OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF POTS

Towards an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of Cypriot Bronze Age funerary artefacts including examples in the University of Canterbury's Logie Collection

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics in the University of Canterbury

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ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes that objects from funerary contexts in Early Bronze Age Cyprus were expressions of belief in a continuation of some form of life for the deceased. In reference to this, the author argues that these funerary deposits were intended for the use of the deceased who were reborn into the Underworld; with some objects actually playing a symbolic role in the process of rebirth.

So-called 'Plank Figure' images were probably representations of a deity associated with re-birth (in this thesis identified as the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar); whilst the pottery bowls, jugs, and elaborately decorated vessels may have also been linked with the idea of re-birth by performing the function of surrogate agents in which 'gestation' occurred. In support of this hypothesis, the form and decoration of the Red Polished funerary ware of the Early Cypriot Bronze Age is discussed in relation to its associations with motifs generally accepted as pertaining to fertility. As this pottery comes from a pre-literate period in the history of Cyprus, Near Eastern literature and artifacts are used to provide evidence of contemporary practice outside Cyprus as this may have impacted on Cypriot culture.

A chapter dedicated to archaeological comparanda from the Near East, Anatolia, and Cyprus, provides evidence to suggest that Cyprus was in contact with Near Eastern religious ideas that probably influenced Early Bronze Age Cypriot society.

The notion that Bronze Age beliefs survived into literate periods is pursued, with the Greek goddess Aphrodite providing the link between the Near East (in her guise as Inanna-Ishtar), Cyprus (as Phoenician Astarte), and Greece. Art, archaeology, and 'survivals' of an earlier age into a literate society are brought together in an attempt to reconstruct the Cypriots' intentions concerning the deposition of funerary goods during the Early Bronze Age.
The University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection provides some of the evidence, and a catalogue of the Cypriot Bronze Age tomb-groups held in the collection is included.
INTRODUCTION

Explaining the title

The choice of the primary title for this thesis was not an arbitrary one and requires some explanation as it operates on a number of levels of meaning:

‘Out of the Mouths of Pots’ is a pun on the aphorism1: ‘Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou has perfected praise’ (Mathew XXI:16; Psalm VIII:2) and is used in the context of my thesis to highlight the fact that highly relevant information concerning the expression of human beliefs may come from seemingly unsophisticated and non-literate sources.

The pots ‘speak’ a symbolic ‘language’ through their ornamentation and context.

Pots have been anthropomorphised by the language that describes them: they have mouths, lips, necks, shoulders, and bellies. Nor is this a trick of the English language as Classical Greek equates pot-handles with ears.

In this thesis pots are interpreted as having a role normally associated with women and as having become surrogate wombs from which the deceased are supposed to be reborn into an afterlife; as they are pots, the only available orifice through which to effect this re-birth is the mouth.

In the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, the ceremony of the ‘opening of the mouth’ was the first step in the soul’s journey which culminated in its re-birth in the Underworld. In this thesis it is argued that the re-born deceased begin their journey to the Underworld from the mouths of the Cypriot pots.

1 Mathew implies that this saying was already in common usage prior to its appearance in his text (XXI:16).
Reference to the University of Canterbury's Logie Collection

James Stewart, excavator of the Cypriot Bronze Age tomb-groups in the University of Canterbury's Logie Collection, felt that in the pursuit of knowledge it was necessary to publish as much as possible of the material held in museums and collections:

There must be upwards of 15,000 Cypriot vases of the Early Bronze Age in the hands of museums and private collectors. I have seen probably less than 5,000 of these, and until such times as museums will recognise their primary responsibility to publish their collections a complete Corpus is an impossibility.

Therefore as many examples as possible from the Logie Collection are referred to in this thesis, and a catalogue of the collection's Cypriot Bronze Age artefacts is included.

Acknowledgements

I began my thesis under the supervision of Professor Alan Shapiro, who was at that time the Professor of Classics at the University of Canterbury. Without his kind guidance I would not have been able to indulge my passion for Bronze Age art and archaeology by writing this thesis. I wish to convey my deepest appreciation for his encouragement and assistance in getting me launched on my search for the meanings which I felt sure underlay so many of the artefacts of Bronze Age Cyprus.

When Professor Shapiro left to take up a position at Johns Hopkins University, his co-supervisor Dr. Victor Parker took up the responsibility for seeing me safely through the preparation of my thesis. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks for his knowledge of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern Bronze Ages which he unstintingly


\[3\] J.R.Stewart Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part I. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol.III.1, Göteborg, 1988, p.5
shared with me and I am also grateful for his guidance in reference to the language of Near Eastern myths whether Sumerian, Akkadian, or Hittite. Dr. Parker’s astute and careful reading of my manuscript was particularly welcome and much appreciated. I was helped, in my research and in practical matters, by numerous people whom I wish to thank for their generosity. Among these magnanimous folk are Dr. Kathryn Eriksson of the Archaeology Research Unit at Deakin University who provided information, plans, and drawings of the Karmi-Lapatsa and Karmi-Palealona excavations prior to their publication. My thanks go also to Professor J.B. Hennessy who kindly gave his permission for me to construct my thesis around the artefacts, now in the University of Canterbury’s James Logie Memorial Collection, which were excavated by James Stewart and are in the process of publication by Professor Hennessy in collaboration with Dr. Eriksson and other scholars. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Jennifer Webb who made her knowledge of Bronze Age Cypriot funerary and settlement contexts available to me when I asked for her guidance. Finally, I would like to thank John Anderson for his support and for being prepared to share his knowledge of the complexities of the computer, as I had to ask often for his help in manipulating this wonderful, and at times frustrating, piece of technology. John also contributed hours of his time to proof-reading my manuscript. This thesis will serve a dual purpose: to publicise the Bronze Age Cypriot holdings in the University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection; and to deduce some sense of the reasoning that a pre-literate society might have had in depositing grave-goods such as these with their dead. By attempting to make such deductions, the seemingly mute objects in the collection, and their ilk in collections all around the world, are given the opportunity to ‘speak’.
Much of the present scholarship regarding prehistoric Cyprus is speculative. Scholars have argued for and against various cultural influences, chronologies, and the reasons why Cypriots of the Early Bronze Age placed objects in the graves of their deceased.

This thesis will propose that because of contact with Near Eastern and Anatolian influences, aspects of the religious beliefs of these locations infiltrated Cypriot society. One example of this dispersal of ideas was expressed in the form of the so-called ‘Plank Figures’. These flat, schematised figurines appear to have elaborate clothing depicted on their bodies, as if the dress were more meaningful than the figure on which it was incised. It will be argued that these figurines represent images of a deity closely allied with the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar, a goddess of fertility and rebirth.

Linked with the idea of rebirth are the vessels placed in graves. It will be proposed that these were not merely utilitarian objects for the use of the dead in the afterlife, or ‘cult’ vessels buried with the deceased as part of their funerary ritual function. Instead, it will be argued that highly ornamented vessels were themselves agents of rebirth, acting as symbolic surrogate ‘wombs’ effecting the rebirth of the dead into the Underworld.

To elucidate the idea of a fertility goddess, along with fertility in the tomb and through vessels, it will be necessary to turn to literate periods for possible ‘survivals’ of earlier practices. The cuneiform tablets of the Near East offer possible near-contemporary evidence, whilst the myths and rituals associated with Aphrodite in
Greek literature provide a link with Cyprus, and thence, possibly, to the ancient Cypriot past.

The aim of this first chapter is to outline the many diverse arguments regarding Cypriot cultural influences, the chronology of settlement, and the reasons underlying the deposition of grave goods with the dead.

1.1 Cyprus: geographical perspectives

With a land surface of 9,251 square kilometres, Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia and lies in an ideal position to have been influenced by a number of different cultures over a time-span of thousands of years. In ancient times even the most land-loving mainlander would have known of the existence of Cyprus as, on a clear day, it can be seen with the naked eye from the south coast of Turkey and from the Amanus ranges in Syria (see Map 1).

The proximity of Cyprus to Anatolia and the Near East gives rise to speculation regarding possible cultural contacts from an early period between these areas. The distance from the northern coast of Cyprus to the southern coast of Asia Minor is 69 kilometres and it is 425 kilometres to what is now Port Said in Egypt. Stable winds and suitable sea-currents in summer would have made maritime conditions favourable for ancient vessels; such factors suggest that Cyprus would have been a relatively accessible destination for travellers from the nearby mainland in ancient times.

The impact of different cultural groups migrating to, or trading with, Cyprus is difficult to assess, but it must have had some effect, although to what degree is still unresolved among scholars. R.Merrillees states that James Stewart, the archaeologist who excavated the University of Canterbury’s Cypriot Bronze Age material, recognised Cypriot civilisation as a ‘self contained and self-respecting entity, in relation to which foreign influences must be viewed, and not vice versa’;1 and in light of the individuality of Cypriot artefact styles, stubbornly maintained over hundreds of years, it
seems reasonable to approach the problem of foreign influences as a melding with, rather than a subsuning of, existing Cypriot culture.

Geographically, the island of Cyprus must have offered a number of suitable locations for settlement in prehistoric times as it is divided into approximately three regions by two mountain ranges. To the north is the Kyrenia range which reaches a maximum of 900-1050 metres, while to the south and west the Troodos range reaches a peak of 1,951 metres with Mt. Olympus. Between these two mountain ranges is the Mesaoria plain and the Ovgos valley; whilst a series of coastal plains to the north, south, and south-west provide further inhabitable land (see Map 2).

Settlement may have been risky in ancient times if, as is the case today, there were no rivers that flowed freely all year round. The presence of perennial fresh-water springs at Lapithos and Kythrea in the north may have encouraged settlement on the narrow fertile plain north of the Kyrenia range, an area which is known to have maintained a dense population from the earliest times. Lack of water may have been less of a problem in antiquity when the forest cover was greater, and Strabo suggests this is the case when he attributes to Eratosthenes the statement that the plains of Cyprus were once covered with thick forests (XIV:6.5, p.684). Access from the north of the island through the Kyrenia range is through three passes - near Vasilia, above Kyrenia, and to the north of Lefkoniko. East-west traffic is facilitated by the central plain. Since 1974 the archaeologically richly-endowed northern region has been under Turkish control.

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1 R.Merrillees. (1975:21) 'Problems in Cypriote History' in N.Robertson (ed.) The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments Park Ridge
2 H.Catling has divided the island into 11 areas: (1962:134) 'Patterns of Settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus' Opuscula Atheniensia IV pp.129-169
1.2 Theories regarding cultural influences in the period leading up to the Bronze Age

a. Proto-Neolithic culture

No firm evidence exists as to when humans first appeared on Cyprus, but a pre-Neolithic occupation is suggested by the discovery of chipped-stone implements on the Akrotiri peninsula at a site known as Akrotiri–Aetokremnos. A time-frame of c.8000 B.C. for the site has been established by the carbon dating of the (often) burnt remains of pygmy hippopotami and elephants. Whether the Proto-Neolithic cultural group stayed or whether the appearance of Aceramic Neolithic sites were the result of a new population is unclear.

b. Aceramic Neolithic culture

Until the discovery of Proto-Neolithic Akrotiri–Aetokremnos, the site of Aceramic Khirokitia was believed to provide the earliest evidence of inhabitation on Cyprus. The site of Khirokitia is one of the main centres of the Aceramic Neolithic period. Among other sites representing the aceramic phase are Cape Andreas–Kastros, located at the end of the promontory which points towards Syria and southern Anatolia, and Cape Greco, on the promontory pointing towards Lebanon; these are all sites which suggest landfalls in the closest proximity to the mainland coast. M. Mellink comments on contacts between Cyprus and the Anatolian coast in this period, citing the appearance in Cyprus of Anatolian obsidian as evidence, obsidian which J. Mellart identifies as coming from Çiftlik. N. Stanley Price, using the evidence of settlement recession from the southern Levant’s semi-arid zones in favour of zones of higher rainfall along the east Mediterranean coast, the uplands of Galilee, and the Lebanon to back up his claims, argues that a colonisation of Cyprus from the Levant coast took

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5 V. Karageorghis (1982a) Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans London, p.17
7 J. Mellart (1975) The Neolithic of the Near East New York, p.130
place in the sixth millennium. He further suggests that, as there are so far no parallels in artefacts between sixth millennium and fourth millennium contexts, there was another wave of colonisation in the fourth millennium.

E. Peltenburg\(^9\) notes the appearance of ‘imported’ Cypriot painted pottery in Ras Shamra IV C and suggests this is evidence of a Cypriot painted pottery tradition in the early fifth millennium B.C. Stanley Price, however, inverts this evidence by suggesting that the Ras Shamra sherds are ancestors to the Cypriote wares rather than from Cyprus, and thus can be used as evidence to support the theory of a wave of colonisation from the Syrian coast to Cyprus in the fourth millennium B.C.\(^10\) Peltenburg, using as evidence petrographic and thermoluminescence analysis on selected ceramics, rejects the idea of fifth/fourth millennium B.C. connections between Cyprus and Ras Shamra IV C and argues instead for the ongoing insularity of Cyprus until the mid-third millennium B.C.\(^11\) The above argument serves as an example of the lively debate among scholars in regard to the possible external colonisation of Cyprus in the sixth to fourth millennia B.C., but no definite conclusion is forthcoming.

The wave of colonisation responsible for the first Khirokitia settlement (Neolithic I) may stem from the Levant as the *tholos* architectural form occurring at this site has prototypes in the Levantine Natufian culture.\(^12\) P. Dikaios notes that the Khirokitia style of building can be seen at Arpachiyah of the Tell Halaf period, citing in particular the rectangular antechamber as a noteworthy feature common to both locations.\(^13\) This may indicate a Levantine origin of the population of Khirokitia.

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\(^8\) N. Stanley Price (1976-77) p.31
\(^10\) N. Stanley Price (1976-77) p.35
\(^12\) V. Karageorghis (1982a) p.18. P. Dikaios, (1953) *Khirokitia: Final report on the excavations of a Neolithic settlement in Cyprus on behalf of the Department of Antiquities 1936-1946* London p.339, noted that *tholoi* also occur at Tepe Gawra in the Tell Halaf period and in the subsequent level (XVII). They also occur at Byblos in the Chalcolithic B level and in Central Anatolia as well as at Jericho. This form of structure was thus fairly common in the Near East.
Dikaios also suggested some resemblance between the pre-ceramic Neolithic of Jericho and Khirokitia,\textsuperscript{14} noting similarities between the beehive structure of houses and the custom of burying the dead under the floors of dwellings.

\textbf{c. Ceramic Neolithic culture}

V. Karageorghis notes a gap of 1500 years at Khirokitia after the site was abandoned c. 6000 B.C. The settlers occupying the upper strata of the site (Neolithic II) used a type of pottery known as ‘Combed Ware’; and the period associated with this pottery has been carbon 14 dated to c. 4500 B.C.\textsuperscript{15} This 1500 year break and the change from aceramic to ceramic seems to suggest a further wave of new settlement. Deliberate skull-flattening at Khirokitia implies that this new culture used cradleboards\textsuperscript{16} and, although there are no Neolithic representations of these devices, models appear in the Bronze Age period, providing evidence from which it may be possible to infer some cultural continuity into the Bronze Age. The major site during this period is Sotira in southern Cyprus, and the Neolithic II phase is named after that type-site.

The Sotira-\textit{Kalavassos} A culture (Neolithic II) also used ‘Combed Ware’ pottery, and although Dikaios sought parallels outside Cyprus for this pottery style he could not find any. He does note, however, that dwellings at Sotira-\textit{Kalavassos} A have similarities to those at Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba, and that at the later Sotira-\textit{Kalavassos} B site some vase shapes recall those of Beersheba.\textsuperscript{17} Dikaios also notes that Jean Perrot saw a connection between the Beersheba culture and the Ghassulian, whose possible links with Cyprus will be more closely analysed in the section of this thesis (Chapter Four) dealing with the archaeological evidence of foreign contacts.

\textsuperscript{14} P. Dikaios in P. Dikaios and J. Stewart (1962) \textit{The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: The Stone Age and The Early Bronze Age} Vol. IV part 1A, Lund, p. 193f
\textsuperscript{15} V. Karageorghis (1982a) p. 26f
\textsuperscript{16} M. Domurad (1989) ‘\textit{Whence the first Cypriots?’ in E. Peltenburg (cd.) \textit{Early Society in Cyprus} Edinburgh, pp. 66-70, p. 67
\textsuperscript{17} P. Dikaios in P. Dikaios and J. Stewart (1962) p. 198
d. Chalcolithic culture

The end of the Neolithic II period and its transition into the Chalcolithic has no evidence of a temporal break, but rather a cultural change demarcates the transformation. Karageorghis suggests that newcomers before 3500 B.C. brought the Chalcolithic culture with them and indicates Tarsus as a possible link. The earliest Chalcolithic period (Chalcolithic I) is typified by the site of Erimi-Bamboula, near the south coast on the Kouris river. The Red Lustrous pottery of this site is probably derived from a Neolithic II tradition, and Red-on-White pottery with geometric or abstract decoration also appears at this site. A copper chisel, found in the upper strata, was probably an imported artefact, but its presence places Erimi in the Chalcolithic period.

Dikaios cites the Red-on-White Ware of Chalcolithic II as a link with the previous Erimi culture, the culture that gives its name to the Chalcolithic I phase. He tentatively suggests links between the Chalcolithic Red Lustrous Ware, Red-and-Black Lustrous Ware, and the movement which brought Khirbet-Kerak ware to Syria and Palestine from Anatolia. He notes, however, that some of the features typical of Khirbet-Kerak ware, such as grooving, ribbing or fluting, do not appear in Cyprus. Khirbet-Kerak ware has been found in quantity in the Amuq plain which is not far from Tarsus in Cilicia, and this ware has been identified from a large number of sites at this location. A few examples of painted Erimi ware (Cypriot Chalcolithic I) have been found in the Early Bronze Age II layers of Tarsus which strengthens the evidence of contact between Cyprus and this region. A beak-spouted pitcher of the same period (c.2500 B.C.) was also found at Tarsus, and in Cyprus this type of pitcher occurs in tombs of the Philia Culture (c.2300-2200 B.C.).

