locks" are combined with the tight mantle without folds,[26] or mantles with folds are combined with a hairdo consisting of a row of curls above the forehead, plain transversal locks across the skull and incised locks on the front of the wig-like hair

22 Markoe 1987, 120, note 14.
23 Markoe 1987, pl. 41, 3-4.
24 Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 1; Karageorghis 1993, nos. 1, 57, 68, 73-4, 76-9.
25 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 187; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 11.
26 Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 62.

Fig. 5. *Bearded male in tunic and mantle, H: 162 cm. The Collection of George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides, Nicosia (without inv. no.)*

falling behind the ears.[27] Yet other statues wear a mantle with a broad central fold along the vertical edge, which is familiar from East Greek statues[28] and seems to have been very popular in Cyprus, where it was used into the 5th century BC combined with short hair and a wreath/diadem.[29]

Concerning garments, the so-called 'Priest with dove' dated to the late 6th century BC is an interesting statue (Fig. 4).[30] He seems to wear a pleated chiton below a plain chiton with a horizontal relief-decorated border below the knees and a conical cap, richly decorated and surmounted by a small bull's head. His mantle is an enigma calling to mind the mantle of some of the Acropolis korai. Like some of the korai, he carries the mantle over the right shoulder and the broad diagonal central fold and the arrangement of the drapery below the right arm looks like one system,[31] while the draping of the mantle over the left arm seems to belong to another system,[32] or perhaps it should be read as a separate piece of cloth.[33] His curly beard resembles that of the statue with a pointed cap discussed above (Fig. 2). In this case it is combined with a moustache and long "kouros locks" falling to the chest. A strange arrangement of folds is repeated on another statue which carries it over a chiton adorned with a border like the chiton worn by the 'Priest with dove'. The mantle is comparatively tight-fitting, but it is provided with a rather artful drapery on the left shoulder; a bundle of folds falling from the left shoulder and enveloping the right forearm is difficult to explain and looks like a folded shawl (Fig. 5).[34] One suspects that these mantles were used to express a certain degree of individuality. At first glance they look Greek, but they are actually more or less artful, and if not for the fine technical quality of the statues it could be argued that the sculptors had simply misunderstood the details. This may still be the case, but it seems rather that the correct arrangement of the mantles was not an issue as long as the effect was striking. These

27 Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 65.

28 Bernhard-Walcher et al.1999, no. 77; Freier-Schauenburg 1974, no.72, pls 59-60; Hermary 2005, fig. 6.

29 Hermary 1989, no. 246; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 109.

30 Karageorghis et al., 2000, no. 172. For a discussion of the statue cf. Masson & Hermary 1993; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 22.

31 Karakasi 2001, pls 144-5, 174-5.

32 Karakasi 2001, pl. 200.

33 Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 22.

34 Karageorghis et al. 2002, 186. To judge from the photograph the head probably does not belong to the statue.

Fig. 6. *Bearded male statue in chiton and himation, H: 164.5 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2461).*

statues were still meant to be seen from the front, and it seems that an effort was made to push the material of the mantle to the front of the statues and to add realistic as well as unrealistic details in order to underscore the volume of the garment.

From about 500 BC less flamboyant himatia, but still indicating volume, and also combined with a Greek-looking chiton, are seen on bearded as well as unbearded

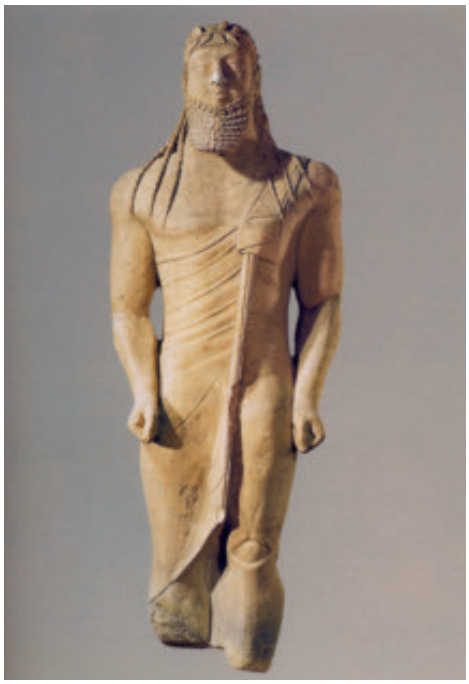

Fig. 7. *Bearded male statue in mantle, H: 201cm. From Pyla. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. ANSA I 341.*

statues with short hair and a wreath around the head. Their himatia cover the left arm and are carried below the right arm, covering most of the body like himatia worn by Greek sculpture.[35] In some cases the mantle provided with narrow parallel folds along the vertical edge is combined with short hair and the old large curly beard.[36] On another statue with a similarly draped himation the narrow folds terminate in what looks like fringes (Fig. 6).[37] However, the somewhat strange arrangement of folds below his left arm suggests that the intention was to reproduce undercut folds like the ones seen on the mantle of the Antenor kore from the Acropolis.[38] The beard of these statues is still provided with snail curls but now they terminate in separate vertical corkscrew locks evidently inspired by bronze sculptures like the Cap Artemision statue and the hair of the so-called Chatsworth Apollo.[39] Thus two different beard systems are apparently blended.

35 Hermary 2005, figs 1-3; Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 335; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 103.
36 Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 80.
37 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 336; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 85.
38 Stewart 1990, fig. 154.
39 Hermary 2005, 101; Neer 2010, pl. 1; Bouquillon et al. 2006, figs 1-2.

Although the tunic and mantle and the later chiton and himation remained standard garments for Cypriot males the different details of these garments and their combinations with different hair- and beard styles suggest that particular combinations of old and new elements were often the result of individual choices. An exceptional male statue dated to about 500 BC underlines this eclectic attitude (Fig. 7).[40] He is taller than life-size and with his stance he looks very much like a Greek kouros, and yet not. He is naked except for the old tight-fitting mantle, which leaves his left side uncovered and actually clings to his muscular (Greek) body, revealing it rather than covering it up. The mantle is provided with the old raised or perhaps folded border, but the out-curving lower end reflects his dynamic stride, diagonal folds run across his body, and the end of the mantle resting on the left shoulder terminates in Greek-looking zigzag folds. Like the 'Priest with dove' he has a large curly beard and a tiny moustache combined with long "kouros locks", but around his head he wears a wreath, unfamiliar from Greek kouroi. Although this statue is unique it displays the same interest in playing with details as the statues mentioned above; one could say that he epitomizes the Cypriot eclectic attitude to sculptural representations and that an affluent look was an important aspect of the statues.

Fig. 8. *Beardless male wearing "Cypriot trousers" and diadem, H: 73 cm. Istanbul Museum, inv. No. 3329.*

Statues wearing "Cypriot pants"

The other discrete but smaller group of statues and statuettes is usually considered to be the Cypriot version of the Greek kouros. The statues are dressed in what has been called a perizoma – Badehosen or "Cypriot pants" or shorts combined with a short, tightly fitting garment with short sleeves akin to a modern T-shirt, a diadem and sometimes also armlets and earrings. As a detailed study of this group has been presented by Hurschmann,[41] the following is confined to some brief comments. The diadems are painted red and decorated with rosettes, which are incised or carried out in relief, and it has been suggested that the incisions sometimes seen on the surface of the diadem indicate that they were made of cloth or leather.[42] Red paint is also preserved on some of the pants. However, as also pointed out by Hurschmann, a closer look at the pants reveals that at least the rendering of them shows a lack of consistency, sometimes prompting the question of whether the same dress is actually rendered. Some pieces wear what looks like short modern pants with a fly, which seem to be cut to shape and sewn, but again they are rendered in different ways.[43] Others look more like a diaper system with loose flaps meeting on the front of the figure where they are tied together above another flap carried between the legs, or the flaps meet over short pants.[44] It has been suggested that they represent a pants and belt system related to the other

40 Bernhard-Walcher et al. 1999, no. 76.

41 Hurschmann 2003.

42 Hurschmann 2003, 174.

43 Hurschmann 2003, 179. On some the rosette decorates a lozenge-shaped fly (Cesnola 1885, pl. 25, 63; Hermary 1989, no. 57). another has a vertical relief line below the rosette (Ergülec 1972, pl. 17, 3), or one above and below the rosette with no indication of a fly (Cesnola 1885, pls 25, 65: 25, 285. Yet another has a fly shaped like an inverted U and an additional rosette placed above the fly (Cesnola 1885, pl. 62). On a single statue the upper part of the pants seems to be bent over, forming an inverted U line in the centre (Karageorghis 1969, fig. 35), and on some other pieces the pants are only indicated by incised lines (Cesnola 1885, pl. 25, 60; Hermary 1989, no. 61).