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18 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.31
19 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.32
21 P.Dikaios in P.Dikaios and J.Stewart (1962) p.200
22 H.Goldman (1956) Excavations at Gozlü Kule, Tarsus: From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age Vol.II. Princeton, p.112 and fig.263
23 P.Dikaios in P.Dikaios and J.Stewart (1962) p.201
e. Philia Culture

The Philia Culture phase in Cypriot prehistory remains an enigmatic period for scholars; its advent gives no explanation for the ending of the Erimi phase and the abandonment of the sites, nor is it easily attributable to a specific time-frame. The majority of the Philia Culture’s material remains are concentrated in the north-western quarter of Cyprus, between Nicosia and Morphou, and are generally agreed to belong to a transitional period between the Chalcolithic and the Early Cypriot I periods.25

Merrillees defined the Philia Culture as belonging to a Chalcolithic III phase in the Cypriot chronology,26 whilst Dikaios did not adopt the term ‘Philia Culture’ at all, preferring instead the label ‘Initial Stage of Early Cypriot I’.27 Interestingly, there is evidence of continuity in some aspects of the material from Chalcolithic I through to the Philia Culture and later, as oddities such as composite vessels appear in Chalcolithic I, as well as in later contexts. An example of this is a composite vase, consisting of three interconnecting bottles, from the Chalcolithic I cemetery at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas,28 which, as it has a shape similar to later composites, suggests some kind of continuity between the various cultural phases. E.Gjerstad’s explanation for apparent continuities such as this is that there was a population symbiosis,29 and this hypothesis is supported by Karageorghis30 who adopts a coexistence model in which the Late Chalcolithic tradition overlaps with the Philia style.

The Philia Culture appears to have maintained some of the ceramic techniques of the previous Chalcolithic II period, but developed new types such as the flat-based jug with long cut-away spout, and produced large quantities of material using the Red Polished technique.31 This innovation in style may have been due to another influx of

24 P.Dikaios in P.Dikaios and J.Stewart (1962) p201
25 R.Merrillees (1975) p.28
28 V.Karageorghis (1982a) pl.23
30 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.41
31 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.40
people from Asia Minor, as the beak-spouted jug form, in particular, came from western Anatolia. Dikaios detects correspondences between ceramic shapes of Early Bronze II at Tarsus and he comments that these shapes may have reached Cyprus at the same time as this level at Tarsus was destroyed. However, Peltenburg calls attention to the supposedly novel broad bases of Philia pottery and comments that, in the light of the expanded Late Chalcolithic evidence of recent years, this feature is not so novel after all.

As Karageorghis notes, it is unclear whether the putative immigrants who came to Cyprus were those responsible for the destruction of Early Bronze Age II Tarsus, or whether the inhabitants of Tarsus fled to Cyprus in response to invaders. Catling suggests that bands of refugees from the destruction of the Early Bronze II culture in that region introduced the new Philia Culture pottery styles, but Stewart tended to consider the Philia Culture as coming from within Cyprus as a local variant of the Vounous material, viewing the development of the Red Polished technique as stemming from the Chalcolithic Red Polished ware. Hennessy notes that the Red Polished technique was in use throughout the Chalcolithic period and even as early as the latter stages of the Neolithic. Stewart's theory has its detractors, as his belief that the Philia Culture was a localised offshoot of the Vounous culture is not supported by the more recent discoveries of Philia sites throughout the island of Cyprus. Whether it came from within Cyprus or from without, the Philia Culture ceramic material, with its incised decoration, is linked with the style of ceramics classified as belonging to the Early Cypriot I period North Coast culture at Vounous. Both the Philia and the North

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32 P. Dikaios in P. Dikaios and J. Stewart (1962) p. 202. See, however, D. Bolger (1991b:31) 'Early Red Polished Ware and the Origin of the 'Philia Culture' in J. Barlow et al. (eds) Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record Pennsylvania, pp. 29-35, who states that the globular jug with the vertical cut-away spout, usually traced to Cilicia, and to Tarsus in particular, occurs only once at Tarsus and H. Goldman (1956, p. 112) reckoned it to be so uncommon a shape as to have actually been imported from Cyprus. Whichever way it occurred, there is evidence of some contact between Cyprus and Anatolia at an early date in the Bronze Age.

33 E. Peltenburg (1991b) p. 9

34 Y. Karageorghis (1982a) p. 43

35 R. Merrillees (1975) p. 29

36 R. Merrillees (1975) p. 29

37 J. Hennessy (1973: 4) 'Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age' in The Cypriot Bronze Age (Australian Studies in Archaeology I) pp. 1-9

38 D. Bolger (1991b) p. 29. However, Bolger does concede that more Philia sites have been discovered in the north and south of the island rather than in the east and the west.
Chapter One

Coast cultures share the use of terracotta spindle whorls, decorated with white-filled incision, which also appear in the Early Bronze II period at Tarsus; whilst motifs of the incised decorations of ceramics found in the Philia Culture tombs of Ayia Paraskevi have parallels in Early Bronze Age I and II Tarsus.39

f. Early Bronze Age culture

The Early Cypriot I North Coast culture pottery has elements of Philia Culture style with flat-based vessels, but an innovation appears to be the use of small horn-lugs on pots which has parallels at a cemetery of the Intermediate Early/Middle Bronze period at Maayan Barukh in Palestine.40 The appearance of this innovation might suggest that another cultural group had arrived in the Vounous area and had become assimilated with the Philia Culture. Another piece of evidence suggesting Palestine for the source of this cultural group is the style of a model dagger and sheath of the ‘poker-butt’ spear type, occurring in tombs of the North Coast culture, which appears to have its origins in the same period in Palestine and Syria as the horn-lugs, as well as occurring in the late Early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia at Ur.41 Palestine, Syria, or Lebanon of the Intermediate Early/Middle Bronze period are also possible sources of a pot, with a hand-made body and a wheel-turned rim, which was found at Vounous Tomb 164.42 Additional evidence of foreign influence appears in the form of pins, from Vounous Tomb 84 and from Vasilia, which are typical of pins of the Intermediate Early/Middle Bronze period in Syria and Cilicia.43

There is also evidence to suggest that Crete had contacts with Cyprus during the Early Cypriot period. V.Grace44 describes the find, at Lapithos Tomb 6A, of an imported Cretan bridge-spouted vase and notes that this type of vase occurs in Crete from the Early Minoan through the Late Minoan periods. Minoan cultural influences might thus have contributed to the diversification of North Coast culture material in the Early Cypriot period.

39 D.Bolger (1983) p.72
40 J.Hennessy (1973) p.5
41 J.Hennessy (1973) p.7
42 J.Hennessy (1973) p.7
43 J.Hennessy (1973) p.7
44 V.Grace (1940) ‘A Cypriote Tomb and Minoan Evidence for its Date’ American Journal of Archaeology XLIV, pp.10-52
Possible evidence of contact between Cyprus and the Cyclades occurs in the form of four duck vases in Red Polished and Black Polished wares from Lapithos-Vrysi tou Barba and Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi. These Cypriot-manufactured examples may not have been copied from prototypes which came directly to Cyprus, but, according to J. Rutter, perhaps from Anatolian versions which may have been directly imported from the Cyclades. 45 There is some evidence to suggest Cycladic influence in Cyprus, either directly or through Anatolia. S. Hood comments on the similarities between concentric circle motifs on pottery at Saliagos of the Early Neolithic period and that of the earliest painted ware of Sotira and Philia at Cyprus. He notes also that this motif is represented on pottery of the Early Chalcolithic at Mersin in Cilicia, as well as on pottery of the Middle Halaf period. 46

Despite evidence suggesting foreign links with Cyprus from an early date, it is still unfashionable to champion the idea of foreign intervention in the later third millennium B.C. There are some scholars who think that the changes accompanying the Philia Culture/Early Bronze Age period were indigenous adaptations, 47 while others suggest the changes were associated with limited migration. 48 Wherever the truth may lie, exotic items such as faience necklaces and the adoption of foreign customs such as the use of seals, copper hair rings, and urn burials indicate contact with locations outside Cyprus from an early period, whether by trade or by immigration. 49

47 E. G. Mellink (1991)
g. Middle Bronze Age culture

Expanding trade links and increasing wealth are the reasons given by S. Swiny for the multiplication of foreign contacts during the Middle Cypriot period.\(^{50}\) Despite these changes, the Middle Bronze Age was a period in which continuity from the preceding period was apparent, with only minimal changes in ceramic types and burial practices.\(^{51}\) The period has been dated according to Cypriot objects found in securely dated contexts in Palestine and Egypt.\(^{52}\) Increased trade with the Syro-Palestinian coast probably accounts for the movement of settlement foci toward the eastern coast of Cyprus, although northern centres such as Lapithos still retained their importance at the beginning of the period.\(^{53}\) Karageorghis notes that toward the middle of the Middle Bronze Age, Syro-Palestinian and Cretan goods began appearing in Cyprus, whilst Cypriot goods surfaced in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Crete.\(^{54}\) There were some changes at the beginning of this period, such as a human figure, depicted in relief, which occurred on the wall of a chamber tomb at Karmi-Palealona whose façade was carved to imitate the front of a house.\(^{55}\) The later part of the Middle Bronze Age need not be of concern here as the majority of material under discussion in the present thesis lies within the period spanning from the end of the Chalcolithic period to the early Middle Bronze Age. Red Polished ware, the ceramic technique of special interest to the present discussion, survived into the Middle Cypriot II period, but was no longer an important type of pottery and was superseded by other monochrome wares.\(^{56}\)

More detailed archaeological evidence supporting the theories regarding the various cultural influences on Cyprus will be considered in Chapter Four.

\(^{50}\) S. Swiny (1989b) p.187
\(^{51}\) P. Åström (1972) *The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age: Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. IV 1B*, Lund
\(^{52}\) V. Karageorghis (1976) *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London, p.69
\(^{53}\) V. Karageorghis (1976) p.70
\(^{54}\) V. Karageorghis (1976) p.72
\(^{55}\) J. Stewart in P. Dikaios & J. Stewart (1962) p.197
\(^{56}\) J. Stewart in P. Dikaios & J. Stewart (1962) p.273
1.3 Questions of chronologies

There has been much debate about what constitutes a definitive chronology of the Cypriot Bronze Age. D. Morris comments on the ‘heated debate’ regarding the various epochs and their chronological subdivisions,\(^5\) and A. a Campo succinctly observes that ‘students of Cypriot prehistory may well despair of relating sites dated according to different chronological systems to each other in one consistent chronology’.\(^5\) Like a Campo, the author of the present thesis does not intend to enter the debate, except to provide an overview of the possible chronologies suggested by various scholars regarding the Cypriot Bronze Age.

a. Neolithic period

The beginning of the Neolithic period has been radiocarbon dated at Kalavassos-Tenta as 7000 B.C.\(^5\) which is much earlier than the date of 5800 B.C. traditionally assigned to the start of the Neolithic. Swiny has gone as far as suggesting 7500 B.C. as a starting date for the aceramic period at Khirokitia, with 5900/5600 B.C. as the end of that period.\(^6\) There is a lacuna of between 1500 and 1000 years from the end of the Aceramic Neolithic until the start of the Ceramic Neolithic, typified by the Sotira culture, which Swiny dates at 4600 B.C.\(^6\)

b. Chalcolithic period

Both Swiny\(^6\) and Karageorghis\(^6\) agree on the date of 3900 B.C. which has been assigned to the beginning of the Chalcolithic period and its associated Erimi culture. There seems to be a general consensus regarding the beginning of this period, but there is less consensus regarding the end of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

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\(^6\) A. a Campo (1994) *Anthropomorphic Representations in Prehistoric Cyprus: A formal and symbolic analysis of figurines, c.3500-1800 B.C.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocketbook No.109, Jonscredited, p.27


\(^6\) S. Swiny (1989b) pp.178-189

\(^6\) S. Swiny (1989b) pp.178-189

\(^6\) V. Karageorghis (1982a) p.9, Table A

19
c. Philia Culture

The metal and stone work of the Philia Culture are distinctly separate from the Early Cypriot styles, yet there are links between the Philia incised Red Polished ware and that of the Early Cypriot period. The Philia Culture is most strongly represented in the west of Cyprus, although it reached Ayia Paraskevi in central Cyprus and had contacts with Vounous and Arvera. Dikaios saw the Philia Culture as antecedent to Early Cypriot I at Vounous, whereas Stewart thought it was a local variation parallel to Early Cypriot I.

d. Early Bronze Age period

The chronology of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age is also problematical for Cypriot scholars. In 1974 J. Mellaart corrected the traditionally accepted date of 2300 B.C., which had been assigned to the beginning of the Bronze Age, and raised it to around 3100-3000 B.C. He based his new chronology on a re-dating of Anatolian destruction levels; evidence of turmoil which, according to him, was linked with the arrival in Cyprus of the Philia Culture and the occupation of northern Cypriot sites. This correction did not find favour with Cypriot specialists, and H. Catling, M. Yon, Karageorghis, Merrillees, and V. Tatton-Brown ignored it. In 1980 Gjerstad concurred with Mellaart’s chronology and gave the beginning of the Early Bronze Age as 3000-2900 B.C. The specific date of 2980 B.C. for the beginning of the Early Bronze Age is based on radiocarbon dates corrected by dendrochronology. This, in essence, agrees with J. Myres’ 1914 dating of this period as ‘about 3000-2000 B.C.’

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64 P. Dikaios, *Illustrated London News*, March 2, 1946, pp. 244-5; also 1953, pp. 323ff
69 V. Karageorghis (1976)
71 V. Tatton-Brown (1979) *Cyprus B.C.: 7000 years of history* London
72 E. Gjerstad (1980) pp. 1-16
73 J. Myres (1914) *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York
By 1981 however, some Cypriot scholars were having to rethink these datings as Mellaart had changed his stance regarding the high dates he had set, and this, combined with the possibility of errors in Gjerstad’s assessment, provoked Peltenburg to suggest a date of 2700 B.C. for the start of the Early Bronze Age. Karageorghis leaves the decision regarding the debate up to his readers in his 1981 and 1982 publications in which he gives two tables, one allowing for the higher datings and the other following the more generally accepted chronology.

The debate regarding chronologies had still not subsided by the late 1980’s when Swiny (1989) and Knapp (1990) presented varying dates, terminology and subdivisions. Swiny published a table which has the Early Bronze Age beginning at 2300 B.C. and ending at 2000 B.C. Knapp, however, is cognisant of the doubts regarding the traditional division of Cypriot prehistory into the Stone, Copper, and Bronze ages, and he combines the Early Cypriot to Middle Cypriot II into an ‘Early-Middle Cypriot’ which, together with the Philia Culture, forms the ‘Late Prehistoric/Prehistoric Bronze Age’. For the Middle Cypriot II to Late Cypriot III he proposes the term ‘Protohistoric Bronze Age’. Knapp also considerably changes some dates due to the recalibration of radiocarbon datings which sees the Aceramic Neolithic being pushed back to 8200 B.C.

Taking into account the current state of uncertainty regarding Cypriot chronology, authors such as Campo and Morris have synthesised chronologies which take a middle road on the dating question. It seems sensible, in the light of continuing controversy, to do the same in the present thesis; consequently, the approximate dates for the period from the earliest habitation of Cyprus to the end of the Middle Bronze Age are given on Table 1.

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74 E.Peltenburg (1981)
75 V.Karageorghis (1981,1982)
76 S.Swiny (1989b) p.180
77 B.Knapp (1990) pp.147-176
78 Questions regarding chronologies are discussed by the following authors: E.Gjerstad (1980); I.Kehrberg (1982); B.Knapp (1990); J.Mellaart (1974); R.Merrillees (1977,1978); E.Peltenburg (1981)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto Neolithic</th>
<th>8100+ B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neolithic</td>
<td>7000+ - 6000 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khrokitia culture</td>
<td>7000+ - 6000 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacuna</td>
<td>6000 - 4500 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neolithic</td>
<td>4500 - 4000/3500 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotira culture</td>
<td>4500 - 4000/3500 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalcolithic</td>
<td>3900/3500 - 2700/2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erimi culture</td>
<td>3900/3500 - 2700/2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>2700/2300 - 2075 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or Early Cypriot)</td>
<td>2075 - 2000 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Philia culture</td>
<td>2000 - 1900 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Bronze Age</td>
<td>1900 - 1800 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or Middle Cypriot)</td>
<td>1800 - 1725 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1725 - 1650 B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 179 Approximate Cypriot Chronology

1.4 Theories regarding the role of grave goods

As is the case in the debate regarding Cypriot chronology, there is little consensus regarding the role of grave goods associated with Cypriot burials. The theories are numerous and varied, as is the situation universally in regard to interpreting the reasons for any society depositing grave goods with its dead.

79 Compiled from: V.Karageorghis (1982a); D.Morris (1985); S.Swiny (1989b); V.Tatton-Brown (1979)
Morris\textsuperscript{80} outlines some of the theories relating to the deposition of funerary goods, many of which suggest a role for the vessels placed in the tomb with the deceased. These include practical considerations such as providing the deceased with a meal for the journey to the other world, or with food and drink for inside the tomb. A utilitarian interpretation of vessels placed in tombs can also be applied to the possibility of a shared last meal with the living before the tomb was closed. Less prosaic interpretations of the role of grave goods include the provision of offerings to the gods which the deceased can present on arrival in the other world, or as gifts to the gods from the mourners to facilitate the gods’ acceptance of their friend or relative. Alternatively, superstition might have played a part whereby the gifts were intended to appease the deceased, or to prevent the deceased from returning for his or her possessions. Stewart,\textsuperscript{81} however, notes that the vessels placed in a tomb may indicate an advanced belief in an after-life, with a logical continuation beyond the grave of all life’s activities.

An adjunct to the belief that life’s activities are catered to in the afterlife is the appearance in graves of supposedly gender-related funerary goods such as spindle whorls for women and daggers or knives for men. This assumption is challenged in the Cypriot context as Tombs 110B and 115 at Vounous were single burial graves which contained both knives and spindle whorls.\textsuperscript{82}

Swiny concurs with the interpretation of the deposition of grave goods as an expression of a belief in an afterlife, but he adds that the actual objects may reflect the status of the occupant of the grave as well. He notes that the Lapithos tombs were rich in metal objects which might imply status, and that this status was inherited as children’s burials also had quantities of grave goods.\textsuperscript{83} E.Goring, however, questions whether it should be assumed that grave goods are personal possessions at all. If the

\textsuperscript{80} D. Morris (1985) p.114
\textsuperscript{81} J. Stewart in A. Trendall et al. (1948) p.126f
grave goods were not the deceased's personal possessions, then the true state of an individual's wealth was not necessarily being exhibited.\(^84\)

There may be some confusion between interpretations of what constitutes 'status' and 'wealth' as a person's status might not necessarily be dependent on wealth, but rather on skills, or standing in the community for other reasons. Status and wealth are therefore not necessarily synonymous. This is highlighted in E.J.Pader's deliberations as to whether graves with fewer artefacts necessarily represent poorer or lower ranked communities or individuals. Pader suggests that less well-endowed graves may relate distinctive burial rites associated with cultural factors rather than wealth or status.\(^85\) Goring also questions the role of grave goods as evidence of a belief in an after-life, as was the case in ancient Egypt, and she inverts this assumption by asking whether the absence of tomb gifts implies a lack of belief in an afterlife. While not firmly favouring any specific interpretation regarding the role of grave goods, Goring reiterates a number of theories, one of which is the possibility that the building and equipping of tombs played an important part in fulfilling some need of the surviving community. Another theory suggests that a family's ability to buy prestige items was an exercise in gaining standing within the community. Yet another theory suggests there was economic motivation in that the removal of items from circulation stimulated local production.

J.Webb notes, but is not necessarily in agreement with, the present state of scholarship regarding the reasons for the deposition of grave goods: 'there is widespread agreement that the Bronze Age Cypriotes believed in some form of survival post mortem and that their mortuary customs were governed by ritual principles designed to ensure or enhance that survival'.\(^86\) To temper that general consensus, Webb uses ethnographic research to make a comparison, and comments that the equation of grave goods with concepts of immortality is not always valid, as some modern primitive societies place objects with the body of the deceased as

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\(^{84}\) E.Goring (1989) 'Death in Everyday Life' in E.Pellenburg (ed.) Early Society in Cyprus Edinburgh, p.97f


\(^{86}\) J.Webb (1992) p.87
mementoes, or remove from circulation the utensils used in conjunction with funerary feasts so that they will not be re-used for profane purposes.\(^{87}\)

Arguments can be raised for or against any one of the above theories relating to grave goods. For example, the idea of burying objects which had been owned by the deceased during his or her lifetime can be questioned by the nature of the material remains, as many of the objects, particularly some vessels, seem to have been manufactured in such a way as to suggest that they could never have been used in a real-life situation. Hennessy observes that a great number of vessels found in tombs can have no practical use as they are so heavy they cannot be lifted without breaking.\(^{88}\) S. Weinberg also comments on this, stating that many of the vases in tombs were so large and so heavy that when filled they would be impractical for household use.\(^{89}\) He further suggests that these vessels were made specifically for funerary use; a suggestion that has been countered by a number of scholars who base their opinions on comparative material from an increasing number of settlement sites being excavated.\(^{90}\)

If it is the case that funerary goods were made specifically for burial with the deceased, they may merely be ‘copies’ that can be paralleled by other terracotta copies of real items, such as daggers, which have been found in tombs. It may be that, although funerary context vessels are the same wares as those found in settlement contexts, they had never been used in real life, and cooking pots with no blackening from fires give some credence to such a possibility. Some vessels do appear to have been made specifically for funerary use; among these are the non-utilitarian zoomorphic vessels which increased in popularity throughout the Bronze Age. Early and Middle Cypriot examples of this type of vessel are mainly bird-shaped.\(^{91}\)

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\(^{87}\) J. Webb (1992) p.88

\(^{88}\) See J. Hennessy (1973) p.58 for discussion

\(^{89}\) S. Weinberg (1956a:121) ‘Exploring the early Bronze Age in Cyprus’ *Archaeology* Vol.9:2, pp.112-121


\(^{91}\) J. Webb (1992) p.89
Additionally, there appears to be a higher proportion of decorated pottery found in funerary contexts in comparison with settlements.\textsuperscript{92}

The role played by figurines as grave goods has been hotly debated as, unlike vessels, such objects cannot be viewed merely as containers for some other commodity. Figurines would seem to have a specific reason for their placement in tombs and they have been variously interpreted as mourner figures to accompany the dead, as servants, or as figurines which were of special importance to the deceased during his or her lifetime.\textsuperscript{93}

L. Talalay discusses the use and meaning of figurines and, although her study relates to Greek Neolithic figurines generally, and these not necessarily from graves, some of her observations may be applicable to figurines in the Cypriot Bronze Age funerary context. Talalay notes that archaeologists who study Stone Age figurines can often be divided into those who subscribe to either of two schools of thought. One group views figurines as belonging to the religious or cultic realms, and relating to deities associated with life-giving and regenerative processes (the stance which is being taken in the present thesis); while the other group suggests that figurines were associated with various adaptive strategies within societies. Talalay lists a number of possible interpretations of Stone Age figurines: as expressions of personal desires; as rudimentary forms of writing; as objects of sympathetic magic; as dolls and toys; as items in initiation rites; and as having a role of economic importance.\textsuperscript{94}

Like Greek Neolithic figurines, examples from the Bronze Age Cyclades have been subject to various interpretations and these also may help to elucidate figurines from Cyprus. C.Doumas surveys the scholarship on the question of the interpretation of Cycladic figurines and notes that ‘not one of the theories, however, is supported by a body of argument so convincing that it excludes other interpretations’.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{92} J. Webb (1992) p.89
\textsuperscript{93} P. Ucko (1968) \textit{Anthropomorphic Figurines} Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper No.24, London
\textsuperscript{94} L. Talalay (1993) \textit{Deities, Dolls, and Devices: Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece} Bloomington & Indianapolis, p.37f
\textsuperscript{95} C. Doumas (1983) \textit{Cycladic Art: ancient sculpture and pottery from the N.P.Goulandris Collection} London, p.35
interpretations include figurines as substitute human sacrifices, or effigies of revered ancestors who played the part of *psychopompoi* to the spirits of the dead. Some scholars view figurines as having an apotropaic function, but the interpretation which has the most support is that the female figurines are like the later Aštarte who, in her capacity as a fertility goddess, was involved in the resurrection of the dead. Another candidate from the realm of deities is the Great Mother, the Eastern goddess of fertility. Aštarte and the Great Mother may be aspects of the same deity in fact. Doumas notes that among other objections to the theory that the figurines represent a deity, is the manner in which they were placed in graves, usually mixed with other objects and sometimes covered with a vessel, thus denying their role as objects to be revered. However, this association between figurines and vessels, rather than diminishing the likelihood of a figurine depicting a deity, will be used in the present thesis to support just that contention. It will be noted that the Cypriot Plank Figures appear as attachments to vessels, providing a definite link between figure and vessel; a circumstance which has been hinted at by Talalay in reference to the Neolithic period in Greece, but ignored by scholars generally.

P. Getz-Preziosi comments on evidence such as figurines of pregnant women, or a woman with a child, to suggest that the figurines are symbolic of fertility by which the sculptor could ‘intensify the idea of fecundity and the renewal of life’. This theory sits well with the ‘Aštarte’ identification of Cycladic figurines and, despite there being no obviously pregnant figurines in Bronze Age Cypriot contexts, the theory might also agree with Morris’ interpretation of Cypriot figurines as belonging to the realm of fertility. The fertility role of the Chalcolithic cruciform figurines is suggested by their bent knees which perhaps suggest they are in the process of childbirth, whilst one Chalcolithic Red-on-White ware figurine, from Kissongera-Mosphilia, is specific in this respect and actually depicts the moment of giving birth (Fig. 1).

97 D. Morris (1985) p.116
A. Orphanides considers the Cypriot Bronze Age figurines to be 'agents', with an independent character, and a role in helping members of the communities who made and/or used them to present ideas about the organisation of social life. As to their identity and use, Orphanides notes the possibilities that they may represent goddesses or devotees, or womankind in general; but he also warns that many approaches to interpreting the figurines are based on the art of 'primitive' modern peoples, which may, in his opinion, be misleading. Webb observes that of 299 interments in an Early Cypriot sample, only 18 figures occurred, thereby concluding that figurines were not an essential commodity in funerary contexts.

Whether figurines were essential grave commodities or not, the question still remains as to their identity, with much of the scholarship relating to questions concerning what the figurines symbolised to the culture that manufactured them and made the deliberate choice to place them with its dead.

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100 A. Orphanides (1983) p.3
101 J. Webb (1992) p.90
1.5 Theories regarding symbolism

a. Defining ‘symbol’

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary \(^{102}\) defines ‘symbol’ in a number of ways, two of which are especially apt for the purposes of the present thesis:

2. Something that stands for, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation) esp. a material object representing or taken to represent something immaterial or abstract.

3. A written character or mark used to represent something, a letter, figure or sign conventionally standing for some object, process etc.

For the purpose of explaining ‘symbol’ as applied to the artefacts discussed in the present thesis, the first definition will be utilised in conjunction with vessels, whilst the second will be used in reference to the decoration on vessels and on other artefacts.

The word ‘symbol’ is derived from the ancient Greek σύμβολον which carries the meaning of something which is put together, a link, or a connection. Plato’s idea of σύμβολον was ‘one composed of two’ and the Greek use of the symbol was epitomised by the gift of part of a broken coin or ring given by a host to a departing guest, so that when these parts were reunited the owners could recognise each other. \(^{103}\)

Friedrich Creuzer, in Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen (1810-12), envisioned symbolism as something that: in einem Blick das Ganze erfasst ‘encompasses the whole in a single glance’. \(^{104}\) Although this interpretation incorporates the Greek manifestation of ‘symbol’, it can also be applied to describe much older systems of recognition of concepts by the use of images. S.Giedon considers that symbolisation arose from the time when humankind had the

\(^{102}\) The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1964)

\(^{103}\) S.Giedion (1962) The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Art London p.82

\(^{104}\) Cited in S.Giedion (1962) p.86
need to express the 'intangible relationship between life and death' \(^{105}\) and, similarly, J.Bachofen saw the tomb as the starting place for the symbol. \(^{106}\) Bachofen was writing of a literate period, the language of which he describes as 'too feeble to convey all the thoughts aroused by the alternation of life and death'. \(^{107}\) Therefore, even more appropriate is the use of symbolisation in a pre-literate society, such as that of Cyprus in the early Bronze Age, whose members did not have recourse to written testimony in expressing their reactions to the ineffable concepts of mortality.

The dictionary definitions of 'symbol' encompass the ideas of both object and sign, and these can be seen to be a part of a 'symbolic language' used by the Bronze Age Cypriots to convey meaning within their funerary customs. The present thesis will put forward the theory that many of the vessels and objects placed in tombs as grave goods were not merely utilitarian objects, but functioned as tangible symbolic expressions of the beliefs of their manufacturers; beliefs which were related to concepts of life and death.

b. The function of symbols

The philosopher Cassirer stated that 'man is a symbolising animal' \(^{108}\) and any attempt to do justice to the interpretation of the function of symbols would be a thesis in itself as so many levels might be debated. For the sake of brevity, the present thesis will discuss only the function of symbols which relates to the use of objects and signs to convey an abstract message. K.Hays notes that objects are encoded with information by their makers and decoded by viewers who know the meanings of the visual signs, \(^{109}\) while D.Washburn views all types of symbolic representational systems as operating to categorise information as an 'aid to the regulation and direction of appropriate behaviour'. \(^{110}\)

\(^{105}\) S.Giedion (1962) p.79
\(^{106}\) J.Bachofen (1973) Myth, Religion and Mother Right: Selected Writings of J.J.Bachofen (translated from the German by R.Manheim) Princeton, p.49
\(^{107}\) J.Bachofen (1973) p.49
\(^{109}\) K.Hays (1993) 'When is a symbol archaeologically meaningful?' in N.Yoffee and A.Sherratt (eds) Archaeological Theory: who sets the agenda? Cambridge
Communication would thus appear to be the prime function of symbols, and the most difficult problem is the interpretation of what was intended by each symbol; it is in interpretation that scholars find cause for much debate. Getz-Preziosi observes that archaeologists have a poor understanding of the nature, organisation, and operational behaviours of sign systems other than verbal language, but scholars have attempted to formulate theories by which material culture might be ‘decoded’. In a 1977 article M. Wobst conceived an approach to facilitate the interpretation of the functions of styles of decorated pottery, an approach which he called ‘information theory’. Wobst noted that the forms of items of material culture are often used to signal information relating to social interactions and identities, and that this signalling made social encounters less stressful, facilitating interaction between groups. This approach to the interpretation of the use of symbols for communication is based on social structure and interaction between differing cultural groups, but it is less likely to be applied to funerary contexts as normally funerary ritual would be restricted to the cultural group to which it related.

With the exception of the controversially interpretative approach of M. Gimbutas, archaeologists appear to have avoided making attempts to decode the symbolism of pre-literate societies. However, it is apparent, as I. Hodder argues, that ‘archaeologists must accept that death and attitudes to the dead form a symbolic arena of great emotive force which is employed in life’. Prehistoric funerary deposits therefore provide an area of study of prime importance by supplying meaningful and deliberately placed material pertaining to pre-literate cultural groups; material which embodies their beliefs relating to life and death as expressed through symbols. Too often archaeologists have contemplated funerary material as indicators of social status, preferring to evaluate the quality and quantity of grave goods rather than to look for symbolic meaning behind the objects placed in burial contexts. It is this gap in Cypriot Bronze Age scholarship that the present thesis will address.
That symbolic meanings appear to alter from culture to culture makes interpretation more difficult. Scholars pose questions as to how archaeologists can reconstruct the different meanings given to objects by pre-literate cultures, and as Hodder notes: 'Some archaeologists find these questions so difficult that they prefer to throw up their hands and argue that we should not try to get into “their” meanings'. 114

Other scholars are prepared to take up the challenge of interpretation, maintaining that archaeological knowledge cannot develop without intuitively conceived ideas. 115 D. Clarke, T. Cowie, and A. Foxon comment on the interpretation of material remains observing that:

All discussion of prehistoric material, where it goes beyond the mere descriptive, ventures into the unknown and unverifiable. Our interpretations can be no more than the product of contemporary experience broadened by some awareness of ethnographic data so that the sole test of our conclusions, assuming no basic distortion of what passes for archaeological fact, must be their plausibility for the reader. 116

Hodder considers that archaeologists should be looking at an object both as an object and as a sign, as the object can itself be the signifier for other concepts. 117 In an extension of this idea, any decoration on an object must be seen as part of the sign system to be decoded. As the majority of the ceramic funerary material of Bronze Age Cyprus is decorated, the present thesis will take into account both the object and the decoration as part of a symbolic ‘language’ to be translated.

The association between symbol and myth was noted by Bachofen, who stated that ‘myth is the exegesis of the symbol’. 118 He was also aware that the symbol

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114 I. Hodder (1992) p.16
116 D. Clarke, T. Cowie, and A. Foxon (1985) *Symbols of Power at the time of Stonehenge* Edinburgh
117 I. Hodder (1993) *Reading the past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology* Cambridge, p.48
118 J. Bachofen (1973) p.48

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became relegated to the background as the myth became dominant. Gimbutas saw a link between the interpretation of material remains and myth, and she chose to integrate the study of myth with archaeology, thus formulating a new interdisciplinary approach which she termed ‘Archeomythology’. Utilising this approach, part of the present thesis will be an attempt to decode the symbols relating to Bronze Age Cypriot funerary ceramic material by referring to Greek mythologies and rituals as extensions of an archaic system of belief once expressed through the medium of symbols.