44 It is known in a short version (Ergülec 1972, pl. 23, 7), as well as a longer version (Ergülec 1972, pl. 18; Hermary 1989, no. 62). One of these, a torso dated to the middle of the 5th century BC, actually looks as if it is wearing baggy pants, perhaps indicating that the original garment had been changed or forgotten.

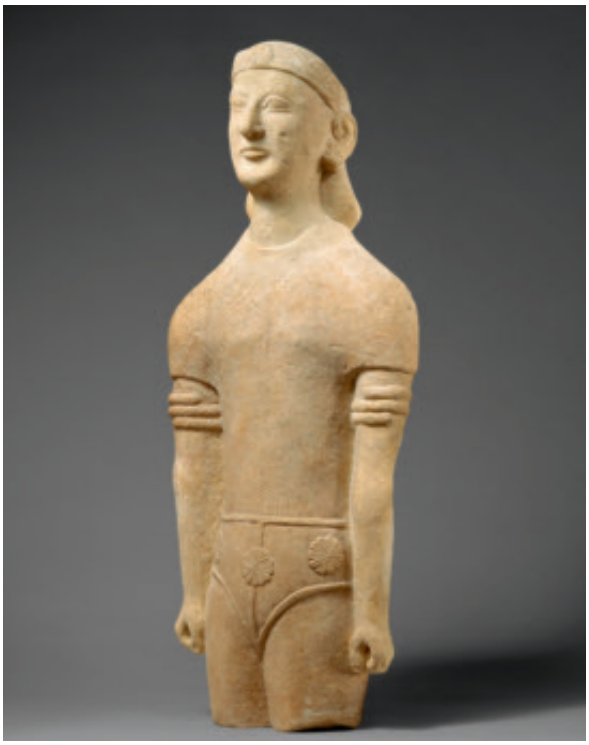

Fig. 9. *Beardless male wearing "Cypriot pants" and diadem, H: 73 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2479).*

pants.[45] Although the T-shirt decoration is only preserved in a few cases we are informed that it was far from uniform. While one is decorated with vertical red borders,[46] (Fig. 8) another has a central red border with reserved rosettes,[47] and the decoration of others are incised or carried out in relief. One has incised decoration on the front consisting of sections of vertical twigs (Fig. 9),[48] and the most elaborate T-shirt with a chiton-like surface is decorated with a central broad vertical relief band with superimposed stylized sacred trees.[49] Perhaps the T-shirts

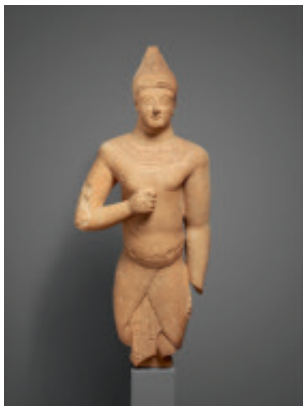

Fig. 10. *Bearded male wearing Egyptianizing outfit, H: 130.2 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2472).*

indicate differences as to rank and status, but otherwise the images are fairly homogenous despite the different details. Most of the statues and statuettes are unbearded and have a bag-shaped hairdo, indicating a young age group, although some of them do have a row of curls above the forehead[50]or short plain beard combined with a Greek curly hairstyle.[51] Perhaps more interestingly, other pieces demonstrate that the pants could be matched with a pointed cap or an Egyptian looking double crown[52] and that at least one statue with the rosette diadem is dressed in an Egyptian-looking kilt.[53] It should furthermore be noticed that only a few terracottas are shown wearing "Cypriot pants", a diadem and a T-shirt.[54]

Statues wearing an Egyptianized kilt

Statues dressed in an Egyptian-looking outfit have attracted much attention over the years, and the hybridity displayed by this group has been underlined in particular by Faegersten in her seminal work on the subject.[55] The statues usually wear a bag-shaped hair-do, and they are dressed in an Egyptianized kilt, sometimes a large Egyp-

45 Schurmann 2003, 181.
46 Ergülec 1972, pls 17. 2; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 29, 30.
47 Ergülec 1972, pls 23.
48 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 169.
49 Ergülec 1972, pl. 18. The upper part of a statue with lotus flowers decorating the T-shirt may belong to a similar type, cf. Hermary 1989, no. 54.
50 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 170; Cesnola 1885, no. 65.
51 Cesnola 1885, pl. 25, 62; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 39.
52 Pryce 1931, C7, 20.
53 Faegersten 2003, cat. 13.
54 Karageorghis 1993, fig. 17; Karageorghis 1995, figs 1-2, pl. 2, 3.
55 Faegersten 2003.

Fig. 11. *Beardless male statue wearing Egyptianizing outfit, H: 104.8 cm. From the sanctuary of Golgoi-A. Photios. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (74.51.2471).*

tianized necklace – an usekh – and a local version of an Egyptian crown, which in some cases has been replaced by a diadem or a wreath (Fig. 10).[56] Most of them also wear a T-shirt with short sleeves, while a small number of statues seem to have a naked upper body.[57] Earlier terracottas demonstrate that short tunics or skirts, sometimes combined with a broad belt, were used in Cyprus in the 7th century BC, although they show no Egyptian influence.[58] According to Faegersten, the Cypriot kilt is based on a mixture of two different Egyptian kilt types.[59] One is the wrap-around shenti, and the other is the New Kingdom-type kilt. What is particularly interesting, however, is Faegersten's observation that only a couple of Cypriot figures dated to the early 6th century BC reproduce the standard Egyptian shenti with vertical ends covering the abdomen,[60] and that just a single piece from the middle of the century reproduces faithfully the New Kingdom Egyptian kilt with a devanteau,[61] although a small handful are closely related (Fig. 11).[62] The rest displays a mixture of the two garments, and the adornment of the kilts does not ascribe to any fixed formula, although Uraeus snakes rendered in different ways are constant figural elements. Another small group shows a more elaborate decoration depicting frontal heads on the centre-piece of the kilt like the panther heads on the original Egyptian devanteaux.[63] But even these differ from one another, showing the heads of Hathor and Bes, a Gorgoneion, a smiling or grimacing head and a bearded head, Bes or a satyr.[64] Thus, some of the heads refer to a Phoenician-Egyptian sphere while others have Greek connotations, leaving a confused message – to us, that is. A similar blending was noticed by Counts in connection with images of the so-called Herakles and Bes.[65] In the case of the kilt decoration, confusion may at least partly be overcome if the heads are perceived as apotropaic images.[66] Some of the belts also carry a figural decoration which is not an Egyptian trait and seems to be a Cypriot invention.[67] Again different motifs are rendered: a disc-like object between X-shaped pattern, perhaps the remains of originally seated sphinxes; a winged sun disc with facial features of perhaps Bes or a Gorgo; a lion slayer, perhaps Herakles, flanked by paradise flowers; a frieze of crouching sphinxes and a

56 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 182; Faegersten 2003, no. 21.
57 Faegersten 2003, nos 20, 21, 30, 59, 61.
58 Karageorghis 1993, nos 26-9, 34. The overlapping side borders on no. 43 and the two central snakes on no. 72 are probably inspired by the Egyptianizing kilts.
59 Faegersten 2003, fig. 2.
60 Faegersten 2003, 34, nos 16, 21.
61 Faegersten 2003, no. 3.
62 Faegersten 2003, nos 29, 52-3, 57.
63 Faegersten 2003, fig. 11.
64 Faegersten 2003, nos 22, 30, 12, 15, 31, 50.
65 Counts 2008, 12.
66 Sørensen 2014, 42.
67 Faegersten 2003, 65.

four-winged scarab set in an animal frieze with a lion and a goat preserved to its left.[68] A single belt is decorated with rosettes and others are adorned with a bead-like pattern or an Egyptian block-border pattern, while others again are provided with a belt buckle.[69]

The adornment of the T-shirts also varies. One is decorated with a central vertical border in relief showing so-called Phoenician cup palmettes, double vertical lines perhaps indicating stripes adorn two of the T-shirt and a fourth is provided with vertical and horizontal borders filled with hanging lilies and buds linked with loops.[70] As noted by Faegersten the Egyptian collar, the usekh, is worn both by statues dressed in a T-shirt and those who seem to have a naked upper body, and most of the collars which are made in relief or incised or painted show two decorated registers of stylized floral and vegetal designs with a bottom row of hanging drops.[71] However, although painted colours may have worn off over the years it was apparently not imperative that the kilt was combined with an Egyptian collar, as demonstrated by a statue from Golgoi, and in a couple of cases the collar even seems to be converted into a neck border of the T-shirt.[72]