1.6 Archaeological theory pertaining to the interpretation of symbols

The interpretation of artefacts is a difficulty which has led to the formulation of a number of theories as to how to achieve this. The fact that symbolisation is a significant element in material culture makes theoretical processes all the more complicated. As A. Gilman states:

The problem is that past ideas are represented as such through symbols, which are by definition arbitrary with respect to their referents... For prehistory, where no such bilinguals (as in ethno- or historical archaeology) exist, how are the symbols in the archaeological text to be read?120

Post-processual archaeology is a theoretical approach to the interpretation of prehistoric material culture that requires discussion of the symbolic systems relating to the societies which made the artefacts. Prior to the ‘New Archaeology’, decorated ceramics were usually seen as temporal markers or as evidence of cultural relationships, but Post-processual archaeology borrows concepts of material culture and explanation from a variety of non-archaeological sources, such as anthropology and ethnology, in attempting to unravel the meanings contained within symbols constituted by both the object and the decoration of the object. To some, such as

L. Binford,\(^{121}\) attempts to get into the minds of long-dead people are inappropriate but, as Hodder puts it, 'it is only when we make assumptions about the subjective meanings in the minds of people long dead that we can begin to do archaeology'.\(^{122}\) Nevertheless, Hodder wished to make it clear that the ideas archaeologists reconstruct are not necessarily the conscious thoughts of prehistoric people, emphasising that 'there is a difference between meaning and intention'.\(^{123}\) P. Kohl sees the diversity of Post-processual archaeology as a strength, and despite some reservations, as 'a welcome development compared to the orthodoxy or dogmatic features of the New (or) Processual Archaeology'.\(^{124}\) Kohl is also an advocate of feminist archaeology stating 'that models of cultural evolution largely have had a male bias' and that 'attention to gender distinctions in the prehistoric record cannot help but yield a more representative and complete understanding of past societies'.\(^{125}\)

D. Rupp notes that, as at 1992, the goals and methodologies of New and Post-processual archaeology were only just beginning to have an impact on how archaeological research is carried out on Cyprus.\(^{126}\) Rupp sees the focus of the New Archaeology as being directed towards 'social archaeology', with the different levels of economic and political organisation and technological development as the core.\(^{127}\) In the same article, Rupp reviews S. Held’s analysis of Cypriot archaeology which reiterates the idea that archaeology as a social science aims to reconstruct cultural history, past life ways, and the explanation of culture process and change.\(^{128}\)

Post-processual archaeological practices would appear to be the most productive approach to any attempts to interpret Cypriot Bronze Age funerary artefacts, as ritual action and communication, along with their accompanying


\(^{122}\) Cited in N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt (1993) p. 5

\(^{123}\) J. Hodder (1992) p. 18

\(^{124}\) P. Kohl (1993) p. 14

\(^{125}\) P. Kohl (1993) p. 14


\(^{127}\) D. Rupp (1993) p. 1

symbolisation, are generally accepted to be applicable in the context of funerary deposits. R. Keesing notes that mortuary remains are to be interpreted as ritual communication, and he defines ritual as 'stylised, repetitive patterns of behaviour'.

This definition suits Cypriot Bronze Age circumstances very well, as for hundreds of years similarly styled and decorated vessels were deposited with the dead. The longevity of the styles and decoration of Cypriot Bronze Age funerary ceramics suggests that ritual was involved in their production and application, and thus the symbolism relating to the funerary beliefs of the artefacts' manufacturers might be able to be decoded from the objects and their decoration.

1.7 Chapter summary

The above chapter has covered a wide range of much-debated archaeologically contentious issues ranging from the colonisation of Cyprus and its associated time-frame through to theories that might be brought to bear in interpreting what role grave goods played in the society which deposited them with its dead.

It has been noted that Cyprus was a geographically suitable destination for colonists, and that those mainland locations in closest proximity to Cyprus seem to have archaeological support as being the most likely source of immigrants. The archaeological evidence will be further debated later in the present thesis.

Linked with the cultural influences brought by colonists is the time-frame in which this occurred. Despite many differing theories as to the date of the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus and its span, there seems to be no real consensus notwithstanding the use of radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology to establish 'absolute chronologies'.

The role of grave goods is also open to debate and many are the possible explanations for their deposition with the dead. One undeniable fact that emerges, and one which is important for the present thesis, is that grave goods are not haphazard

and accidental remnants of a society, but that they were deliberately placed with the deceased to serve some purpose. It is the interpretation of this purpose which has proved to be so elusive to scholars.

That grave goods are some form of symbolic communication involving ritual seems likely, and by examining artefacts in the light of their symbolic role, it may be possible to ‘decode’ mortuary material remains by applying a form of Post-processual archaeological theory which utilises a number of different disciplines, including ethnology, anthropology and Gimbutas’ ‘Archeomythology’.

In effect, the above chapter has served to highlight the differences in opinion regarding the colonisation and time-frames of the earliest stages of prehistoric Cyprus; it has made no attempt to resolve these differences. What has emerged from the outline of the debates is that Cyprus was an island at the cross-roads of a number of different possible cultural influences at a number of different times. This diversification of influences lies at the bedrock of the arguments which will be offered in the present thesis, as without these influences it is unlikely that cultural groups with some knowledge of the Near Eastern goddess Inanna-Ishtar came to Cyprus, and subsequently were in a position to place images of that goddess in tombs in order to aid and assist the dead in their journey to an afterlife.
Map 1: Cyprus and its environs
Map 2  Cyprus - geography
Archaeological exploration in Cyprus began in earnest in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the excavations carried out by Luigi Palma di Cesnola whose finds were mostly acquired by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1878 the British imposed restrictions on such unofficial excavations when they took over the administration of Cyprus from the Turks. The British Museum profited by the acquisition of objects from the excavations carried out by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1883. He was followed by archaeologists such as John Myres who arrived in Cyprus in 1894. Between 1927 and 1931 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated a number of sites of different periods. British rule ended in 1960, and between the years of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition until the present day sites have been excavated by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities and by foreign expeditions. Since 1974 the Turkish part of the island has been closed to excavations. During excavations of sites from Early and Middle Bronze Age periods flat figurines made of terracotta and dubbed 'Plank Figures' were found, engendering much speculation regarding their role in funerary contexts and, latterly, in settlements following the discovery of a few in this context.

One of the objectives of this chapter is to identify what constitutes a Cypriot Plank Figure: its appearance, technique of manufacture, possible role in both funerary and settlement contexts, and its evolutionary progression from Plank Figure to Late Bronze Age bird-headed figurine. A further objective is to make connections between Plank Figures and Near Eastern images and texts depicting and describing Inanna-Ishtar, in an attempt to provide evidence to support the proposal that the Cypriot figures are images of this specific goddess. The final objective is to introduce briefly the proposal that the Cypriot Plank Figures, as images of Inanna-Ishtar, depict the deity who developed into the Greek Aphrodite. Although the links between Inanna-
Ishtar and Cypriot Plank Figures will be discussed at length in this chapter, a more detailed analysis of the associations between Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite will be undertaken in Chapter Five.

2.1 Plank Figures in the Logie Collection

The University of Canterbury's James Logie Memorial Collection possesses two free-standing Plank Figures, one of which is almost complete, the other being represented by a head fragment only. A third Plank Figure is depicted in miniature attached near the mouth of the Red Polished ware Pyxis in the Logie Collection.

The almost intact free-standing Plank Figure in the Logie Collection (Cat. no. 39) is of the single-headed, non-kourotophos type, and it has relief and incised decoration which links it to all the other free-standing varieties. The head fragment in the collection has incised and relief details, whilst the Plank Figure attached to the Pyxis in the collection has incised decoration but no features in relief except the (fragmentary) nose.

The incised decoration denoting the necklace on the Logie Collection's Plank Figure (Cat. no. 39) consists of a series of double rows of white-filled curvilinear lines alternated with short oblique hatching, and, as on other Plank Figures, the necklace does not encircle the neck completely to appear on the back of the figure. A tighter, 'choker' style necklace is depicted by four sets of triple incised lines, the middle two of which are separated by oblique hatching. The eyebrows, and the remaining part of what may have once been a representation of hair or a head-band, are rendered in relief, with the addition of incised oblique lines. The eyes consist of two dot rosettes pressed into the clay, and the nose is in relief. Like many of its counterparts the figure has no mouth, but a single vertical line descends from the nose towards the 'choker' necklace. Oblique lines on the cheeks may represent hair, body-paint, or tattoos. On the back of the figure two pairs of incised vertical zigzags render the hair. At the
figure's right side a projection depicting an ear is pierced with three holes; the ear on the left side is now missing.

The hair on the Plank Figure head fragment in the Logie Collection (Cat. no. 40) is rendered in a more complex manner than that on the figure described above. The incision takes the form of quadrupled vertical zigzag lines which cross over at right angles to each other to form a series of lozenge shapes down the back of the head. On the front facial features are rendered by incision, with concentric circles depicting the eyes and horizontal lines and dashes the eyebrows. Horizontal lines across the forehead appear to depict hair or a head-band; oblique lines on the cheeks may represent tattoos, body-paint, or hair; and three vertical lines descending from the relief nose might represent the philtrum, or perhaps a nose pendant.1 A Campo2 discusses the lines which are often incised from the relief nose downwards, and she suggests that they represent tattoos or body-paint on the chin, as in her opinion they do not descend from the nose to the mouth, but rather are situated below the mouth. Karageorghis describes a Plank Figure which has a horizontal slit just below the nose, and he interprets this feature as a mouth, below which a vertical incised line terminates in a depression.3 Such a description agrees with a Campo’s suggestion that the vertical lines are actually on the chin rather than below the nose. However, Merrillees sees the vertical line as the philtrum,4 while Morris interprets it as a ‘pin or costume slit’,5 an explanation which Karageorghis sees as ‘not entirely convincing’.6 The present author agrees with the interpretation of the lines as belonging to a nose pendant, as already noted above, and offers the theory that these nose pendants, along with the so-called ‘arms’ incised on the fronts of Plank Figures, and the ‘brushes’ incised on their backs, are all ornaments suspended from cords. This theory will be discussed later in the present chapter in reference to the adornment of Plank Figures. The figure’s left ear, perforated with three holes, is still intact whilst the right ear is missing.

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1 E.Gjerstad et al. (1934) The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol.I (text), Stockholm, p.65, ref. Lapithos Tomb 307, No.13
2 A.a Campo (1994)
5 D.Morris (1985) p.162
2.2 Free-standing Plank Figures: occurrence, role, varieties

The free-standing Plank Figures in the Logie Collection have been classified as belonging to the Red Polished III category of ceramic wares. The numbered categories of Red Polished ceramics (I, II, III, IV) are not chronological, but are ascribed to different types, and because confusion has arisen regarding the chronological versus typological classification, it is here prudent to refrain from using the numbered system of classifying Red Polished wares. The present thesis will rely on describing the various types of Red Polished ware, as exemplified by Plank Figures or vessels, by noting the presence or absence of relief, incision, or applied three-dimensional decoration.

a. Technique of manufacture

The term 'Cypriot Red Polished ware' defines a group of ceramics which includes both vessels and Plank Figures. It is hand-made and was dominant for almost 800 years, both features which will prove to be significant in the attempt to interpret the role that this type of ware performed in Bronze Age Cypriot society. Clay types used for Red Polished ware varied during this long period, but essentially the sequence of styles created using this ware remained remarkably unchanged. Before firing, a slip in the form of a solution of red or brown clay was applied to the surface, and it was then burnished. The burnishing achieved both a measure of waterproofing and also had the effect of making the surface attractive to the eye. The slip fired to a bright red through to a brown, depending on the degree of oxidisation of the iron in the clay. Red Polished ware was decorated with three-dimensional applied decoration, relief ornamentation, and/or incised motifs which were filled with white lime to emphasise the designs.

The persons responsible for manufacturing vessels were probably the same as those who made Plank Figures as the fabrics and incised decoration are from the same repertoire. Talalay notes a similarity between Greek Neolithic figurines and vessels, commenting further:

6 V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.90
Ceramic vessels and figurines, however, also may have been linked by symbolic factors. Both classes of artifacts were possibly associated with a common symbol: the human form.8

Talalay’s observations have particular relevance to the present thesis which argues that vessels and Plank Figures in funerary contexts share a common symbolism relating to rebirth; with vessels acting as substitute wombs, and Plank Figures as psychopompoi.

Plank Figures are made from a flat slab of clay cut out to create a form that is essentially two rectangles joined together. The upper rectangle is small and represents the head and neck, whilst the lower, larger rectangle represents the body. Many Plank Figures have ear-projections at the sides of the head, and these are usually pierced with a number of holes, suggesting that the figures at some time may have worn earrings made from a non-permanent material as no earrings have been found in the holes. Some of the closely-associated Slab Figures, which for the purpose of the present thesis are grouped with Plank Figures,9 have earrings moulded from clay appearing in relief at the side of the head in conjunction with the ears. The later bird-headed figures, which have a slightly more rounded and realistically human form than Plank Figures, have earrings modelled separately from the figure and inserted through the large holes pierced in their oversized ears. Nearly all recorded examples of Plank Figures are manufactured from terracotta,10 but two very simplified stone versions of the Plank Figure type were found in the same tomb at Bellapais Vounous Tomb 2 (No’s 14 and 15),11 while another pair was found at Lapithos Tomb 322D (No’s. 2 and 4).12 It is relevant to the present thesis that these were discovered ‘paired’ as there is evidence for duality maintaining a role in the religious fabric of prehistoric Cyprus both in the form of double-headed Plank Figures, and in the open air rural sanctuary of the Late

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7 Y.Tatton-Brown (ed.) (1979) p.114
8 L.Talalay (1993) p.82
9 For the purposes of the present thesis, the term ‘Plank Figure’ will be applied to any figurine which has the flattened and stylised form of the ‘classic’ type, despite the fact that a number of types are differentiated by scholars. See especially V.Karageorghis (1991b) for a breakdown of the various types.
11 Archaeologia 88 (1938), PLXXXII. a, pl.137, Fig.27, pp.5,8,137; Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV:1A, p.263

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Bronze Age at Dhima, near Ayios Iakovos, where two podia suggest that two deities (or a dual deity) were worshipped there.13

b. Types of Plank Figures

The examples of Plank Figures manufactured from stone are not decorated, whereas the terracotta versions have incised ornamentation ranging from minimal to abundant. There is often a small amount of relief added to the flat clay slab, always depicting the nose, sometimes hair or a head-band, eyebrows, and occasionally arms and/or breasts although sexual characteristics are rarely shown. The emphasis that appears to be placed on the nose of Plank Figures might relate to Near Eastern practice where the nose is often depicted as the most important element in anthropomorphic depictions, whether they be figurines or anthropomorphised objects. P.Bar-Adon notes that the nose is the most emphasised motif on many of the statues of the ‘Mother-Goddess’ and suggests that it symbolises the breath of life.14 Such an interpretation is applicable to the emphasised nose on Plank Figures, especially if these figures represent fertility and rebirth. Some Plank Figures are depicted as kourotraphoi with a baby in a cradleboard held in the crook of the figure’s left arm, while others are depicted with two or even three heads. This unusual distortion of the human body adds credibility to the speculation that the meaning behind the deposition of these artefacts in graves with the dead is outside the mundane. The concept of duality and plurality relating to Bronze Age Cypriot artefacts will be dealt with later in the present chapter.

Images of babies in cradleboards, manufactured in incised Red Polished ware and placed in graves, may have similar connotations to those implied by the presence of kourotraphos Plank Figures in graves. In some cases the cradleboard is double with

13 J.Webb (1992) p.95; see also V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.69 who notes that the sanctuary follows Early Bronze Age traditions.
14 P.Bar-Adon (1962:223) ‘Expedition C - The Cave of the Treasure’ Israel Exploration Journal XII pp.215-226. One of the objects found in the ‘Cave of the Treasure’ at Nahal Mishmar, which has been tentatively identified as a ‘crown’ or as a section of a portable stand of some type, is decorated with a ‘face’ whose prime motif is a nose in relief. This motif is accompanied by incised decoration in the form of chevrons, zigzags, and an 8-pointed star. The link between the emphasised nose, the 8-pointed star, and Inanna-Ishhtar is worth noting, as is the use of chevrons and zigzags incised on the ‘crown’. For further discussion on the ‘breath of life’ interpretation of the emphasis placed on noses
two babies depicted, and it may be that the deceased was one of twins or that twins died at the same time. However, multiplicity may not be specifically relevant here as this is also a feature of Plank Figures and the technique and overall shape of cradleboard figures is reminiscent of these. This likeness is rendered specific in a cradleboard figure of unknown provenance which has a plank-shaped baby under a protective arch on the front, whilst the back is Plank Figure shaped, with the familiar double zigzag lines depicting hair.\(^\text{15}\) Another cradle-figure bears a strong resemblance to a Plank Figure in that the cradle itself has incised facial features in the form of depressions for eyes and a T motif depicting the nose and eyebrows.\(^\text{16}\) In a ‘twin’ example the cradleboard is personified as a female with depressions for eyes and a nose in relief appearing between the two babies under their protective arches. The whole cradleboard is provided with a pair of breasts and protective arms in relief across the midriff.\(^\text{17}\)

It would seem that in representations such as this the protective cradleboard takes on the role of mother; and as this mother is Plank Figure rather than human, the protective goddess is implied. As the babies are also usually Plank Figures it may be that these infants belong to the world of the goddess whose role may have been seen as associated with the unborn in life and the reborn in death. Scholars have reached no consensus regarding the ‘meaning’ of these figures in the funerary context. Morris suggests that they were to encourage future birth but why such objects should be placed in graves is not discussed.\(^\text{18}\) Karageorghis considers the cradled infant to be a symbol of fertility in the same way as the female holding a cradled infant.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{15}\) V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.C4, pl.LII:4. Cyprus Museum A15
\(^{16}\) V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.C8, pl.LIII:2. Provenance unknown. Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca, no.45
\(^{17}\) V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.C6, pl.LII:5. From Lapithos Tomb 15. Cyprus Museum A21
\(^{18}\) D. Morris (1985) p.152
c. Occurrence and possible prototypes of Plank Figures

Scholars have generally looked to Anatolia for the ancestors of Cypriot Plank Figures and they have found similarities in roughly rectangular stone figures found at Troy\(^{20}\) as well as associations in the so-called ‘Cappadocian’ figures, which have been dated to the beginning of the second millennium. The disc-shaped bodies of the ‘Cappadocian’ figures bear little resemblance to the Cypriot Plank Figures, but the presence of incised decoration and the incidence of single and multiple-headed types deserves comparison. Another comparable figure from Anatolia occurs in the terracotta ‘Caykenar’ type which also bears incised decoration and has single or double-headed varieties. This type is not securely dated but has been attributed to the middle or late Early Bronze Age (c.2700-2000 B.C.).\(^{21}\) The ‘Caykenar’ type is similar in form to the Cypriot ‘Comb Figures’. Despite similarities between these Anatolian figures and the Plank Figures of Cyprus, no definite links can be established. However, it may be productive for the present thesis to accept the possibility that the Anatolian artefacts are the tangible response of Anatolian cultural groups to the same stimulus as that which engendered the production of Plank Figures in Cyprus, namely the depiction of the goddess of death and life, Inanna-Ishtar or her equivalent.

d. Chalcolithic cruciform figures

There is very little to suggest a link between the cruciform figures of the Cypriot Chalcolithic period and Plank Figures. The occurrence of cruciform figures is mainly limited to western Cyprus, with exceptions being Kythrea in the central north of the island, and Erimi in the south; Plank Figures, however, are found in their greatest numbers in the north of the island. Cruciforms are human figurines with arms outstretched to the side and with knees drawn up in a pose suggesting that they might be in the process of giving birth,\(^{22}\) although the impression of a human imitating a bird is also a possible interpretation. Cruciform figurines are mostly manufactured from picrolite. Some are pierced for suspension and others may have been worn suspended from a thong around the neck. This method of wearing a pendant can be noted on a

\(^{19}\) V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.97. Cradleboard figures occur from the Cypriot Early Bronze Age in Red Polished ware through to White Painted ware examples in the Middle Bronze Age.
\(^{20}\) P.Aström (1972)
\(^{22}\) A.a Campo (1994) p.86
cruciform figurine from Yialia (Cyprus Museum 1934/III-2/2)\textsuperscript{23} which bears a miniature version of itself, depicted in relief, suspended around its neck (Fig. 2). In a different style and medium a terracotta figurine from the Chalcolithic site of Kissongera-Mosphilia (KM 1451)\textsuperscript{24} is depicted at the actual moment of giving birth. Like the cruciform from Yialia, it wears a pendant around its neck, probably in its own image, but painted on in this case (Fig. 1 – see Chapter One). It is highly unlikely that Plank Figures were made to be worn as they are too large to be comfortable and do not appear to have been pierced for suspension, unless the pierced ears performed that function.

![Cruciform idol](image)

**Fig. 2** Picrolite cruciform idol. Chalcolithic. From Yialia, Paphos. H.15.3cm

Possible links between cruciforms and Plank Figures might occur in the appearance of incised decoration on the so called ‘Salamiou’ type\textsuperscript{25} of cruciform, but the decoration bears no resemblance to that on Plank Figures. Another potential link which might have more to recommend it, is the appearance of double and triple-cruciforms which perhaps relate to the multiple-headed varieties of Plank Figures (Fig. 3 a,b). Karageorghis suggests that the double-cruciform figures represent both male and female\textsuperscript{26} and this could be a representation of a hermaphroditic deity. Multiplicity within a single form would seem to be the intention of both the cruciforms of this type, and the Plank Figures with multiple heads. The present writer is not suggesting there was necessarily a physical link between the culture which

\textsuperscript{23} V. Tatton-Brown (1979) cat. 13
\textsuperscript{24} V. Karageorghis (1991 b) p.9, pl.II:5
\textsuperscript{25} Named after the place where the first of the type was discovered.
manufactured cruciforms and that which created Plank Figures, but that both cultures may have shared a common source from which the concept of multiplicity, expressed in a single figure, was derived.

Fig. 3a. Picrolite cruciform idol. Chalcolithic period. From Salamiou, Anephani. Cyprus Museum 1959/11-3/6.


Like Plank Figures the cruciform figures were once considered to have been solely funerary in application, but some have been found in settlement contexts suggesting that they had functions both in life and in death. This might be linked with their fertility role where in life the figurine acted as a charm, and in death as an agent of rebirth.

There appears to be no temporal link between cruciforms of the Chalcolithic period and Plank Figures which come from graves of the Early to Middle Bronze Age periods; nor does there appear to be an association between cruciforms, Plank Figures and the Philia Culture, as neither type of figurine has been found in any of the excavated cemeteries associated with that culture. From available evidence it would

26 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.36
27 A.a Campo (1994) p.85
28 E.Peltenburg (1992:32) 'Birth pendants in life and death: evidence from Kissonerga grave 563' in G.Ionnides (ed.) (1992) Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis Nicosia, pp.27-34, notes that picrolite cruciforms are 'schematised versions' of birth-giving figurines and that they have a complex symbolism which is more than merely as an object of wish-fulfilment on behalf of a woman wanting to bear a child. The presence of cruciforms around the necks of deceased children adds weight to the interpretation of these pendants as symbolising not only birth, but also re-birth from the tomb.
appear that the custom of burying terracotta figures in graves began near the end of the Early Bronze Age.\textsuperscript{29}

e. Evolution of Plank Figures

Not only did the 'classic' type Plank Figures have quite a long period in vogue, from the Early Bronze Age to the Middle Bronze Age (c.200 years), but their concept can be traced through a series of transformations which saw the Early Bronze Age Plank Figure form gradually evolve into the Late Bronze Age bird-headed 'Earring Figure'. These figures are more rounded in form than Plank Figures and have arms, breasts, and defined pubic areas, yet maintain the multiple-pierced ears of their Plank Figure predecessors. Karageorghis sees the intermediary figures illustrated by Morris\textsuperscript{30} as being 'an important link for the typographical evolution from the plank-shaped idols to the fully developed types of the Late Bronze Age'.\textsuperscript{31} The eyes of two of the five such figures illustrated by Morris are represented by dot rosettes in the same style as those one of the Plank Figures in the Logie Collection (Cat. no.39), a detail that links the transitional figures with a Plank Figure which is of special reference in the present thesis.

It is possible to illustrate that through a series of evolutionary transformations the necklace-wearing, head-banded, pierced-eared, plank-like form developed into a folded-ear variety with moulded arms, and thence to a folded-ear variety which had breasts and pubic area unmistakably delineated. This type was followed in the Late Bronze Age by a figure with large pierced ears and a bird-like face, whose pubic area is emphasised in the same manner as that of the folded-ear variety (see Fig.4 e-h). Plank Figures rarely show gender, instead seeming to rely on the decoration incised on their bodies to characterise their identity; whilst their Late Bronze Age descendants have their female attributes emphasised, possibly suggesting that the earlier incised decoration was a less visually specific symbolic rendering of a similar message relating to fertility.

\textsuperscript{29} V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.1
\textsuperscript{30} D.Morris (1985) figs 254-258
\textsuperscript{31} V.Karageorghis, cited in D.Morris (1985) p.160
Dikaios noted that the Late Bronze Age bird-headed figures recall representations of the goddess Ishtar on Babylonian cylinder-seals, a comment pertinent to the theories expressed in the present thesis. The 500 years from the first appearance of Plank Figures in the Early Bronze Age until their evolutionary sequels in the Late Bronze Age is a period of time which demonstrates Plank Figures and their related types to be extremely persistent representatives of an as yet undefined ancient Cypriot belief system expressed by these artefacts placed in graves.

Plank Figures have usually been considered as associated solely with graves, but M. Mogelonsky notes the appearance of a few Plank Figure fragments found in a settlement context at Alambra, while Webb observes that some funerary figures show signs of having been damaged and repaired before being placed with the dead. The evidence of wear indicates that the figures had some use prior to being deposited in tombs, and their presence in settlement contexts suggests that, like the Chalcolithic cruciforms, they had some kind of role for the living as well as for the dead.

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34 J. Webb (1992) p. 87-99
Fig. 4 Evolution of figurines from Plank Figures to bird-headed figures.

a-d Red Polished ware Plank Figures    e-h Base Ring ware figurines
f. Possible role of Plank Figures

Many and varied interpretations of the role of Plank Figures in funerary contexts have been proposed by scholars. Some of these interpretations relate to the more general role of figures placed in graves in contexts outside Cyprus which have been discussed previously in Chapter One. Historically, the evidence for a ‘Mother Goddess’ interpretation of Plank Figures lies in Ishtar, Astarte, and Isis, but this theory finds little favour today; instead, scholars seem to be intent on devising as many interpretations as possible to negate the ‘goddess’ hypothesis. Ingenious though they are, often the theories regarding the meaning of the Plank Figures do not address the presence of such figures applied to vessels, nor do they take into account the fact that Bronze Age Cypriot figurines take a different form when depicting human activities such as ploughing or grinding grain. Both these anomalies seem to suggest that Plank Figures had a role other than the representation of everyday human activities.

Scholars such as M. Belgiorno, A. Orphanides, and P. Åström mention Egyptian funerary customs which place representations of household equipment and figures in the tombs with the dead in the expectation that the figures will come to life and serve the deceased in the next life, and they indicate that the Cypriot exemplar may follow these customs. Morris speculates that the figures might be ‘substitute figures’ - effigies of widows placed in their husbands’ graves to avoid the entombment of the real widows. This would seem to be a viable theory except that there is no evidence for the custom of entombing widows with their husbands, nor that Plank Figures were placed solely in the graves of males as, according to the excavators, at least one woman’s grave contained a Plank Figure. This lack of contextual evidence also tends to negate the theory that Plank Figures were effigies of concubines placed in the graves of men to provide for their sexual needs in the afterlife.

36 A. Orphanides (1983) p.45
37 P. Åström (1972) p.254
38 D. Morris (1985) p.162
P.Flourentzos interprets the role of Plank Figures as pertaining to the expression of beliefs regarding family and religion.⁴⁰ He also sees the double-headed variety of Plank Figures as magical ‘monsters’ belonging to a separate circle from the cult of the Mother Goddess.⁴¹ In a different approach J.Karageorghis identifies the double-headed Plank Figures as representing a double-faced Great Goddess,⁴² while she envisages the single-headed varieties as representing women in ceremonial dress or carrying a child, highlighting the role of women as life-givers in a matriarchal society.⁴³ It seems less than convincing that the single-headed and double-headed varieties of Plank Figures represent such a dichotomy as mortal women in one guise and a goddess in another. There is also a problem regarding the identification of the triple-headed Plank Figures if the double-headed examples represent a double-faced goddess.

A Campo notes that another possibility regarding the identification of Plank Figures is that they are representations of the Mother Goddess herself, her priestesses, or even women taking part in the cult of the Great Goddess.⁴⁴ Again, the two latter possibilities fail to address the incidence of multiple-headed varieties. Myres goes as far as suggesting that the double-headed Plank Figures ‘no doubt represent a pair of Goddesses like Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis.’ He goes on to note that ‘two-headed figures are also found in early tombs in Central Anatolia (Ankara Museum).’⁴⁵

It is possible that Plank Figures can represent either males or females, and the absence of breasts on most Plank Figures might suggest that two genders are represented; but it is also possible that the persons viewing Plank Figures were so cognisant of their female gender that it was not necessary to emphasise it. Perhaps Merrillees comes closest to the interpretation that will be put forward in this thesis when he notes that ‘each representation could have symbolised the continuity of human existence through procreation and life after death’.⁴⁶

⁴¹ P.Flourentzos (1975) p.31,n.3
⁴² J.Karageorghis (1977) La grand déesse de Chypre et son culte Lyon, p.60
⁴³ J.Karageorghis (1977) p.57-60
⁴⁴ A.a Campo (1994) p.107
⁴⁶ R.Merrillees (1980) p.184
Plank Figures have been found mainly in funerary contexts, which might suggest that their chief role was associated with supplying some requirement for the occupier of the grave. That their development into the bird-headed 'Earring Figures' can be illustrated, suggests that their role may have been somehow linked with fertility as the 'Earring Figures' were most likely intended to convey the idea of fertility with their unmistakably marked pubic area, their breasts, and their nakedness. This seems to be very different from the Plank Figures, which appear to be clothed and rarely show gender characteristics. Nevertheless, some do hold a baby, possibly in reference to fertility which in funerary contexts may be linked with the concept of rebirth. Fertility and rebirth are notable aspects of Inanna-Ishtar who descended into the Underworld, died, and returned to life in the upper world to restore the fertility which ceased while she was away. The present thesis will argue that the adornment of Plank Figures is similar to that of Inanna-Ishtar when she made her descent, and that as images of this goddess in funerary contexts, Plank Figures represent the concept of fertility employed to procure a rebirth of the dead into another life in the Underworld. The role of Plank Figures as images of Inanna-Ishtar is that of the psychopompos who conducts the souls of the dead and effects their rebirth. Dikaios interpreted Plank Figures as psychopompoi when he described them as being designed to escort the dead, but he believed them to be substitutes for human beings in this capacity, rather than images of a deity. In settlement contexts Plank Figures might have been construed as representing fertility in life, with a role as fertility charms for the living.

Morris makes an important observation for the interpretation of Plank Figures when he notes that the body of each figure is not as important as the adornments; thus it is possible to assume that a study of the decoration might lead to an interpretation of the role or identity of Plank Figures.

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47 In the Near Eastern context, E. Van Buren (1943:xlix) Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria New Haven and London, notes that at prehistoric South Kurgan, Anau, the earliest figurines discovered in human form were female and found in the graves of children who were placed in a foetal position and buried under the floor of the dwelling: 'This indicates that the image of the Mother-goddess was laid in the graves to promote and facilitate the speedy re-birth of these little beings cut off before their time.'
48 P. Dikaios (1961) p. 199
49 D. Morris (1985) p. 161
Karageorghis proposes that the flattened and stylised Plank Figures are miniature representations of larger cult statues made of wood which have not survived; he notes that these larger cult statues may have been decorated with incised designs, suitable to the medium. Historical evidence for the existence of simplified humanoid representations being the most ancient representations of deities comes from Greek sources; and although the difference in time is great between the Plank Figures of Bronze Age Cyprus and what may be images of first millennium B.C. Greece referred to by Greek writers, it may be that early representations of deities were archetypal rather than culture-specific. The early Greek xoana were dressed in the required accoutrements according to the festival or rite being performed at a certain time and it is possible that these rich adornments echo those appearing incised upon Cypriot Plank Figures. A Campo discusses the diversity of adornments on Plank Figures and suggests that their varying jewellery and apparel reflects a differentiation between the status of women in Early Cypriot society. However, the differing adornment might be alternatively interpreted as depictions of the various articles of dress and jewellery placed on a xoanon at any particular time for specific rites or festivals.

Historically, the evidence is unclear as to the appearance of Greek xoana, but most indications suggest that the objects defined by this title were simple unworked pieces of material which were placed in sanctuaries and represented deities. An Honorific Decree from Cyzicus of 37 A.D. notes that xoana were adorned:

"Δεδόξασε τοι δήμωι ἐκμηνύσθαι μεν τοῖς βασιλείς Ῥωμητάλην καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Κότων καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ῾Ρῶφαιαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἀνοιξαντας τὰ τεμένη καὶ προσκομίσαντας τὰ ἔδαν τῶν θεῶν εὐξασθεῖαι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαίου Καῖσαρος αἰώνιου διὰ μονῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦτων σωτηρίας:"

(SIG^3 II 798)

50 V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.49
51 A.a Campo (1994) p.170f
May the people have resolved that the basileis Rhoimetalkes and Polemon and Kotus and their mother Tryphaena shall be commended; during their entrance the priests and the priestesses, having opened the temene and added more ornaments to the xoana of the gods, shall pray for the continuance of the era of Gaius Caesar and for their salvation.\textsuperscript{52}

In the Near East, biblical references attest to the form of the deities worshipped by the idolatrous inhabitants of Israel:

\begin{quote}
For the customs of the people are vain: for one cutteth a tree out of the forest, the work of the hands of the workman, with an axe.
They deck it with silver and gold; they fasten it with nails and with hammers, that it move not.
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
(Jeremiah X:3,4)
\end{flushright}

It is explicit in the above quote that roughly-hewn wooden images were adorned with gold and silver; thus the fabric and ornamentation of these idols reflect Greek xoana of the historical period.

Scholars disagree on the meaning of the word xoanon, and, in reference to northern Greek inscriptions of the era of the first century B.C., some consider that it defines a wooden image, while others view it as a primitive image of any material.\textsuperscript{53} In the \textit{Anthologia Palatina} (XVI:249) it is stated that the xoanon is ‘beautiful’, which may suggest an adorned figure, but a quote from Diegesis to Callimachus suggests that prior to iconic statues, deities such as Hera were represented as ‘planklike’ and ‘unworked’ (Callimachus \textit{Aetia} IV:fr.100\textsuperscript{54}). The difference between the descriptions may be attributable to the appearance of an unadorned statue as opposed to an adorned one. If Plank Figures are miniature images of a large cult statue, they have been

\textsuperscript{52} A.Donahue (1988) \textit{Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture} Atlanta, Georgia, p.104 & 467
\textsuperscript{53} A.Donahue (1988) p.107
\textsuperscript{54} R.Fleitner (ed.) (1949) \textit{Callimachus I}, Oxford, p.105
incised with decoration depicting the adornments that were placed on the larger original.