The rendering of the hair and the beard also shows that no strict formula was observed, which is demonstrated by the two statues with striped T-shirts from Golgoi dated to the early 6th century BC.[73] Both have a bag-shaped hairdo and a short plain beard but only one of them has a feathered moustache and feathered eyebrows. Another two statues from Golgoi of the late 6th century with long kouros-like locks falling behind the ears onto the back provide another example. One of them is beardless and a row of upturned locks runs across the forehead, while the other has a plain beard, curls across the forehead and the long locks subdivided by horizontal incisions.[74] If the heads ascribed to this type of statue are also taken into consideration, it appears that the combination of different hair and beard types is actually quite varied,[75] and that variety is also displayed by beardless males.[76] According to Faegersten, none of the statues wear the crown placed on top of an Egyptian-type headdress, in the Egyptian manner.[77] The shape of the crowns varies, and in some cases they even look like a mixture between the crown and the conical cap.[78] The more ornate crowns carry an individual relief decoration.[79] Yet other kilt statues are bare-headed, or they wear a rosette diadem, a wreath or a helmet; a single figure with a Horus head/mask poses as a scribe.[80] The outfit is also worn by males carrying weapons[81] or an animal under the arm.[82]

Summary and further discussions

In the Archaic Cypriot communities it seems to have been important that free-standing stone statues of males dedicated in the sanctuaries conveyed different messages

68 Faegersten 2003,66 nos 30-3, 60; Idem 2005, 45-58.

69 Faegersten 2003, 40, nos 27, 12 and 29, 21 and 47, 24, 34, 43-4, 59.

70 Faegersten 2003, nos 12, 23-4, 34.

71 Faegersten 2003, 48.

72 Faegersten 2003, nos 24, 23, 34.

73 Faegersten 2003, nos 23-4.

74 Faegersten 2003, nos 29, 31.

75 Faegersten 2003, no. 7: An Egyptian wig with horizontal sections, a short curly beard, moustache partly cut and painted black; Idem nos 26-8: a bag-wig, plain beard and eyebrows; Idem no. 9: A plain beard and moustache; Idem no. 24: a bag-wig, plain beard, incised moustache and eyebrows; Idem no. 20: A bag-wig, a row of curls above the forehead plain beard and incised eyebrows; Idem no. 8: A bag-wig, beard finely tooled; Idem no. 2, 58: what looks like a reduced curly bag-wig, curls above the forehead, incised moustache and eyebrows; Idem no. 21: Short curly hair, curls above the forehead, curly beard and plain eyebrows.

76 Cf. Faegersten 2003, no. 49: A bag-wig divided vertically and horizontally: Idem nos 52, 61: A bag-wig and incised eyebrows; Idem nos 34, 67-8: A bag-wig and curls above the forehead; Idem nos. 29, 45: long "kouros locks" and short hair with curls above the forehead.

77 Faegersten 2003, 57.

78 Faegersten 2003, no. 20.

79 Faegersten 2003, nos 20, 21, 30, 58, 66; Brönner, 1994, 48.

80 Faegersten 2003, nos 13, 31, 35; Faegersten 2003, no. 1. Similar representations are not seen in Egypt, but are known from Phoenician ivories (Faegersten 2003, 228); the figure is also unique in a Cypriot context, although it blends in with other Cypriot figures wearing other types of masks (Karageorghis et al. 2000, nos 222-6).

81 Faegersten 2003, cat. 30, 37.

82 Faegarsten 2003, cat. 39, 45, 62.

expressed by different attire, and, although the majority of stone statues were dedicated in sanctuaries located in the Mesaoria plain, it was apparently an island-wide phenomenon and not confined to kingdoms of eastern Cyprus.[83] The above discussions of the three typological groups were primarily based on dress types because the garments are so distinct and different from one another, and it showed that heads with different headgear do not necessarily appear together with only one type of garment; this, however, is far from saying that headdresses were unimportant. As in other Mediterranean societies, the tunic and mantle were standard garments worn by males with short and long beards as well as unbearded males, and this is supported by the numerous stone statuettes and terracotta figurines dedicated in the sanctuaries. Foreign elements such as the fringed mantle and Greek types of drapery were assimilated, and old and new elements blended in different ways. For instance, the old tight mantle was not given up at a time when more voluminous Greek himatia were introduced. In reshaped forms it was combined with long "kouros locks" and a wreath around the head worn by unbearded men (Fig. 3) and mature men with large curly beards (Fig. 7). The pointed cap familiar from the earliest stone sculpture was also used later and even combined with statues wearing Greek-looking garments, "kouros locks" and curly beards (Fig. 4), while the large beard of a group of statues with wreaths around the head is a mixture of two different beard styles (Fig. 6). Statues dressed in "Cypriot pants" and a T-shirt apparently form the most homogenous group, although different shapes of pants, each revealing different details, may be noticed. Almost all of them are beardless and have a bag-shaped hairdo, with a few exceptions.[84] In comparison, statues dressed in Egyptianizing kilts show greater diversity, partly because their outfit is more complicated. Still, it is noteworthy that the Cypriots chose to blend two different Egyptian kilt types in a variety of ways and to mix non-Egyptian decorative elements and Egyptian elements, with the Uraeus snakes being the most permanent elements.[85] Moreover, it appears that the two other spectacular elements, the Egyptian collar and crown, were not imperative; the kilt is also worn by bare-headed statues or combined with a mask or a helmet, and perhaps a rosette diadem. Some are unbearded like the statues dressed in "Cypriot pants", but about the same number carry a short plain beard sometimes combined with a moustache, or a short beard provided with snail curls. If other crowned heads belong to this statue type, males with larger curly beards and moustache could also wear this particular outfit, although their number appears to be small judged by the extant sculpture.[86]

Not only the shape of garments but also their fabric and colour are important elements in conveying messages, but unfortunately the ancient Mediterranean world offers few remains of actual garments, and textual information about textiles in Cyprus is similarly scarce. However, traces of different colours are preserved on Cypriot stone sculpture and in particular on terracottas,[87] for instance the decorative elements of the cap of the "Priest with dove" are enhanced by black, red and yellow paint.[88] Otherwise, red is the colour that seems to have been used most on the various garments. The red traces on the mantle of the same statue may indicate that the entire mantle was originally red, while other statues and statuettes illustrate that mantles and tunics could be decorated with red fringes and borders.[89] The diadems, T-shirts and pants worn by the statues dressed in "Cypriot pants" also show traces of red colour, as do the T-shirts and naked upper body and details of the kilt, the collar and the crown of the statues wearing an Egyptianizing kilt. It also appears that some of the T-shirts of statues wearing "Cypriot pants" and kilts were decorated in the same way, for instance with red vertical borders (Fig. 8),[90] while the relief decoration of others document that T-shirts in both groups

83 Hurschmann 2003, fig. 1; Faegersten 2003, 109.

84 If a head with a rosette diadem in the Louvre once belonged to this type of statue, this outfit could also be combined with long locks, a short curly beard and a moustache. Cf. Hermary 1989, no. 60.

85 Faegersten 2003, table 1.

86 Faegersten 2003, nos 2, 58, 66, 69.

87 Pryce, 1931, 4; Senff 1993, 24; Counts 2001, 155.

88 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 172.

89 For instance Karageorghis et al. 2000, nos 190, 196-7.

90 Faegersten 2003, no. 24.

could be more elaborate, with a central border showing superimposed stylized sacred trees.[91]

If it is not that red is simply more resistant than other colours,[92] there seems to have been a preference for this particular colour, perhaps because it connoted wealth and or prestige. This may be supported by the red garments worn by figures painted on Cypro-Archaic pottery, although it should be kept in mind that we are dealing with bichrome pottery decorated with black and red paint.[93] Generally speaking, traces of paint are better preserved on terracotta sculpture, and the cuirasses from Salamis and Kazaphani decorated with patterns and panels with figures in bichrome technique are good examples of how ornate an outfit could be.[94] Yon, however – drawing attention to fragments of another large terracotta statue with traces of red, black, yellow, white and green paint now in the Musée de Toulouse – has proposed that this dress item is not a cuirass but an embroidered chiton with fringes which the Persians, according to Herodotus, wore on top of the cuirass.[95] If this is correct we get a glimpse of vividly patterned tunics somewhat like renderings of Assyrian textiles and garments painted on Attic Black Figure vases,[96] and such tunics would seem to be a better match for the decorated T-shirts and pants or kilts worn by the other Cypriot statues treated here. This is not to say that all tunics were this ornate, as also indicated by the tunics with painted borders worn by the statuettes mentioned above; elsewhere, undecorated or white garments may have held specific connotations, for instance of purity.[97]

The body

Generally speaking, Cypriot sculptors did not invest much attention and workmanship in the execution of the body and the physical details of the statues, and this may be part of the reason why Cypriot sculpture has been considered inferior to Greek sculpture. Not even at the turn of the 20th century, when modernist circles praised Archaic Greek sculpture and embraced it for being anti-academic and produced by master craftsmen, was Cypriot sculpture part of the picture, perhaps because soft limestone is easily worked compared to hard marble.[98] In particular the Greek kouros has received much attention and much praise; but Snodgrass, although acknowledging its social importance, saw the kouros as a tiresomely inhibiting and conventional medium.[99] Recent and still ongoing discussions address issues such as the message(s) embedded in this particular type of statue and its agency. Some of the viewpoints are mentioned here partly to illustrate the different perceptions of modern viewers and to put into perspective the lack of attention given to contemporary Cypriot statues, which share the same frontal pose and the same frontal stare. For Tanner the kouros is "a hieratic image distanced from and eschewing interaction with the viewer",[100] and Neer finds that "type is disengaged, aloof from those addressees who actually stop to read, look and mourn", in the case of the Anavysos kouros.[101] Other, very different viewpoints emphasize the interaction between the kouros and the viewer by means of the kouros' return of the viewer's gaze, and thus it "establishes a relationship with the viewer", as Elsner puts it.[102] The interaction between the Cypriot statues and their spectators has not been an issue of debate, and one may wonder if this is because, unlike the Greek kouroi, they are clothed and thus do not have an eroticized effect. As succinctly described by Neer, "kouroi are all about bodies",[103] not least to a viewer in the present-day Western world, where trim males, epitomized by shiny oil-anointed body builders,

91 Ergülec 1972, pl. 18; Faegersten 2003, cat. 12.
92 Faegersten 2003, 43.
93 Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 56, VI.7
94 Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 12.a.7 and b.13; Karageorghis 1993, nos 80-2.
95 Yon 2005, 43.
96 For instance Dalley 1991, figs 5-11; Hirmer & Arias 1962, pl. 17.
97 Gawlinski 2008.
98 Prettejohn 2012, 204.
99 Snodgrass 1980, 179.
100 Tanner 2001, 257.
101 Neer 2010, 44.
102 Osborne 1988, 7; Stewart 1997, 66; Elsner 2005, 76.
103 Neer 2010, 50.

have become role models. The renewed interest in the kouros may in fact partly reflect this phenomenon. Seen from this perspective it is perhaps not surprising that the clothed Cypriot male statues have attracted limited interest; this is clear in Vermeule's statement that "the bodies of the limestone statues tend to be decorative vehicles, distinguished by costume or quality of carving rather than subtleties of style".[104]

Although we may trace Ionian and Attic stylistic influence in Cypriot sculpture, the Cypriot sculptors did not follow the new naturalistic trend, which has been termed "the Greek revolution" and connected with the introduction of democracy in Athens, the date of which, however, is still debated.[105] To Ridgway, on the other hand, the change in Greek sculpture from the 6th to the 5th centuries BC cannot be narrowed down to a specific time or event, but is the result of a series of consecutive developments,[106] and Neer, discarding the notion of the Greek revolution, sees the Classical style as "an ongoing adjustment of emphasis" and "a reconfiguration of the relation of image to beholder".[107] As in the case of the kouros, the changed interconnection between the early Classical statue and the viewer in Attica has received various interpretations. While some consider these statues self-absorbed and turning the spectator into a voyeur,[108] others find that "the life and movement of the Classical statues makes for more direct contact".[109]

This serves to underline the diverse interpretations of the development of Attic sculpture from which some Cypriot sculptors partly drew their inspiration, and also to emphasize that stylistic influence is only part of the picture: there are limitations to the Attic or Greek influence in Cypriot sculpture, concerning not only naturalism but also the effect of the sculpture on the viewer. Unlike the development in Attic and Greek sculpture, Cypriot statues of the early 5th century BC perpetuate the frontal pose and the frontal gaze, and in Cyprus athletic statues did not catch on, which is another important deviation from the Attic/Greek development to be addressed below.

The general lack of interest in sub-dermal features on Cypriot sculpture is even more noteworthy as the Greeks developed an interest in such features, and earlier on neighbouring Assyrian sculptors made an effort to emphasize muscles and sinews of both humans and animals in a powerful although schematic way.[110] Turning to the Achaemenids, on the other hand, it has been recognized that the physicality of the body only features on the Bisitun relief – a victory monument, which according to Feldman, adheres to a Near Eastern tradition going back to the stele of Naram-Sin.[111] Otherwise, the Persians, like the Cypriots, tended to pay little attention to bodily details, perhaps because the meaning of the Persian relief sculpture was symbolic and meant to convey permanence – as suggested by Ridgway –[112] and perhaps a deliberate continuation of a traditional formalism may also have been instrumental where Cypriot sculpture was concerned. This may be supported by a few exceptions which, although they point in different directions, indicate that local sculptors did occasionally elaborate on the physicality of the body. The over life-size statue from Pyla mentioned above (Fig. 7) is the most impressive and powerful example, as it rushes forward in a dynamic stride.[113] His narrow mantle directs the attention of the spectator to his naked body underneath it, rather than covering it up, aspiring to share what Neer calls the erotic perspective of the kouros.[114] A statue from Potamia identified as Apollo with a lyre is another noteworthy example. He, too, is apparently naked but for the mantle, which is also draped over the left shoulder and carried under the right arm. But it is draped very low, almost

104 Vermeule 1974, 288.
105 Stewart 1997, 70; Tanner 2001, 272. For a discussion of the date cf. Osborne 2006, 10.
106 Ridgway 1985, 6, 14.
107 Neer 2010, 4.
108 Elsner 2005, 76, 85.
109 Tanner 2001, 270.
110 Aker 2007, 230.
111 Feldman 2007, 281.
112 Ridgway 1985, 11.
113 Bernhard-Walcher et al. 1999, no. 76.
114 Neer 2010, 49.

below the hip. Again the mantle is not voluminous, but it is draped in a way that reveals the soft body structure and the genitals beneath it.[115] Again the drapery is part of the play.[116] Some of the Egyptianizing statues present another and quite different approach to the rendering of the body, which is provided with a somewhat floppy belly[117] that brings to mind Egyptian statues from the New Kingdom period, rather than the contemporary Egyptian/ Phoenician look. Although the slender waist may result from cutting away the stone between the arms and the body as suggested by Faegersten,[118] this does not account for the floppy belly.

The material

The materials used for statuary are also important elements of their visual expression and the messages embedded in them. The production of stone sculpture started more or less at the same time in Cyprus and the Greek world. The beginning of the Cretan series of limestone statues of the so-called Daidalic style is dated to the early 7th century BC.[119] The style is also represented by stone statuary outside Crete as for instance the Nikandra statue, which was erected to Artemis on Delos by the middle of the 7th century BC and represents the first statue made of marble, which became the famed material for Greek sculpture. The production of Cypriot limestone statues also began in the 7th century BC, but like their Near Eastern and Egyptian neighbours the Cypriots used local stone material. According to Counts "The lack of an indigenous source of marble and an *apparent* lack of desire or economic ability to import it resulted in the widespread use of local limestone for Cypriot sculpture".[120] As to the latter suggestion, it should be taken into consideration that during the Cypro-Archaic period Cyprus was hardly impoverished, and as just mentioned marble was available and exploited on the islands of Paros and Naxos, located not far away.[121] It rather seems that marble was not an issue in Cyprus at this point in time. Greek marble is praised for its radiance, its wonder and its whiteness,[122] while Cypriot limestone shares only the whitish colour and perhaps sometimes the shine.[123] The choice of local material may actually be one of the reasons why Cypriot sculpture has been considered inferior by modern spectators. However, such an attitude may not have prevailed during the late 7th and early part of the 6th century BC, as indicated by the series of limestone statuettes of Cypro-Ionian style found in the Levant, at Naucratis in Egypt and in Greek sanctuaries in particular on Rhodes, Samos, Cnidos and at Miletus.[124] Although the series raises a number of other interesting questions, the few comments here address only the material. Scientific analyses indicate that at least the examined statuettes from Samos and Lindos and Vroulia on Rhodes are most likely made of Cypriot limestone. However, the variety of limestone in Cyprus is a complicating factor, and it cannot be excluded that some of the other statuettes were made of limestone from sources outside of Cyprus.[125] Jenkins has pointed out that a group of similar statuettes found at Naucratis are made of Cypriot gypsum and not Egyptian alabaster, as previously believed.[126]According to him "The gypsum statuettes seem to have been a de luxe alternative to limestone, intended to simulate the white marble of the Greek sculptures they copy".[127] Both materials may also