It is arguable that the Cypriot Plank Figures are miniature representations of xoana-type images, made of wood, which have not survived. This possibility is further reinforced by the different style of anthropomorphic figures that Early and Middle Bronze Age Cypriots used when depicting everyday events with human involvement, such as ploughing and grinding grain. These figures are more rounded in form and lack the incised decoration found on Plank Figures. The ornately decorated plank-like form can thus be assumed to represent something other than a mortal human, and the most likely alternative is that it represents a deity; perhaps a copy in terracotta of larger statues such as those described in biblical sources and those described as xoana in Classical Greek sources.

g. Duality and plurality in Plank Figures

The incised decoration on Plank Figures provides a link between the disc-shaped ‘Cappadocian idols’ of Anatolia and Cypriot Plank Figures, and also like Plank Figures, ‘Cappadocian idols’ occur in single, double, and triple-headed varieties. Despite their radically different body shapes the Anatolian and Cypriot figures appear to be related. That the Cypriot potter may have known of ‘Cappadocian idols’ is suggested by what appears to be a disc-shaped idol in relief on an amphora from Tomb 16 at Pyrgos (Fig.5). From the evidence of multiple-headed idols with incised decoration, and the possible appearance of a ‘Cappadocian idol’ on a vessel, it can be concluded that single and multiple-headed figures reflect some aspect of both Anatolian and Cypriot cultures which may have shared a common source, but was expressed in different forms.

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This shared source of origin might also account for the Cypriot Chalcolithic double figurine which consists of one figure standing on the head of another (Fig.6),\(^56\) which can be compared with similar depictions from the Cyclades (Fig.7)\(^57\) as well as an ‘Eye Idol’ from Tell Brak (Fig.8).\(^58\) A further link between Cypriot Bronze Age Plank Figures and the ‘Eye Idols’ is provided by the two-headed variety of ‘Eye Idol’ (Fig.9)\(^59\) which can be compared with the Cypriot double-headed variety of Plank Figures (Fig.10).\(^60\) Significantly, there is also at least one example of a triple-headed ‘Eye Idol’, a circumstance that adds further weight to the possibility that the Brak images are somehow linked with those from Cyprus.\(^61\) It is of relevance to the present thesis that the ‘Eye Idols’ of Brak have been identified as images of a cult statue of Ishtar.\(^62\)

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56 D.Morris (1985) Fig.171
57 P.Getz-Preziosi (1985) pl.III
58 O.Crawford (1957) The Eye Goddess London, fig.2
59 O.Crawford (1957) fig.2
60 V.Karageorghis (1991b) pl.XL:1
61 S.Lloyd (1978) The Archaeology of Mesopotamia London, p.84
Plank Figures with multiple heads occur mainly in the Lapithos area although, according to Merrillees, at least one is attested from Dhenia in the western Mesaoria. Like their single-headed counterparts, the multiple-headed Plank Figures have been subject to much scholarship in an attempt to unravel the mystery of their appearance. Morris suggests that the multiple heads on Plank Figures may be related to wish-fulfilment whereby, through the power of sympathetic magic, twins or triplets will be born to a prospective mother. A Campo interprets double-headed Plank Figures as the pairing of figures in a representation related to marriage, but not necessarily a hieros gamos as has been suggested by previous scholars. However, if like the double-headed Plank Figures, the multiple-headed versions also represent marriage, it would suggest that monogamy was not part of the Bronze Age Cypriot social system. Furthermore, it would appear that the single body attached to all these figures is female, and if multiple marriages are represented, it may be that women had more than one husband, rather than vice versa as would be implied by multiple marriage according to modern androcentric eyes. The question would still remain as to why Plank Figures were given their special flat simplified form if they relate to human marriage, given that human figures with a more rounded form were being produced, as

63 R.Merrillees (1980) p.175
64 D.Morris (1985) p.145
65 A.a Campo (1994) p.165
66 See, however, J.Stewart in P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.290 'There is some slight evidence for monogamy' — but Stewart is not specific regarding this evidence.
attested to by the embracing human couples depicted on the neck of a jug (Vounous Tomb 19, no.10)\textsuperscript{67} and on a pyxis lid (Vounous Tomb 37, no.84).\textsuperscript{68} Considering this evidence, it would seem likely that Plank Figures represent something other than mortal humans and, if they depict a deity, it may be that the multiple heads reflect aspects of various roles or genders associated with that deity.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figures}
\caption{Eye idol from Brak. Ninevite period. Drawing after O. Crawford (1957) fig.2}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figures}
\caption{Red Polished Plank Figure. From Dhenia Tomb I:6. H. 30cm. Cyprus Museum Inv. no. 1943/IV-13/4.}
\end{figure}

T. Hadzisteliou Price confirms that the duplication or triplication of one goddess in order to show her different aspects is attested by literary evidence for goddesses such as Aphrodite and Hera of Samos, citing Aphrodite’s roles as Ourania, Pandemos and Averter (Pausanias IX:16.3).\textsuperscript{69}

One interpretation applicable to the double-headed varieties of Plank Figures is that they represent an hermaphroditic deity, whose two heads sharing a single body suggests dual gender. The single female body shared by the heads implies that the deity is nominatively female. However, hermaphroditism does not account for the appearance of triple-headed varieties. Triple-headed versions also occur among the

\textsuperscript{67} P.Dikaios (1940) ‘The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931-32’ \textit{Archaeologia} LXXVIII pp.1-175, pl.XIXd
\textsuperscript{68} P.Dikaios (1940) pl.XXXVa
\textsuperscript{69} T. Hadzisteliou Price (1971:53) ‘Double and multiple representations in Greek art and religious thought’ \textit{Journal of Hellenic Studies} XCI pp.48-69
Cappadocian disc-shaped idols, figurines which have an aspect of gender duality which is not immediately apparent as, although their gender is often specified by the presence of a female pubic region, the shape of the idols themselves seems to suggest the male penis and scrotum. A literary clue regarding duality in one figure appears in the Akkadian Creation Epic, probably written in the early second millennium B.C., which includes the story of the creation of Marduk from Apsu ('The Deep'). When Marduk's father, Ea, saw him, he:

\[
\ldots \text{ rendered him perfect and endowed him with a double godhead.} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{Four were his eyes, four were his ears;} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{Large were all four hearing organs} \ldots \text{70}
\]

This description provides evidence that at one time some form of dual or multiple beings, contained in one body, were considered to be part of the traditions associated with creation. The possibility that figures with multiple heads represent the male and female principle contained in the one body does not exclude the interpretation of such figures as representing the multiple roles of a deity as well.

Plank Figures are sometimes attached to multiple-bowl vessels and are often so abstracted as to appear no longer anthropomorphised, as is the case with some free-standing triple-headed Plank Figures. Links between abstracted Plank Figures on multiple-bowl vessels and free-standing abstract versions can be extrapolated to encompass the triple-back bench seat appearing before the tripartite shrine in the 'Vounous Bowl' model, and thence to the shrine itself which consists of three pillars surmounted by bucrania. Models of such tripartite shrines have been found in funerary

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E.Van Buren (1943), fig.188, illustrates a fragmentary figure, dated to 2400 B.C., which at one time had two heads although both are now missing. She identifies this figure as male and notes that the discoverer of the figure suggested that the double-headed form seemed to fit descriptions of the god Anschar-Ashur who is mentioned in the version of the Creation Epic from Kal'ah Sharkat (Ebling Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 58, pp.23ff): 'unimaginable, hard to behold, / four eyes, four ears he has, / if he moves his lips fire spurts forth(?), / four ears grow on him, / and four eyes
Two contexts: two from an Early Cypriot Bronze Age cemetery in the region of Kotchati/Margi and one from Kalopsidha, Tomb 5. D.Frankel and A.Tamvaki discuss the links between the shrine models and tripartite multiple-bowl vessel 'handles', but they do not fully investigate the parallels with Plank Figures. The links between Plank Figures, multiple-bowl vessels, and tripartite shrines can be best illustrated by a visual comparison (Fig. 11a-k). The fact that links between shrines and Plank Figures are possible tends to support the supposition that Plank Figures are related to the religious beliefs of the Bronze Age Cypriot people.

also behold all'. Significantly, for the present thesis, the figurine was discovered in the dump heaps in Court E of the temple of Ishtar at Ashur (p. 143f).

Fig. 11 Red Polished ware, Early Bronze Age. Links between forms.
In brief it may be safe to conclude that Plank Figures, rather than being merely utilitarian products, belong to the religious fabric of Bronze Age Cyprus, and that their multiple-headed varieties were echoing tripartite shrines or vice versa. As an adjunct to this, the dual and triple forms of Plank Figures may reflect hermaphroditism and/or multiple roles associated with the entity depicted. This polymorphism may have been represented initially by the earliest, simplified, stone versions of Plank Figures, which were found in pairs at Vounous and Lapithos (mentioned previously in the present chapter). The association between shrines and Plank Figures, supplemented by their fertility role, suggests that Plank Figures were linked to the religious beliefs of Bronze Age Cypriot people, perhaps both in death and in life. The flat, decorated form of Plank Figures may echo xoana in sanctuaries rather than depict actual human beings which are modelled in a more rounded and realistic manner. If Plank Figures are small versions of larger cult statues, they represent a nominatively female deity, a deity which is associated with dual or multiple roles, has distinctive clothing and adornment, and is associated with fertility in life and in death. Such a goddess is Inanna-Ishtar.

2.3 Images of deities: plurality, duality, and double gender

From an early period polymorphism seems to be associated with figurines which have been interpreted as representations of deities. One manifestation of this multiplicity is double gender which has been an essential element associated with many figurines stemming from a number of cultures from the Palaeolithic onwards. The present thesis takes up the thread at the Neolithic period which can be related to the Cypriot experience more readily than can the Palaeolithic examples.

a. Neolithic to Chalcolithic examples of duality in figures

Androgynous figurines have been discovered in a number of geographically diverse Neolithic contexts. One example is the small stone figure, found at Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, which represents a goddess, yet has the shape of a phallus.

72 The double gender of figures from the Palaeolithic onwards is discussed by S.Giedion (1962) p.233ff
G. Zuntz notes that this is ‘a symbolism of the “two in one” which has analogies near and far from periods older as well as later’. Figurines with similarly ambiguous gender have also been found at Arpachiyah, a location of special interest to the present thesis for its relationship with the Neolithic Cypriot Khirokitia culture (see Chapter Four).

S. Giedion illustrates a number of Neolithic figurines, from various cultures, which may be viewed as being of dual gender, and which exemplify the cultural spread associated with this form of figurine. The examples illustrated are from Italy, Palestine, and Wales (Fig. 12a-c) and all might be associated in style with a limestone figurine from Sotira in Cyprus (Fig. 12d). Peltenburg suggests that the Sotira figurine is not so much representative of a human figure as of: ‘the combination of male and female genitals’, a description which could be applied to any of the figurines illustrated by Giedion.

Not all double figures have explicitly dual gender. Double-headed figures which have no gender characteristics have been found in an Early Neolithic (c. 7200-6000 B.C.) context at 'Ain Ghazal in Amman, Jordan. In this excavation three examples of double-headed figures appeared among more than thirty nearly life-size

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Fig. 12a-d. Late Neolithic figurines from a Italy, b Palestine, c Wales, d Sotira, Cyprus.

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74 *Iraq II* (1933) fig. 47: 5-13
75 S. Giedion (1962) *Fig. 165*
76 E. Peltenburg (1990) *Cyprus Before the Bronze Age: Art of the Chalcolithic Period* Malibu, Cat. 10
statues discovered in two caches in 1983 and 1985. These plaster figures were built over reed armatures, their faces were tinted with red ochre, and their eyes were inlaid with bitumen (Fig.13). The figures are without gender and the heads on each are nearly identical; a circumstance which might link them, stylistically, more with the double-headed representations discovered in Cypriot Bronze Age contexts rather than with those hermaphroditic figures discussed in the previous paragraph.\textsuperscript{78} G.Rollefson, the excavator of the 'Ain Ghazal figures, believes that they may have represented ancestors or 'the mythical progenitors of humankind'.\textsuperscript{79} This latter idea ties in very well with the opinions expressed in the present thesis.

Another Neolithic example of a dual figurine, from Çatal Hüyük (Shrine VI.A.10 c.5950-5880 B.C.), is in the form of a double-headed 'goddess' with two pairs of breasts but only one pair of arms and a single body (Fig.14).\textsuperscript{80} In the early fifth millennium, 'goddess' figures from the Vinca culture of 'Old Europe' are depicted with two heads sharing one body, and like Cypriot Plank Figures these figurines are decorated with incised ornamentation (Fig.15).\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{77} A.Schuster (1996) 'Ghosts of 'Ain Ghazal' Archaeology (July/August), pp.65-66
\textsuperscript{78} J.Thimme (1977) \textit{Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.} Chicago lists the differing periods and cultures in which double-headed statuettes occur: p.183 n.24
\textsuperscript{79} J.Thimme (1977) p.66
\textsuperscript{80} J.Mellaart (1967) Çatal Hüyük A Neolithic Town in Anatolia London, fig.70
\textsuperscript{81} M.Gimbutas (1974) \textit{The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe 7000 to 3500 B.C.: Myths, Legends and Cult Images} London, figs 86, 90, 100
Fig. 14 White marble double figure. c.5950-5880
From shrine VI.A.10, Çatal Hüyük

Fig. 15 Double-headed goddess. 5th millennium
From Gomolava, northern Yugoslavia

The two-headed type of anthropomorphic representation continues into Bronze Age Anatolia which was home to figurines known as the ‘Caykenar Type’ (Fig. 16). This highly abstracted type of figure occurs in both single and double-headed forms, and it has incised decoration filled with white in much the same way as the Red Polished ware Plank Figures from Cyprus. It has its closest associations with the Bronze Age Cypriot ‘Comb Figures’, which have been identified as abstracted anthropomorphised figures by Morris. These ‘Comb Figures’ may have a much greater symbolic meaning than has previously been suggested and this will be discussed later in the present thesis.

Fig. 16 Caykenar type idol. From Anatolia.
The 'Eye Idols' from Tell Brak also have double-headed varieties, and it is of special interest that these figures have been identified as small versions of larger cult images of Inanna-Ishtar - similar to the example depicted in relief on a wall of the H-sanctuary in the archaic temple of Ishtar at Ashur. This is evidence of a specific link between the double-headed 'Eye Idols' and the goddess Inanna-Ishtar. One double-headed 'Eye Idol' has a smaller figure depicted incised onto the body, a motif which is shared by a 'Cappadocian idol' from Kültepe.

Like the multiple-headed variety of Plank Figures, the disc-shaped 'Cappadocian idols' from Kültepe consist of one body with two or more heads; and following in the footsteps of their ancestor from Çatal Hüyük, these figurines seem also to be associated with appliqué ornaments in gold, from a Royal Tomb at Alaca Hüyük, which depict violin-shaped double figures which hold hands (Fig. 17). In the case of the gold ornaments, their duality is expressed by two linked figures, whereas the Cappadocian versions consist of a single body modified either by double or multiple heads, or by another figure superimposed on the disc-shaped body. As has been noted previously the 'Cappadocian idols' are also decorated with incised ornamentation, linking them with the Cypriot Plank Figures.

Fig. 17 Appliqué ornaments in gold from a Royal Tomb at Alaca Hüyük

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82 D.Morris (1985) pp.138-141
83 E.Van Buren (1950) p.142
84 H.Kosay (1956) 'Allgemeines über die schmucksachen der älteren bronzeperiode: Alaca Hüyük' in S.Weinberg (ed.) (1956b) The Aegean and the Near East: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman New York, pp.36-38, pl.II:6. It is interesting to note in association with these figures paired figures holding hands which appear in relief on a Red Polished ware vessel from Dhenia. For an illustration and comment see V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.163, fig.129.
A different form of duality is seen in the crossed-cruciform double figures of Chalcolithic Cyprus which R.Reitler interpreted as ‘bi-sexual [bi-gender] representations of the creating deity’. G.Zuntz suggests that the crossed-cruciform figurine type has antecedents at Arpachiyah in the ‘Maltese cross’ painted on the shoulder of a Mother Goddess figure. Perhaps the second version of themselves, in pendant form and worn around the neck of some Chalcolithic figurines, is another variant expression of duality rather than a piece of adornment relating to the protection of the wearer. Morris does not see these figures as representing a goddess by reason of the fact that ‘no self respecting goddess would need the protection of her own image hanging from her neck.’ But if the pendant is a reflection of the double aspect of a goddess, then it need no longer be explained as a depiction of an item of jewellery with apotropaic qualities.

Duality has also been noted previously in the Cycladic figurines in which a smaller version stands on the head of a larger version. This occurs again in an example of an ‘Eye Idol’ from Brak and a Chalcolithic figurine from Cyprus. Once more, the image seems to express a duality in representing figures, a duality (perhaps expressing dual gender) which can be linked to many differing cultures and times.

b. Inanna-Ishtar, Aphrodite, and their bearded alter-egos

H.Baumann noted that true double gender created ‘unity from duality’, adding that the concept of an androgynous godhead was universal and that greater power resulted through the combining of the sexes. Baumann also believed that transvestism was an expression of that belief, and it will be noted in the present thesis that transvestism was part of the ritual observances relating to Inanna-Ishtar, a goddess with both male and female manifestations. Ishtar’s double gender is made explicit in a prayer of lamentation in which she is addressed as both god and goddess: I - what have I done, O my god and my goddess? According to Philochorus (Jacoby Fragmente

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85 R.Reitler Ipek XX (1963) p.27 cited in G.Zuntz (1971) p.16 n.4
86 G.Zuntz (1971) p.16 n.4
87 D.Morris (1985) p.126
der griechischen Historiker, 328) transvestism was also a feature of the worship of Venus as the moon, and Macrobius notes that in Cyprus there was a bearded statue of Aphrodite wearing female clothing but having male attributes (Saturnalia VIII:2).

c. Transvestism

Cross-dressing is an aspect of the Near Eastern cult of Inanna-Ishtar which points towards the importance given to the dual gender of this goddess, and it is made explicit in a hymn to Inanna quoted by D.Wolkstein and S.Kramer.\(^{90}\)

The women adorn their right side with men's clothing.
The people of Sumer parade before you.
I say 'Hail!' to Inanna, Great Lady of Heaven!
The men adorn their left side with women's clothing.
The people of Sumer parade before you.