115 Karageorghis 1979, fig. 4; 1998, no. 72.
116 The concentration of the elaborate folds along the left side together with the block-like right side and the strange position of the abdomen seen from the front indicate that the statue was not made to be seen from a strictly frontal viewpoint. The statue seems to be restored, but it is difficult to pinpoint the extent of the restoration.
117 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 176; Faegersten 2003, nos 30, 44.
118 Faegersten 2003, 84.
119 Stewart 1990, 107.
120 Counts 2001, 153.
121 Stewart 1990, 38.
122 Stewart 1990, 36; Neer 2010, 73.
123 For the different hues cf. Kourou et al. 2002, 2.
124 Kourou et al. 2002.
125 Kourou et al. 2002, 3, 75.
126 Jenkins 2001, 167.
127 Jenkins 2001, 177.

have a shiny quality like marble and thus support Jenkin's suggestion. Still, they too carry painted decoration. The use of colour was commented on above in connection with the dress types, and in Cyprus colouring continued as an important element used to enhance dress and ornamental details during the 5th century BC, as documented by one of the Hathor capitals and sarcophagi found at Amathus and Kouklia-Palaipaphos.[128] Furthermore, painted sculpture was not confined to Greece and Cyprus. In other neighbouring societies such as Egypt and the Assyrian and Achaemenid empires, paint was used for instance on architectural reliefs made of yet other sorts of stone material, which is likewise being analyzed and debated.[129] Considering the geographical location of Cyprus, these areas are likewise important when it comes to understanding the use of colours on Cypriot sculpture.

Discussions of materials should also include other materials such as metals, wood and ivory. Here it may be useful to draw attention to Neer's discussion of "shining stone", i.e. marble.[130] According to Neer, marble not considered shiny enough could be improved with bright tin or silver foil, as in the case of the "Ballplayer Base", a statue base from Kerameikos in Athens named after its relief decoration showing ball players and athletes. But this statement would seem to contradict Neer's praise of the radiance of marble itself and could even speak in favour of a preference for play with colours produced by combining different materials. The application of foil may also reflect influence from bronze statuary, where metals were similarly used in colourful combinations and in combination with other materials.[131] Taking the Cypriot natural resources of copper into consideration, it is hard to believe that bronze – another shiny material, with which the verb *marmairo* (to glitter or shine) was often associated –[132] was apparently not used for statues during the Archaic period; if it was, it is usually assumed that such statues have disappeared because they were vulnerable and prone to re-melting. The 7th-century BC sphyrelata from Krete and Olympia, the latter produced from a combination of Greek and re-used Near Eastern relief plaques, document that bronze was indeed used for larger statuary in the Mediterranean during the Archaic period,[133] and not just for small figures, which are also known from Cyprus.[134] As it stands, the so-called Chatsworth head found at Tamassos (which belongs together with a leg in the Louvre) is the earliest evidence of local large-scale cast bronze statuary.[135] However, it is dated to the second quarter of the 5th century BC, and it is noteworthy that, pace a single kouros from Marion, the earliest and similarly scarce evidence of marble statuary appeared at the same time or later.[136]

We know that wood and ivory was used for Greek sculpture – wood for xoana – and the remains of the two 6th-century BC statues found at Delphi testify to a combination of ivory and other precious materials such as gilded bronze sheets, gold foil and silver and bronze nails, and in the latter case Stewart rightly emphasizes their colourful effect.[137] Here it should be mentioned that paint along with gold, was applied on Achaemenid sculpture as a colouring device.[138] The ivory and some of the woods used in Greece derive from the Levant, and one would expect that the nearby island of Cyprus, itself densely forested at the time, would have used the same materials for sculpture, although not a shred of evidence is available. The possibility has therefore largely been ignored, but in her meticulous study of the Cypriot Egyptianizing statues Faegersten argues for Phoenician models made of wood, which were either brightly painted or embellished with ivory and coloured glass inlays.[139] Considering the local characteristic rendering of the bodies and faces of the

128 Hermary 1985, fig. 7; Hendrix 2001, pl. 1; Flourentzos 2007, figs 13-7.
129 Nagel 2013, 1-19.
130 Neer 2010, 75.
131 Wünsche 2007, 153; Brinkmann 2014, 97.
132 Neer 2010, 76.
133 Borell & Rittig 1998, 206.
134 Hermary 2001, 145-64.
135 Bouquillon et al. 2006, 234, 252.
136 Senff 1993, 48; Ridgeway 1970, 58, figs 84-7; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, fig. 170; Fontan 2007, 149.
137 Stewart 1990, 37.
138 Nagel 2013, 7.
139 Faegersten 2003, 225-43.

Cypriot statues, Faegersten specifically comments that what was being imitated was the "new and foreign, colourful pleasing attire", thus underscoring the importance of the play with colours.[140] The relief decoration of the Egyptianizing kilts brings to mind ivory carvings, and the indented borders of some of them certainly indicate that inlays were inserted or that the stone sculpture imitated products made of other materials,[141] and perhaps refer to beads applied to real kilts.[142] Other details of the stone sculpture reveal influence from techniques more at home in other materials. For instance, the incised decoration on the T-shirt of one of the statues dressed in "Cypriot pants" (Fig. 9) and the drapery of some of the tunics and mantles seem to be more at home in works of clay or bronze.[143] Like the mantle edge of some of the stone statues mentioned above (Figs. 1-2), the stippled moustache and feathered eyebrows of some stone sculpture reveal influence from work in clay,[144] thus supporting the more general comment by Hermary that stone sculpture essentially developed from terracotta sculpture.[145] It should also be mentioned that the lower part of terracotta figurines with wheel-made bodies look very much like the high feet on stemmed bowls,[146] while the loose locks of hair and beard on some of the later statues rather reveal influence from metalwork.[147] It thus seems that sometimes techniques more at home in other media were borrowed to achieve certain effects in stone statuary, and the question arises of how closely the craftsmen working in different media actually collaborated.[148]

According to Jenkins the use of marble was one of the self-defining characteristics of Greek sculpture,[149] and perhaps similar Cypriot connotations were embedded in the local limestone. The persistent use of limestone and clay for votary statues should perhaps be seen from a religious and/or local perspective. From the onset the statues were primarily produced to perform as dedications in sanctuaries, and the use of these materials, once established for this specific purpose, was by and large perpetuated until the Roman period. Marble was indeed used before, but as demonstrated by Fejfer,[150] it was systematically employed in architectural settings in Cyprus during the Roman period in order to accommodate the Roman imperial style, while bronze and limestone continued to be used for self-representations in traditional settings such as sanctuaries.

Size

Both Greeks and Cypriots produced statuary of different sizes. A 7th-century terracotta statue from Salamis originally more than 4.60 m tall and a helmeted head of limestone, more than 0.8 m tall and dated to around 600 BC,[151] demonstrate the large sizes of some of the earlier statues, and although the size seems to diminish with time statues taller than life-size, as for instance the "Priest with dove" (Fig. 7), were still being produced by the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. The large size would have been rather spectacular and overwhelming in the setting of the Cypriot sanctuaries, which were themselves hardly impressive architectural structures and utterly different from the large stone temples in Greece and the monumentality of Egyptian versions, as pointed out by Senff.[152] In Greek sanctuary settings the colossal kouroi would likewise have made an overwhelming impression, and in the case of the Samian Heraion these "monsters", to use Stewart's expression, may even have been one of

140 Faegersten 2003, 242.
141 Faegersten 2003, no. 6.
142 Faegersten 2003, nos 15, 20-2.
143 Karageorghis et al. 2000, nos 169, 336.
144 Markoe 1987, pls 40, 41, 3-4; Faegersten 2003, nos 21, 24.
145 Hermary 1991, 146.
146 For instance Karageorghis et al. 2000, nos 228, 233.
147 Hermary 1989, no. 78; Karageorghis et al. 2003, no. 336; Hermary 2005, 103.
148 Cf. Karageorghis 1993, 5.
149 Spivey 1996, 64.
150 Fejfer 2013, 192.
151 Hermary 1991, 143; Karageorghis et al 2000, no. 171.
152 Senff 1993, 6.

the reasons why the construction of the Rhoikos temple was begun.[153] The votives were first and foremost offerings to the gods, and large and even colossal sizes may of course express a wish to present the deity with the best one could afford, but simultaneously they also conveyed messages concerning economic and social power.[154] As stated by Miller, "power is, among other things, a property of materiality",[155] and investigations of Achaemenid art, for instance, have shown that hierarchical proportions were used as a means to convey information on social stratification.[156] Following this line of thought one would expect the large statues also to be the most ornate, but the group of the Egyptianizing statues for instance contradicts this assumption. They, too, appear in different sizes from statuettes to colossal dimensions. While three of the six pieces with ornate kilt aprons decorated with a frontal head are indeed tall, the other three are less than one metre tall,[157] and small and large statues of this particular type appeared together in the sanctuaries at Idalion and Golgoi.

Interpretations

The Egyptianizing outfit looks rather impractical and could hardly have been used in a daily context; one wonders what materials it was made of in real life. It is and was flashy and eye-catching, and was probably reserved for particular segments of the Cypriot kingdom societies, who clearly wished to display themselves in an ostentatious way. The decorative elements suggest that it was used within a religious sphere, and at the same time the variety of details and the inconsistent use of the crown and broad collar indicate that a donator and his sculptor were free to choose the exact details, which probably held specific meanings. This outfit, or parts of it, is worn by bearded as well as unbearded males, and so it seems to have little to do with a specific age group or age-related rituals. The statues have been interpreted as images of the local aristocracy, kings and princes, perhaps also presiding as priests.[158] Having traced the inter-dependency between Cyprus and Phoenicia concerning this type of statue as well as other media, Faegersten suggested that "this particular figure type was connected to a Phoenician royal and/or divine sphere, where a (foreign) royal reference was one preferred means for attracting the attention of the divine powers".[159] A sacral aspect seems to be supported by a colossal statue of the so-called Cypriot Herakles, also named Master of the Lion by Counts, dressed in a kilt-like skirt combined with a T-shirt.[160] The Egyptianizing garment was probably worn by priests, royal or not, but this does not exclude that a wider range of officials attached to the sanctuaries were entitled to wear it. This would account for the falcon-headed scribe and the figures with weapons and carrying animals mentioned above, as well as the different sizes of the statues.

Statues dressed in "Cypriot pants" are usually interpreted as princes or members of the royal families. Senff emphasizes the display of luxury items such as the jewellery.[161] According to Hermary, diadems with rosettes were reserved for kings, princes and princesses in the Near East and the Cypriot statues may represent princes in divine service,[162] while Counts is open to this dual interpretation without necessarily referring to the Near East.[163] Hurschmann agrees with Senff that the outfit would be practical and easy to move in, and he suggests that the statues represent ceremonial assistants participating in an-

153 Stewart 1990, 117.

154 Sørensen 1994, 88.

155 Miller 2005, 20.

156 Azarpay 1994, 178.

157 Faegersten 2003, nos 15, 30, 50.

158 Maier 1989, 377; Hermary 1989, 49; Senff 1993, 71.

159 Faegersten 2003, 205, 265.

160 Karagorghis et al. 2000, no. 190; Counts 2008, 10. Here the broad belt securing the kilt is repeated, as is the beaded edge of the kilt covering the left thigh, thus repeating a dress detail seen on other kilt statues. However, the two ends do not meet in the middle, where the vertical devanteau or apron is missing. The left hem of the kilt is provided with a Greek drapery system ending in zigzag folds, and the line of beads marking the right border of the kilt has been incorporated as the central decoration of this system. It should also be noticed that his beard is of the old-fashioned type with vertical tresses.

161 Senff 1993, 71.

162 Hermary 1989, 44.

163 Counts 2001, 158. It should be noticed, though, that the simple rosettes decorate the garments of kings as well as officials on Neo-Assyrian reliefs, cf. Guralnick 2004, 231.

imal sacrifices or representatives of family clans or other social groups.[164] The small terracotta group of two youths with rosette-decorated pants and diadems flanking a large bull – perhaps being led off to be sacrificed – may support a religious interpretation.[165] However, this does not exclude an athletic aspect, and it is interesting that similar pants are used by Mongolian wrestlers competing at the Naadam festival, which has its roots in ritual sacrificial ceremonies.[166] In Mongolia wrestling is one of the three games of men, which are instrumental in restructuring traditions, values and identities, and in Cyprus the similar outfit may have embodied comparable notions and were perhaps connected with rites of passage. Compared with the extant corpus of sculpture dressed in tunic and mantle, statues and statuettes wearing "Cypriot pants" and Egyptianizing kilts are comparatively few and hardly appear in terracotta, which may also indicate that these garments were reserved for specific occasions and members of the Cypriot societies.

The tunic-–mantle and later chiton–himation combination may be considered an international garment combination of the time. In Cyprus details of these garments show influence first from the Near East, then Ionia and Attica; but as mentioned above, old traits continued and blended with new ones in an inconsistent way. This type of sculpture seems to represent older as well as younger men of different social groups, primarily based upon their size and elaboration.[167] Fringes and borders of mantles were inspired by the Near East where personalized borders and fringes could be used by the Assyrians to seal legal records,[168] and in Cyprus they may likewise have served to distinguish certain members of the societies. During the 6th century the Cypriots adopted the Greek-inspired himation with folds, which indicates that the volume of the garment became an issue. References were made above to the so-called Anakreontic revellers on Attic vase paintings produced around 500 BC. On these sympotic vessels revellers, including Anakreon whose name is written on three of the vases, are shown in lavish chitons and himatia which they adopted among other things from their Lydian aristocratic peers in order to differentiate themselves from their contemporaries.[169] Based upon literary sources, Kurke has provided a list of the elements that made up this luxurious lifestyle called habros, which includes long, flowing garments of expensive material, hair worn long and elaborately coiffured, gold ornaments, perfumes and scented oils. Kurke also pointed out that while the term carried positive connotations in the 6th century BC it took a negative turn in Greece during the 5th century, probably because of the Persian wars and the turn to democracy in Athens.[170] The adoption of the Greek-inspired chiton and himation in Cyprus may be seen as an expression of Grecophilia and/or a political manifestation against the Persians, or simply as a social manifestation of members of the upper classes leading a luxurious lifestyle like Greek and other Mediterranean aristocrats. Some of the statues dressed in chiton and himation have also been interpreted as kings or priests or both.[171] In this respect one particular group has received attention: according to Senff, statues from Idalion with a tasselled beard and a wreath around the head (Fig. 6) represent members of the local royal dynasty prior to its annexation by Phoenician Kition, and should be seen as "verstärkter Anschluss" to Greek culture.[172] Hermary, on the other hand, dating the annexation of Idalion to 470-460 BC and the statues in question to about the middle of the 5th century BC, interpreted them as images of royal members of the new Kitian dynasty of Idalion.[173] Although it is highly likely that kings and members of the royal family acted as priests during the Cypro-Archaic period it is difficult to prove.[174] The epigraphic evidence dates

164 Senff 1993, 46, note 369; Hurschmann 2003, 205.
165 Karageorghis 1995, pl. 52, 1.
166 Rhode 2009, 28, 99.
167 Senff 1993, 71; Sørensen 1994, 88.
168 Dalley 1991, 125.
169 Neer 2002, 19 with further references.
170 Kurke 1992, 97-8, 102.
171 Senff 1993, 71.
172 Senff 1993, 73.
173 Hermary 2005, 112.
174 Cf. Hermary 2014, 143 for a summary.

to the late 4th century BC and later, and the archaeological evidence concerning the Archaic period is inconclusive.[175]

Discussing royalty and sculpture, three sarcophagi dated to the first part of the 5th century BC should be taken into consideration not least because it has been suggested that these painted and relief-decorated sarcophagi became the new medium for manifestations of power and royalty, thus taking over the former role of statuary.[176] On the so-called Amathus sarcophagus procession scenes are seen on the long sides and figures of Astarte and Bes decorate the short sides.[177] The long sides of the slightly later sarcophagus from Golgoi are decorated with symposium and hunting scenes, while the myth of Perseus and Medusa and two persons standing in a horse-drawn chariot decorate the short sides.[178] The sarcophagus from Kouklia (Palaepaphos) carries figural scenes which may relate to Greek mythology, such as Ajax carrying the body of Achilleus, and Odysseus and his men escaping from the Cyclops Polyphemos.[179] All three sarcophagi show a mixture of details which point to Greek, Ionian, Phoenician and Persian spheres, and the sarcophagi from Golgoi and Palaepaphos relate to the so-called Greco-Persian tomb reliefs from Ionia, Lycia and Western Anatolia, areas likewise subjugated by the Achaemenid empire.[180] To Draycott, "the materials present Western Anatolian emulation of Persian nobles",[181] and she asks whether it is possible to detect variations among the areas in question,[182] topics that are likewise relevant in the case of Cyprus. It has been suggested that the sarcophagus from Amathus, which is decorated with traditional Cypriot elements based on Near Eastern iconography, was made for a local king and reflects the city's refusal to join the Ionian uprising against the Persians in 499 BC, while the sarcophagus from Golgoi may have belonged to a dignitary probably from the kingdom of Idalion.[183] The rendering of Greek myths on this sarcophagus links it with the sarcophagus from Palaepaphos; it has been suggested that the foremost intention with the scenes was to re-affirm Greek culture, and that the scene from Troy on the Palaepaphos sarcophagus referring to Teucros, son of Telamon and founder of Salamis in Cyprus, served to underline the Greek roots of the island as such.[184] Whether or not the decoration of the sarcophagi was intended to convey political statements, images of Greek gods appeared on the island at the same time and statues dressed in the "Cypriot pants" and Egyptianizing kilts were given up, suggesting changes within the religious practice. If these garments were first and foremost associated with performances of religious rites connected to the local deities, they were perhaps considered old-fashioned or incompatible with new developments and were accordingly given up. However, if the statues, and in particular those wearing Egyptian kilts, were associated with royalty it is noteworthy that they were given up while the Cypriot kingdoms prevailed. Furthermore, it does not necessarily follow that their disappearance from the sculptural realm implies that statuary ceased to be a prominent ground for manifestation of power during the 5th century BC, as proposed by Satraki.[185] The role of statues as status markers seems rather to have continued, as suggested by the statues wearing himatia and wreaths mentioned above. The continued dedication of statues in the sanctuaries demonstrates that statuary did, indeed, remain a significant social and cultural marker. In fact, the sanctuaries probably functioned as important places, which helped keep the societies together by means of ritualized behaviour. As stated by Bollmer, "Ritual is the embodied performance of history as memory. And for memory to persist in time the ritual must be maintained".[186]