I.Gelb\(^{91}\) discusses the Near Eastern 'lamentation priests' and uses administrative texts of the Pre-Sargonid period to show that they 'had certain feminine characteristics', concluding that these were of a homosexual or transvestite nature. In some aspects of the Ishtar cult, castrated priests, kurgarû and assinnû are found.\(^{92}\)

The ritual of cross-dressing associated with the worship of Inanna-Ishtar continued in Lebanon in relationship with Aphrodite. This association is attested by Eusebius, in his Life of Constantine (III:55), who refers to a temple of Aphrodite at Aphaka in Lebanon as:

... a hidden and fatal snare of souls, ...(dedicated to)... the foul
demon known by the name of Aphrodite. Here men undeserving
of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the

\(^{92}\) H.Ringgren (1973) Religions of the Ancient Near East London, p.81
demon by their effeminate conduct; here too the unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrific and infamous practices, were perpetrated.\textsuperscript{93}

Herodotus provides evidence of the association between effeminacy and Aphrodite when he relates how Aphrodite afflicted the Scythians with the ‘feminine disease’ in response to their pillaging the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ascalon (I:1031). The ‘feminine disease’ is a somewhat obscure term. It may have meant effeminacy and if this is the case Aphrodite’s curse is doubly effective as the Scythians are not only afflicted by an unwanted condition, but they are also conscripted unwillingly into the ranks of her devotees. In his \textit{Exhortation to the Greeks} (II) Clement of Alexandria refers to the ‘effeminate disease’, linking it with castration. He describes how a Scythian king\textsuperscript{94} slew, with an arrow, a fellow countryman\textsuperscript{95} who was imitating among the Scythians the rite of the Mother Goddess. Clement notes that this man, who had been ‘deprived of his own virility in Greece, was now communicating the effeminate disease to his fellow Scythians.’\textsuperscript{96} The same group of effeminate persons, called ‘Enarees’ by Herodotus, was capable of prophecy using a method which ‘they affirm was taught to them by Aphrodite’ (IV:66), providing another link between the ‘Enarees’ and this goddess.

Cross-dressing occurs also in relation to the Aphrodite cult at Cyprus and a statue of an effeminate priest of Aphrodite holding a dove\textsuperscript{97} seems to provide evidence to support this. M.Delcourt refers to the bearded Aphrodite of Cyprus who had a woman’s body and clothing but the beard and sexual organs of a man, commenting that as part of the cultic rites associated with this statue men dressed as women and women as men.\textsuperscript{98} The presence of a bearded Aphrodite in Cyprus constitutes a

\textsuperscript{93} The abolition of ritual prostitution associated with the worship of Aphrodite in Syria occasioned a violent reaction from the people (Eusebius \textit{V. Const.} III:58)
\textsuperscript{94} Saulius according to Herodotus (IV:76)
\textsuperscript{95} Named Anarcharsis - Herodotus (IV:76)
\textsuperscript{96} Clement of Alexandria \textit{Exhortation to the Greeks} translated by G.Butterworth, Loeb Classical Library
\textsuperscript{97} G.Hill (1972) \textit{A History of Cyprus} Vol.I. Cambridge p.LIX (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)
\textsuperscript{98} M.Delcourt (1961) \textit{Hermaphrodite: Myths and rites of the bisexual figure in classical antiquity} London, p.27
positive link with Inanna-Ishtar in that there was a bearded Ishtar of Babylon with whom the goddess Nannaya identified herself in a bilingual hymn from eighth century Assyria.\(^99\) The bearded aspect of the goddess is reiterated in a prayer of Ashurbanipal in which Ishtar, although in all other respects female, wears a beard.\(^100\)

d. The multiple roles of Inanna-Ishtar

Inanna-Ishtar's duality of gender is only one aspect of her multiplicity as she is a composite deity in a number of complex ways. She is partly Sumerian and partly Semitic, a syncretism derived from the merging of Akkadian with Sumerian anthropomorphic polytheistic religious beliefs when the Akkadians settled in northern Babylonia and assimilated the culture of the area. She has a number of different aspects, including dualities such as morning/evening star, love/war, and male/female,\(^101\) whilst still retaining her aspects incorporating the fertility of vegetation and animal life and her role as sacred courtesan. Her associations with the death and reappearance of vegetation are reflected in the Sumerian epic the *Descent of Inanna* (and in its Akkadian equivalent the *Descent of Ishtar*) and her experiences in the realm of the dead equip her for the role of one who is able to restore the dead to life. She is the epitome of the multi-faceted deity.

e. Inanna-Ishtar as the morning and evening star

Perhaps the most obvious dual manifestation of Inanna-Ishtar is her appearance as the morning and evening star. In a hymn of self-praise she refers to herself as

\[
\text{Ishtar, the goddess of the evening am I,}
\]
\[
\text{Ishtar, the goddess of the morning am I\(^{102}\)}
\]

The identification of Inanna-Ishtar as the planet Venus is referred to in astronomical and astrological recordings of the eighth year of Ammisaduqa (1639 B.C.) in which the


\(^101\) For a discussion regarding a Hermaphrodite Inanna-Ishtar see B.Groneberg (1986) 'Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Istar: Hermaphroditos?' *Die Welt des Orients* 17, pp.25-46

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planet is called Ninsi'ana, a name which appears on an inscription of Amar-Su'en (2046-2038 B.C.) as a name of Inanna.103

Inanna-Ishtar is rendered symbolically by a star, sometimes in a style similar to the manner in which the sun-disc of Shamash is depicted.104 K.Maxwell-Hyslop notes that the star of Inanna-Ishtar was used for ritual purposes, quoting in evidence an inscription of Gudea: the (star) disc, symbol of Ininna, he set up.105 The eight-pointed star of Inanna-Ishtar was often inscribed on a disc and did not differ much from the rosette which first appears in Mesopotamian art on cylinder-seals of the Jamdat Nasr period at the end of the 4th millennium, and which, like the star, was also used from an early period as a symbol of this goddess.106 Pendants and amulets in the form of a star were widespread throughout the Near East in the second and early first millennium B.C., attesting to Inanna-Ishtar’s widespread popularity at this time. It is of interest that Mesopotamian influence might even be discernible in Minoan iconography as F.Matz107 sees a ‘Star of Ishtar’ on some Cretan seals.

Teleilat el-Ghassul provides evidence of the importance placed on the eight-pointed star in the first half of the fourth millennium as this motif, 1.82m in diameter and painted in several colours, occurs in a wall painting. It may be, as Cles-Redon suggests, a symbolic rendering of a religious conception of the universe at an early date,108 or it may be a symbol of the goddess of the morning and evening star, Inanna-Ishtar.

The eight-pointed rayed circle appears as incised decoration on Cypriot vessels of the Early Bronze Age, a circumstance which will be noted in Chapter Three in

102 Quoted by H.Ringgren (1973) p.60
103 W.Heimpel (1982) p.10f
106 K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.142

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reference to vessels, their funerary applications, and their possible associations with Inanna-Ishtar.

f. **Inanna-Ishtar as warrior**

Inanna-Ishtar's symbolism as a star also appears to be related to her aspect as a warrior goddess. This association is attested to in a number of literary references, including the *Hymn to Inanna as Warrior, Star, and Bride* quoted by T.Jacobsen:109

> The queen marvelled at by the nation,  
> the lone star, the morning star,  
> the queen hovering where heaven is founded,  
> has seen fit  
> to come forth warrior-like on high,  
> and all lands do tremble before her. (1.133–135)

Inanna-Ishtar's warrior guise is attested by a number of texts and with such specific evidence it would be negligent to rely on speculation regarding this aspect of the goddess when extant literature provides ample confirmation. Accordingly, a *Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar*, another hymn with stellar/warrior associations, is quoted in support of this particular role of Inanna-Ishtar, in this instance from J.Pritchard:110

> O brilliant one, torch of heaven and earth, light of all peoples,  
> O unequaled angry one of the fight, strong one of the battle,  
> O firebrand which is kindled against the enemy, which brings about the destruction of the furious,  
> O gleaming one, Ishtar, assembler of the host ...  
> (1.35–37)

---


Inanna-Ishtar is also depicted as a warrior on a number of cylinder-seals and on a wall painting at Mari (Court 106).\(^{111}\) In this depiction Inanna-Ishtar is shown in full war regalia, complete with weapons issuing from behind her shoulders, and wearing the ubiquitous crossed chest-bands which appear on numerous Near Eastern figurines. She hands the insignia of kingship to the king whilst resting her right foot on a lion, a symbol of her warrior aspect.

Inanna-Ishtar’s manifestation as a warrior goddess is not an aspect which appears in conjunction with Bronze Age Cypriot Plank Figures; but her warrior alter ego reappears in the Semitic Aštarte, and in the Greek Aphrodite, both goddesses who might be seen as related to Cypriot Plank Figures in other respects. The warrior aspect of Aštarte and Aphrodite will be referred to again in Chapter Five in the discussion of Aphrodite’s ancestral lineage in the Near East. Only one Cypriot Plank Figure might be understood as bearing the crossed chest-bands often associated with warrior and goddess figures in the Near East; an incised line forms an X on the chest of one of a pair of figures depicted in relief on the shoulder of a fragment of a Red Polished jug from Photta(?), Kyrenia district (Fig.18).\(^{112}\) Some early Mesopotamian figures also display this form of decoration and an example occurs on a terracotta figurine from Ur (Fig.19)\(^{113}\) which has multiple applied necklaces and the remains of an applied band which crosses between the breasts. Crossed bands, some of which appear to be wide ornamented straps, also appear on a significant proportion of the ‘Cappadocian’ idols from Anatolia (Fig.20)\(^{114}\)


\(^{112}\) V.Karagorghis (1991b) pl.CXXXI:2,3 cat.no.XIII.4, p.163

\(^{113}\) G.Dales (1963:fig.8) ‘Necklaces, Bands and Belts on Mesopotamian Figurines’ *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archaeologie Orientale* 57, pp.21-40

\(^{114}\) S.Lloyd (1967) *Early Highland Peoples of Anatolia* London, fig.36. This particular example comes from a circular stone tomb which is older than the Early Bronze Age ‘megaron’ at Kultepe.
Crossed chest-bands also appear on a depiction of Astarte, Inanna-Ishtar’s alter ego, in her Egyptian syncretic manifestation. On a painted relief plaque in the Winchester College collection a goddess, identified on the plaque as ‘Qudshu-Astarte-Anath’, is depicted standing on a lion. She is naked save for a broad collar-necklace, black bracelets on her arms and wrists, and the remnants of a black girdle and crossed chest-bands. In her right hand she holds a single lotus and in her left a serpent. In this image, three of the most important goddesses of Western Asia are incorporated into one figure. In addition, the en face representation traditional in depictions of Hathor brings this Egyptian goddess into the syncretic compound illustrated on the plaque.
g. Fertility, love, and prostitution

In Egypt Hathor, like the Greek Aphrodite and the Sumerian/Akkadian Inanna-Ishtar, is the goddess of love and its associated aspect, fertility. Inanna-Ishtar’s role in the Near Eastern new year’s ‘Sacred Marriage’ rite is a melding of her love and fertility aspects. She also has a fertility role associated with the cycles of vegetation and reproduction which is exemplified in her descent to the Underworld during which time the earth becomes sterile. After Inanna-Ishtar’s resurrection the earth becomes fertile again and the continuing cycles of vegetation are represented by the goddess sending Dumuzi and his sister Geshtinanna to be her replacements in the Underworld - each for half a year. This theme is echoed in the Greek Demeter-Persephone myths and in those of Aphrodite and Adonis.

Pritchard quotes the Akkadian Descent of Ishtar, a section of which is explicit in describing the lack of the fertility of the upper world whilst Ishtar is in the Underworld:

Ishtar has gone down to the nether world, she has not come up.
Since Ishtar has gone down to the Land of no Return,
The bull springs not upon the cow, the ass impregnates not the jenny,
In the street the man impregnates not the maiden.
The man lies down in his (own) chamber,
The maiden lies down on her side.

(reverse 1-10)

Inanna-Ishtar’s role in the continuance of the cycles of vegetation is attested by texts relating to the annual ‘Sacred Marriage’ between Inanna-Ishtar and the king.

Kramer quotes a passage from a British Museum ‘Sacred Marriage’ text in which the result of the union of the king with the goddess is itemised:

Under his reign may there be plants, may there be grain,
At the river may there be overflow,
In the field may there be rich grain, . . .
May the holy queen of vegetation pile high the grain in heaps and
mounds,
My queen, queen of heaven and earth, queen who encompasses
heaven and earth,
May he enjoy long days [at your holy] lap.

It is not difficult to associate the love and fertility goddess with the courtesan,
as the priestesses in the temples of Inanna-Ishtar took the role of the goddess in the
yearly 'Sacred Marriage' ritual, and their ongoing role as sacred prostitutes may have
been to encourage fertility throughout the rest of the year. Moreover, Inanna-Ishtar
herself bore the epithet 'prostitute' in both Sumerian and Akkadian; and one bilingual
text calls her the 'loving prostitute' in Sumerian, whilst in Akkadian the phrase is
rendered as the 'prostitute who knows her man'. A combination of these two
phrases might equate with \( \phi \lambda \omicron \mu \mu \omicron \delta \alpha \) 'member loving', one of Aphrodite's epithets
in Hesiod's \textit{Theogony} (1.200), although Hesiod's rationalisation of the epithet, as
referring to Aphrodite's birth from the severed genitals of Ouranos, is somewhat
different from the Akkadian meaning (see Chapter Five for further discussion on this
point).

Jacobsen quotes from a text which depicts Inanna-Ishtar as a prostitute: 121

\textbf{O harlot, you set out for the alehouse,}

117 J.Pritchard (1955)
118 S.Kramer (1969) \textit{The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth, and Ritual in Ancient Sumer}
Bloomington, p.83
119 Inanna's epithet in Sumerian is 'nu-gig' (sacred prostitute) and it is used especially in reference to
Inanna as a mother: 'ama nu-gig'. The 'nu-gig' has a role in fertility and in childbirth according to
Sumerian literary texts (J.Westenholz [1989] 'Tamar, \textit{Qe'desa, Qadisâ}, and Sacred Prostitution in
120 J.Bottéro (1987) 'La femme, l'amour et la guerre in Mésopotamie ancienne' in \textit{Poikilia. Etudes
offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant} Paris: Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, renders this as
'prostituée familière avec le pénis.'
and London, p.140
O Inanna, you are bent on going to your (usual) window
(namely to solicit) for a lover -
O Inanna, mistress of myriad offices,
no god rivals you!

It is of particular interest that Inanna-Ishtar, in her role as prostitute, displays herself at a window as this motif occurs in the Cypriot myth of Aphrodite Parakyptousa.

2.4 The identification of Plank Figures as Inanna-Ishtar

In the present thesis it is important for the argument to note that if immigrant cultures came to Cyprus from areas that were familiar with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar, it is possible that Plank Figures represent a version of this deity. The presence of Plank Figures in Cypriot graves might be accounted for by the association between Inanna-Ishtar’s death and resurrection and that of the deceased who, by the intercession of the goddess present in the tomb in effigy, can undergo a similar regeneration. According to Sumerian belief, statues of a deity actually harbour the god or goddess,122 and it is likely that small versions of the larger cult statue were perceived in the same manner.

a. The Near Eastern myths of the descent and return of Inanna-Ishtar

The notion that Cypriot Plank Figures are small, portable images of a large cult statue may find some support in the ancient Near Eastern texts that tell the story of the descent of Inanna or Ishtar into the Underworld. One passage seems to describe the goddess as a statue being progressively broken down into its composite materials which are then mixed with the commonest forms of these. It is impossible to tell if these materials are being used only as metaphors, or whether a double meaning is intended:

O Father Enlil! Let no man put to death
your child in Hades!
Let him not mix your good silver

in among Hades' dust,
let him not cut up your good lapis lazuli
in among the flint-arrowhead maker's stones,
let him not split up your good boxwood
in among the carpenter's lumber,
let him not put to death in Hades
the maiden Inanna

If the wood, silver and lapis lazuli, quoted in the Descent of Inanna were the materials from which a statue was assembled, it is possible that Inanna-Ishtar's descent into the Underworld was the ritual journey of a statue, perhaps undertaken on an annual basis like the ritual 'Sacred Marriage' which took place between a representative of the goddess and the king. If this is the case, the appearance of Plank Figures in Cypriot graves, as images of a larger cult statue which made a symbolic journey to the Underworld, would be even more closely allied with Inanna-Ishtar.

It is the association between Inanna-Ishtar and the realms of the dead that might link this goddess with the deity whom Cypriot Plank Figures represent. Although it has been noted previously in the present thesis that Plank Figures have been found in settlement contexts, it is in graves that they appear most frequently. By virtue of her descent into the Underworld, her death, and her return, Inanna-Ishtar is the archetypal goddess relating to the resurrection of vegetation and also of the dead. In the Descent of Inanna her ability to resurrect the dead is made clear:

When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
Verily the dead hasten ahead of her.

A prayer of lamentation to Ishtar reiterates her abilities as a goddess of regeneration:

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124 G. Buccellati (1982) 'The Descent of Inanna as a Ritual Journey to Kutha?' Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 4/3 (Dec.) suggests that this is the case and even goes as far as defining the destination of the statue on its journey from southern to northern Babylonia.
125 J. Pritchard (1955) p.56
Where thou dost look, one who is dead lives; one who is sick rises up.\textsuperscript{126}

Prior to her descent into the Underworld, Inanna-Ishtar dons the ornaments and garments that symbolise her power. Inanna’s adornments differ slightly from those of Ishtar as is evidenced by a comparison of the articles removed by the gatekeeper at each gate the goddess passes through during her descent.