175 Hermary 2014, 143.
176 Satraki 2013, 133, 137.
177 Tatton-Brown 1981, 74; Hermary & Mertens 2014, cat. 490 with further references.
178 Karageorghis et al. 2000, no. 331.
179 Raptou 2007, 316.
180 Tatton-Brown 1981, 81; Tatton-brown 1984, 169; Petit 2004, 51.
181 Draycott 2010, 1.
182 Draycott 2010, 2. Cf. also Baughan 2010, 32.
183 Hermary 2014, 361, 370.
184 Raptou 2007, 326.
185 Satraki 2013, 133.
186 Bollmer 2011, 459.

Fig. 12. *The sculpture arranged around the altar in the sanctuary at A. Irini, from the North.*

Context

The context of statues plays a vital role, and as the Cypriot stone sculptures primarily functioned as dedications to a god or gods and objects to be viewed in the sanctuaries, they belong to a category that Snodgrass has termed converted offerings, meaning offerings which have no possible use outside of a "votive" context,[187] and Whitley adds that the votives are new objects whose social lives, as dedications and custodians of social memory, are just beginning. The majority is believed to represent adorants alias donators, who were thus immortalized and meant to be exhibited forever in the sanctuaries. The sanctuary at A. Irini on the northwest coast of Cyprus was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus expedition, and the terracottas dedicated here present an interesting phenomenon.[188] Although serious questions have been raised concerning the stratigraphy and the date of Gjerstad's Proto-Cypriot and Neo-Cypriot stylistic groups the location of the majority of statuary remains unchallenged.[189] It was found in an open-air temenos, arranged in concentric semicircles around an altar, almost conveying the impression of participants focusing on the altar, as suggested by Senff (Fig. 12).[190] It might even be suggested that the figures were arranged in a theatre-like setting where the smaller figures close to the altar and the large ones at the back ensured that they were all able to follow and even partake in what was being performed at the altar. Furthermore, they seem to be turned approximately towards the entrance of the temenos, which in period 5 and perhaps also the preceding period, 4, was located in the north eastern corner of the temenos. Upon entering, visitors would have been faced with this scenario of closely grouped imagery dedicated by their ancestors and possibly themselves, and thus live adorants and images of previous votaries interacted with the altar as the focal point.

The Apollo sanctuary at Idalion[191] serves as another example (Fig. 13). The statues were erected within an architectural setting apparently belonging to different phases, which the excavators recorded together with the location of the statue bases. Although it cannot be proved, Senff sug-

187 Quoted Whitley 2003/04, 190.

188 Gjerstad 1935, 808, figs 263; 277-9.

189 Stylianou 2003, 47; Fourrier 2007, 104.

190 Senff 1993, 14.

191 According to Gaber 1994, 162; 2008, 59; Gaber & Dever 1996, 105, the exact location of the sanctuary was not recorded on a map by the excavator and based upon her investigations she has proposed another area than that indicated by Ohnefalsch-Richter in his work, Kypros, die Bibel und Homer, Berlin 1893 pl. 2. Instead of a temple a temenos with utilitarian buildings is proposed.

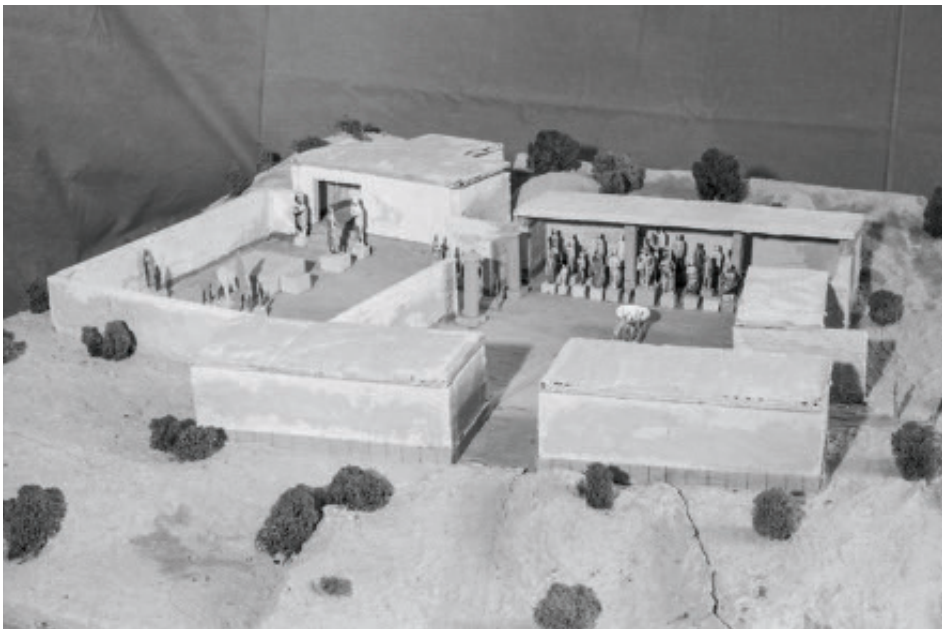

Fig. 13. *Model of the Apollon sanctuary at Idalion (Senff 1993).*

gests that the different statue types were placed in groups according to their attire, based on the notes left by the excavator Hamilton Lang.[192] The statues dedicated in the earlier eastern part of the sanctuary probably also focused on an altar, while the statues in the late Archaic western section of the sanctuary were aligned in rows both under shelter and in the large courtyard, apparently without an altar as a focal point, but facing the procession entering the court from the west as past spectators, or "Vertreter der Festteilnehmer" to use Senff's expression.[193] However, supposing Lang's information is reliable, a slightly different scenario may be proposed. If the two stone basins on an axis running north–south in the centre of the courtyard were focal points in some kind of ceremony, participants could have entered through both entrances and lined up along the three sides of the basins, while the rows of statues would have formed the southern part of the audience and participated along with the living adorants in a way more similar to the situation at A. Irini. The interplay between statues and adorants is repeated at the palace at Vouni, where statues placed in the temenos before the entrance to the cult room flanked the approaching visitors.[194] The bases recorded on the plan of the sanctuary at Achna indicate that here statues were raised partly in line and partly in small clusters,[195] and according to Cesnola's perhaps not reliable observations of the sanctuary at Golgoi-A. Photios, the statues were arranged in lines along the walls and in the centre of the sanctuary,[196] recalling the situation at Idalion. On the other hand the statuary in the Apollo sanctuary at Tamassos was apparently placed in a separate temenos, which gives the impression of being a storage area.[197]

Although votives were removed periodically as witnessed by depositions in bothroi, the find circumstances at A. Irini and Idalion for example suggest that this did not happen on a regular basis, since both older and more recent statues were found together by the excavators. The statues, which were dedicated at different times within the sanctuaries, presented different pasts in a continuously forward-moving present, and so they were instrumental for upholding links with the past and for marking out a

192 Senff 1993, 17; Senff 2005, 103.
193 Senff 1993, 13-4.
194 Senff 1993, 14.
195 Gjerstad 1948, fig. 1.3.
196 Hermary & Mertens 2014, 14.
197 Gjerstad 1948, 9, fig. 1.4; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, 47, fig. 66.

sanctuary as a place of memory. The importance of the past in the present is indeed underlined by the fact that some Cypriot sanctuaries of the Iron Age like A. Irini, Maroni and Enkomi were located at places with earlier Late Bronze Age activities.[198]

The statues were probably also invigorating a sense of community in the Cypriot societies – which was especially important because neither the 6th nor the following centuries were peaceful times on the island. We do not know whether the statues in question were personal or collective dedications, but according to Guggenheim "objects outside the remembering persons or collectives may act as catalysts for the production and interpersonal adjustment of memory".[199] Furthermore, as stated by Bollmer, "For a collective to exist over any extended period of time, memory has to be performed repeatedly, as rituals" and "it is in embodied action that the collective is united, in spite of the plurality of individual affects, beliefs and interpretations of history and policy".[200] This was not a local Cypriot phenomenon, as witnessed for instance by the situation in the sanctuary at Olympia in Greece. According to Hölscher, interaction between various types of free-standing statues and the visitors to this sanctuary was played out from the 6th century BC onwards, and the statues acted not only as votive monuments but also as spectators to successive celebrations.[201] Still, our comparatively slight knowledge of the physical appearance of the Cypriot sanctuaries makes it difficult to imagine the impression the structures together with the votives, and the statuary in particular, made on the visitors. The experience would also have been influenced by what time of the year they were there, and whether the visit took place during broad daylight or by torch-light. Although it is problematic to ascertain in this case, the effect of light and lightning on sensual perception is an important issue, which should be addressed along with materials, colours and sizes employed, as demonstrated by a number of other studies.[202]

Many of the Cypriot sanctuaries were located outside the city centres, and, largely based upon studies of Cypriot terracottas and pottery, Fourrier has suggested that the location of extra-urban sanctuaries defined spheres of influence and were used as a means to legitimize the claim of a territory by an urban centre.[203] According to Fourrier the use of the names Golgia and Paphia for the "Great Goddess" of the island written on dedications found in sanctuaries located in the Mesaoria reflects political negotiations between certain kings,[204] and Golgia and images of the "Cypriot Heracles", alias "the Master of the Lion", may have been promoted in order to unify Mesaoria as a homogeneous cultural region.[205] If this is correct, it demonstrates that sanctuaries were involved in political tensions of the area during the 5th century BC, and it is quite likely that they played a similar role during the previous centuries. Sanctuaries provided permanent loci for meetings of many kinds of people, and the traditional settings as well as the votives and in particular the statues were probably important signifiers not only in respect to religion but also in political and cultural negotiations. Although new elements such as sarcophagi were introduced as markers of social superiority, statues dedicated in sanctuaries did indeed remain important for the duration of the Cypriot kingdoms and beyond.

Conclusions

The analysis above suggests that although Count's remark about Cypriot statues being true to type seems convincing, we cannot be absolutely sure that heads with certain headdresses belong to specific statue types. Furthermore, the variety concerning details indicates that statue-making was not governed by strict formulae and that the Cypriots appreciated the ability to provide their dedications with an individual touch. Some details may also have been used to convey specific messages unreadable to us today. The details and the combination of various

198 Fourrier 2007, 122.
199 Guggenheim 2009, 41.
200 Bollmer 2011, 458.
201 Hölscher 2002, 338.
202 Bille & Sørensen 2007.
203 Fourrier 2013, 107.
204 Fourrier 2013, 110.
205 Fourrier 2013, 113.

elements are actually quite impressive, in particular in the case of the statues wearing the Egyptianizing kilt, but also where statues dressed in a tunic and mantle/chiton and himation are concerned. Even the Cypriot pants are rendered in a number of different ways, although they are basically a simple dress item. Traces of paint furthermore indicate that the statues were once more colourful and painted details were probably also used to enhance the individual look of a statue. Hathor capitals and sarcophagi demonstrate how brightly coloured relief sculpture in stone could be, and the local terracottas underline the importance of paint as a communicative device. Comparative studies not only of Cypriot stone and terracotta sculpture but also of Greek, Near Eastern and Egyptian sculpture may provide us with a better understanding of how the use and perception of colour in Cyprus relates to the practices in neighbouring, usually considered dominant cultures. Analyses of how the details were made, for instance carved in relief, incised or painted, may also provide a better insight into the interrelation between craftsmen working in different media. The continuation of the foursquare build of the Cypriot statues and the general lack of interest in physical details sets Cypriot sculpture apart from the development in Greece during the late 6th to 5th centuries BC. Perhaps Cypriot sculpture along with Persian sculpture was meant to convey permanence, and seen through political lenses, it could be argued that if the disappearance of the kouros and kore statues is linked to the abolition of well-known aristocratic emblems in the Greek area, a similar impetus for change was not present in Cyprus, where the kingdom-based societies prevailed. Additional comparative analyses of sculptural expressions in Cyprus and the various societies in western Anatolia as well as the Levant likewise subjected to Persia offer possibilities of providing a deeper insight into how areas, each with their different backgrounds, reacted to Persian political domination. Such studies would also put the reception of 'Perseria' in Athens into perspective.[206]

The persistent use of the local limestone for all types and sizes of local statues and statuettes is also noteworthy. Apparently the assimilation of Greek stylistic traits in Cypriot sculpture was not accompanied by the use of Greek marble, and according to the present evidence the Cypriots did not acquire Archaic Greek marble statues in great numbers. It seems that like the Persians the Cypriots preferred local stone material, perhaps because it was part of their identity- building and maintenance. The size of the Cypriot statues is another interesting aspect, which deserves further deliberation. As mentioned above the wide range of sizes in particular of statues wearing an Egyptianizing outfit makes it difficult to interpret them all as images of kings and princes. If so, materiality was of little consequence to Cypriot royalty, which is hard to believe considering that we are dealing with hierarchic societies in which the elite was presumably keen on outshining subordinate classes. The ornamentation of the kilts carries religious connotations and suggests that these garments were used first and foremost by persons functioning as priests and as sanctuary dignitaries, however not necessarily to the exclusion of royalty. Otherwise we might have to argue that the inconspicuous statuettes were dedicated by humble citizens trying to please their sovereign, and thus open up a discussion of the relation between donator and dedicated statue.

Concerning size, the naked kouros figure represents another interesting phenomenon in Cyprus. A single marble kouros was found in a tomb at Marion,[207] but only a few small local statuettes are known,[208] indicating an indifference to this particular type of statue. One may therefore wonder what prompted the making and dedication of what could be called the colossal semi-kouros from Pyla (Fig. 7). On the one hand the sculptor of this statue clearly paid attention to bodily details like those seen on Greek kouroi, and on the other hand it could be argued that the statue with its large beard, mantle and wreath not only stands apart from the Greek kouroi but actually ignores the concept of the kouros statue.

From what we know Cypriot stone statues were produced to be dedicated in the local sanctuaries where they functioned not only as gifts to the gods but also as links to the past, and they may even have been perceived as representatives of past generations participating in ongoing ceremonies at the sanctuaries. As such, they sustained the role of the sanctuaries as places of memory throughout

206 Miller 1997.

207 Richter 1970, no. 179, figs 527-9.

208 Senff 1993, 48.

the duration of the Cypriot kingdoms and later. Apparently Cypriot free-standing male and female statues were not used for other purposes, for instance grave markers, as were the Greek kouros and kore statues in some Aegean areas.[209] This single function seems to underline a very close connection between statues and sanctuaries in Cyprus, and it raises the question of whether the statues were by themselves somehow perceived as belonging to the divine realm.[210] Whether this is accepted or not, the dedication of different Cypro-Archaic statue types suggests that it was important that different functions and/or events meaningful to the local societies were put on display and commemorated. As stated by Entwistle, "human bodies are dressed bodies", "dress is a basic fact of social life", and "conventions of dress attempt to transform flesh into something recognizable and meaningful to a culture".[211]

209 Meyer and Brüggemann 2007, maps 4-5.

210 Unfortunately none of the 6th-century BC Cypriot grave stelai crowned with lions or sphinxes are preserved well enough to ascertain whether their shafts carried an image of the deceased like Attic grave stelai; cf. Tatton-Brown 1986, 439; Hermary 1985, 668, 676, 681; Pogiatzi 2007, 4-8, 30.

211 Entwistle 2000, 6, 8.

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Sources for figures and credits

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Fig. 5. The Collection of George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides. Photo: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collection.

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Fig. 7. Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. ANSA I 341. Purchased 1872 from Georg V. Millosicz. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband.

Fig. 8. I am grateful to Kristina Winther-Jacobsen for providing me with this photo.

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Fig. 12. Excavation photo published in Gjerstad 1935, fig. 278. I am grateful to The Medelhavs Museet, Stockholm, for providing me with a copy.

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