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Inanna\textsuperscript{127} & Ishtar\textsuperscript{128} \\
\hline
1. \textit{Kaffieh} and \textit{aghal}, the desert headdress & 1. The great crown of her head \\
2. Yardstick and measuring line & 2. Pendants on her ears \\
3. Small lapis lazuli beads about her neck & 3. Chains around her neck \\
4. Yoked oval stone beads on her chest & 4. Ornaments on her breast \\
5. Gold rings of her hands & 5. Girdle of birthstones at her hips \\
6. Breast-shields & 6. Clasps around her hands and feet \\
7. Robe of queenship & 7. Breechcloth around her body \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The process of adornment followed by the removal and then the return of Inanna-Ishtar’s apparel suggests a ritual of some kind, with a question-and-answer formula to be adhered to during both the removal of the emblems of power, and the subsequent re-dressing processes. The initial adornment sequence also appears to have a ritual nature, and can be related to a number of dressing motifs occurring in reference to Inanna-Ishtar such as in \textit{Love in the Gipar} (lines 10-24),\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Courting, Marriage, and Honeymoon} (lines 12-17),\textsuperscript{130} and \textit{Prosperity in the Palace} (lines 27-30).\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{126} J.Pritchard (1955) p.384
\textsuperscript{127} T.Jacobsen (1987) p.213ff
\textsuperscript{128} J.Pritchard (1935) p.107f
\textsuperscript{130} J.Pritchard (1969a) p.202-3
\textsuperscript{131} J.Pritchard (1969a) p.206-7
Statues of Inanna-Ishtar were adorned, as witnessed by the inventory of the treasure of Ishtar of Lagaba which itemises many articles of jewellery and clothing along with non-wearable items such as cups and lamps:

2 gold rings; 1 gold vulva; 19 gold flowers(?); 2 gold rods [branches?]; 2 gold dress-pins; 2 silver ear-rings; one ... of carnelian; 4 cones; 6 cylinder seals; 2 stamp seals; 1 chain of electrum(?); 6 ivory pins; 1 large ring of carnelian; 2 fleeced skirts; 3 linen robes; 6 woven head-bands;; 4 ... head-bands; 5 head-dresses(?); 1 cover; 3 bronze cups; [x] lamps; all this, the amounts written down, deposited in the chest is the old equipment. 132

b. Associations between Inanna-Ishtar and Cypriot Plank Figures

The ritual dressing of statues in the various articles of attire required for specific occasions may explain the varied decorations incised onto Plank Figures. It may be that the Plank Figures, manufactured at a certain time of the year, were depicted wearing the adornments that appeared on the larger cult figure at that particular time. Adornment is also of special interest to the ancient writers whose literature relating to Inanna-Ishtar abounds with descriptions of her attiring herself in clothing and jewellery. Enough evidence exists to support the proposal that the adornments of Inanna-Ishtar were not merely an expression of her feminine delight in clothes and jewels, but instead had some ritual meaning pertaining to her role as a love/fertility goddess. Some passages are explicit in their definition of articles of adornment as symbolic, and a passage of the Descent of Inanna exemplifies this:

Kaffieh and ahgal,
the desert headdress,
she has put on her head,
the wig of her brow she has taken,
holds in the hand

a pure yardstick
and measuring line.
Small lapis lazuli beads
she has hung around her neck,
with yoked oval stone beads
she has covered her chest.
Gold bracelets
she has slipped over her hands,
the breast-shield (named)
‘O come man, come hither, come hither!’
she has drawn over her chest;
the kohl (named)
‘O may he come, may he come!’
she has put on her eyes.
With the robe of office,
the robe of queenship,
she has covered her back!

(1.103-112)\(^{133}\)

Another passage, in an address to Inanna-Ishtar by Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad, is even more explicit regarding the necklace worn by Inanna-Ishtar:

you, my lady, dress like one of no repute
in a single garment,
the beads (the sign) of a harlot
you put around your neck.\(^{134}\)

\(^{133}\) T. Jacobsen (1987) p.211f
\(^{134}\) T. Jacobsen (1976) p.140. A link between ‘harlotry’ and necklaces might be referred to in Hosea (II:2) in which Gomer is instructed to ‘put away her whoredoms out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts;’. That this ‘whoredom’ is associated with idolatry and adornment is made explicit in Hosea (II:13): ‘And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels and she went after her lovers, and forgot me, saith the Lord.’ Even if ‘whoredom’ is used in the Old Testament in a figurative sense
That necklaces were articles of adornment associated with the worship of Inanna is further attested by a necklace of semi-precious stones bearing the inscription ‘Kubatum, the lukur-priestess of Shu-Sin’ which may have been associated with the sacred marriage rite as lukur is a Sumerian word designating a devotee of Inanna who may have played the role of the goddess in that rite.\footnote{S.Kramer (1969) p.93. The necklace was excavated at Uruk.}

The importance of the adornment of Inanna-Ishar is manifest, and it is by comparing the adornment of Inanna-Ishar, through written and pictorial evidence, with the ornament on Cypriot Plank Figures, that some links between the two might be established.

c. Adornment

The ritual of the adornment of Inanna is an important feature of the Sumerian Sacred Marriage text \textit{Love in the Gipar} and, as Pritchard notes, most of the first stanza of this two-stanza poem is taken up with the goddess bedecking herself with precious stones, jewels and ornaments in preparation for the Sacred Marriage.\footnote{J.Pritchard (1969a) p.202} This process of adornment may refer to rituals associated with the preparation of a statue of the goddess and its role in the Sacred Marriage. It would appear from Sumerian texts that the ‘sacred prostitute’, the \textit{mu-gig},\footnote{The Greek translation of ‘nu-gig’ as \textit{ιεροδούλας} meaning literally ‘sacred slave’ does not seem to fit the Near Eastern context where the goddess herself is given this title.} wore special jewels which were a badge of her station; and in the temple hymn to Inanna of Zabalam, the goddess herself is described as the \textit{mu-gig} whilst her temple is clad in the jewels of the \textit{mu-gig}.\footnote{J.Westenholz (1989) p.258} In the \textit{Descent of Inanna} the goddess again attires herself, and this time the adornments are recognised in the text as symbolising her power. The crown, earrings, necklaces and garments are the attributes by which Inanna-Ishat’s sovereignty is rendered visible; and this may be the case in other literary descriptions of the adornment of goddesses whose intention is seduction for one reason or another. The associations between Greek Aphrodite and Inanna-Ishat, both love-goddesses who use their adornments to aid their seduction of men, will be discussed in Chapter Five.
d. Earrings

The importance of earrings in association with Inanna-Ishtar is shown by faience ‘masks’ which have been found in a number of middle second millennium B.C. contexts in the Near East and in Cyprus. These ‘masks’ have been identified as being probable images of Ishtar and they have ears pierced with multiple holes, a striking feature which they hold in common with Plank Figures. It has been noted here previously that earrings have not survived attached to most pierced-ear Plank Figures, but some versions have earrings modelled in clay and attached at each side of the head. The Late Bronze Age bird-headed figurines have a disproportionate emphasis on the ears with earrings, modelled separately from clay, looped through the numerous holes pierced in the massive ears. The emphasis placed on earrings occurring on Plank Figures, faience ‘masks’ of Inanna-Ishtar, and the bird-headed figurines, would seem to suggest that there was some symbolic meaning attached to the wearing of earrings.

This symbolic meaning might be explained, in part, through literary evidence occurring in the Bible where, in Genesis (XXXV:4) Jacob’s household: gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings which were in their ears. It would appear from this evidence that adornment with earrings is somehow associated with the idols worshipped by the people, as these pieces of jewellery had to be relinquished along with the idols. This is reiterated in Hosea (II:3) in which the idolatry of Gomer is referred to wherein she burned incense to them and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels and she went after her lovers. Jeremiah (XLIV:19) gives a clue as to whom one of Gomer’s idols represents when he states that incense is burned to the ‘Queen of Heaven’, an appellation of Inanna-Ishtar. From the above evidence it is possible to deduce that the wearing of earrings was associated directly with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar.\(^{140}\)

\(^{139}\) E.Peltenburg (1977a) ‘A faience from Hala Sultan Tekke and second millennium B.C. western Asiatic pendants depicting females’ in P.Åström et al. *Hala Sultan Tekke: 3 Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:3*, pp.177-200, Göteborg

\(^{140}\) R.Barnett (1957:102) *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* London, points out that Moortgart, in ‘Der Ohrschmuck des Assyrer’ *Archiv für Orientforschung* IV, pp.185-203, has shown that earrings, and probably other items of personal adornment, were endowed with: ‘a religious function and significance’. Barnett also mentions a text which proclaims that earrings are the property of the goddess Nanai, a form of Ishtar.
Chapter Two

Literary evidence contains evocative images of goddesses adorning themselves with jewellery in preparation for seduction scenes. Texts referring to Inanna-Ishtar are probably the first written records of such ritual adornment, and in Love in the Gipar, one of the Sumerian Sacred Marriage texts quoted by Pritchard, Inanna picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears / She picks the bronze eardrops, puts them on her ear-lobes.¹⁴¹ This provides textual evidence that Inanna-Ishtar wore more than one pair of earrings at the same time, a fact which would account for the multiple holes pierced in the ears of the faience ‘masks’ and also of Cypriot Plank Figures.

Earrings provide another link in support of the supposition that Inanna-Ishtar’s alter ego is Aphrodite, as a direct link between the adornment of both deities can be found in the Homeric Hymns (VI:51) in which the Horai affix ornaments of copper and gold to Aphrodite’s pierced ears. This combination of metals may have been applied in a single pair of earrings, or the gold and copper might constitute two separate pairs.¹⁴² If the latter is the case, this is a detail that compares favourably with the gold earrings and bronze eardrops Inanna-Ishtar adorns herself with in Love in the Gipar. The power associated with earrings can also be noted in the Iliad (XIV:182) in which Hera is described preparing herself for a love-meeting with Zeus: In her pierced ears she put earrings with three clustering drops; and abundant grace shone therefrom.¹⁴³ The power associated with earrings is exemplified in the Akkadian myth the Descent of Ishtar in which, as Ishtar descends into the Underworld, she is stripped of the tangible signs of her power, among which are her earrings.¹⁴⁴

The presence of earrings attached to some vessels gives them anthropomorphic qualities tending to undermine any interpretation of their function as purely utilitarian. As the previous paragraphs have shown, earrings had meaning associated with the power of attraction and seduction, and their appearance on vessels brings these objects

¹⁴² That Aphrodite (or one of her priestesses) in Cyprus wore multiple earrings is attested by the numerous earrings adorning the ears of a limestone head (c.510-480 B.C.) now in the Worcester Art Museum. The figure’s neck is adorned with multiple necklaces, and she is crowned with a complex arrangement consisting of Satyrs and Maenads separated by columns adorned with busts of Hathor and rosettes (illustrated in C.Kondoleon (1998) ‘Ancient Art in the Worcester Art Museum’ Minerva 9:3, fig.3).
¹⁴³ Translation: A.Murray, Loeb Classical Library (1946) p.81
into the same sphere of significance, although more likely associated with the fertility role played by goddesses such as Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite rather than their activities as seducers. A number of Cypriot anthropomorphised vessels can be seen to have evolved from Plank Figures (Fig.21a-g), and as such have their ‘ears’ pierced a number of times for earrings. A fragment of a Red Polished jug has earrings attached to each side of the ‘face’ and through the holes in the ‘ears’ (Fig.21d). Significantly, the anthropomorphised face, rendered in relief on the neck of the vessel, has wavy banks of hair hanging in front of the ears in a hairstyle echoing the zigzag lines depicted on the faces of some Plank Figures and reminiscent of the braided hairstyle associated with the goddess Ishtar as she is depicted by the faience ‘masks’ mentioned above.

It has been noted previously in the present discussion that earrings are one of the defining attributes of Inanna-Ishtar, and it is of special interest that birds and vessels with feminine and birdlike characteristics, are also associated with earrings. I.Tzachili\textsuperscript{145} notes that earrings were uncommon in the ‘whole Aegean iconography (Knossos, Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Thebes) where none of the female personages wear earrings’ notwithstanding the fact that earrings have been found in graves in Crete and the mainland and thus were obviously articles of jewellery worn by the inhabitants of the graves. Despite the dearth of depictions of earrings on women in the Aegean generally, they appear in Theran art on figures such as the priestess from the West House who wears large wheel-like earrings.\textsuperscript{146} Considering the incongruous appearance of earrings on vessels and on birds, it may be safe to speculate that earrings had a meaning other than merely as adornment. Tzachili notes: ‘there are indications that suggest that earrings are invested with a derived secondary meaning, that they might be functioning as signs’. The association of earrings with swallows might lead to speculation that the two are linked, and given that swallows seem to represent fecundity in a number of instances, that link may be related to fertility. It is interesting to note that Adonis, Aphrodite’s dying and resurrected young lover, was associated with the swallow by Hesychios (\textit{s.v. ὀὐδεμνής}).

\textsuperscript{144} J.Pritchard (1969b) p.106ff
\textsuperscript{145} I.Tzachili (1986) p.98
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Fig. 21 Comparison between Plank Figures and anthropomorphised vessels

146 In 1984 several nippled-ewers, decorated with swallows, were found deposited in pits beneath the ground floor of the West House at Akrotiri, Thera. I. Tzachili (1986) p.99
A link between swallows and the archetypal goddess of fertility, Inanna-Ishhtar, might be that the swallow was seen as the harbinger of Spring and all the rebirth and fecundity associated with that season. The appearance of swallows on vessels, combined with the metamorphosed shape of nippled ewers, seems to suggest that these containers symbolise fertility and that they are somehow associated with the procreative principle of the feminine manifested in the form of a bird.

The link between vessels and birds is also apparent in Cyprus where vessels are metamorphosed into birds; these range from mere suggestions of a bird-like form by the addition of ‘eyes’ to the beaked neck of jugs, through to bird askoi which are fully representational, complete with wings and tails. The association of birds with vessels is also emphasised by the placement of modelled birds on numerous Red Polished ware vessels. In many cases these birds have been identified as doves, the bird associated with the Semitic goddess Astarte, and the Greek Aphrodite.

In a Bronze Age Theran context, earrings appear painted onto ‘nippled’ ewers whose beak-like spouts suggest that they are metamorphosed into birds (Fig.22). The positioning of the ‘breasts’ depicted in relief on these vessels appears human, and implies a synthesis of bird, human female, and vessel. The Theran ‘nippled ewer’ is often decorated with swallows, and an amphora from Akrotiri bears an image of a bird, possibly a swallow, which, despite the fact that birds have no external ear-flaps, has earrings positioned at the side of its head where a human would wear earrings.

It is of significance for the present thesis that a necklace is sometimes depicted around the neck of Theran vessels. Consequently a number of what would seem to be ‘meaningful’ elements are associated: earrings, necklace, bird, and vessel. The combination of earrings, necklace, and bird occurs in the Late Bronze Age Cypriot figurines in which the human body with a bird-like head is coupled with large ears, pierced a number of times and decorated with large looped earrings, and a multiple necklace worn around the neck. The present thesis has argued that the ‘Bird Goddess’ figures are the descendants of Plank Figures; and the appearance of multiple earrings and multi-stranded necklaces on these later figures are certainly reminiscent of similar adornments on Plank Figures.

e. Necklace

A necklace, often of the multi-stranded type, has been an emblem of goddess or fertility figurines from an early period. The necklace incised onto the Logie Collection’s more intact Plank Figure (Cat.no.39) is semi-circular in form and rather simple in execution; but some Plank Figures are depicted wearing necklaces which appear to be formed from rows of beads strung in a semi-circular formation, or by rows of V-shapes. Many figures have a series of ‘choker’ style necklaces, decorated
with triangular motifs, and worn in conjunction with the semi-circular or V-shaped types.\footnote{A.a Campo (1994) notes that of 78 figures sampled, 75% have a neck-band and 65% have a necklace, p.146}

Similar necklaces to those worn by Plank Figures appear on the Cappadocian disc-shaped figurines, mentioned previously in this chapter, and on Mesopotamian figures which also display multiple necklaces, in many cases applied in relief. One example, from Ur (Fig.19), has the remnants of crossed chest-bands applied in relief and worn in conjunction with a multiple necklace.\footnote{G.Dales (1963) fig.8} Mesopotamian figurines wear the combination of 'choker' style necklace with longer multi-strand necklaces and an actual example of this type of 'choker', decorated with triangular motifs in the style of similar necklaces depicted on Cypriot Plank Figures, was found at Ur.\footnote{K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.6f; fig.5} Maxwell-Hyslop notes: ‘This distinctive necklace was the usual form in the Early Dynastic period and could be combined with several larger strings of beads,'\footnote{K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.6} - a feature notable on Cypriot Plank Figures.\footnote{Barnett (1957:102) comments: ‘the necklace was a feature of a cult-figure in Syria of the Ishtar type.’}

The earliest depictions of necklaces on Mesopotamian figurines occur on those from the Halaf period, possibly as early as 5000 B.C.\footnote{G.Dales (1963) p.21} It would appear that these articles of jewellery have an importance beyond the merely decorative as, from an early date in the Near East, ritual importance seems to have been ascribed to necklaces. This importance is attested by a cylinder-seal from the Uruk period (5\textsuperscript{th} millennium - 3400 B.C.) on which an oversized necklace is depicted being offered at a shrine (Fig.23).\footnote{B.Goff (1963) Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia Hartford, Connecticut, fig.281} A similar scene is depicted on a seal from Billa of the Gawra period (4\textsuperscript{th} - 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium) (Fig.24).\footnote{B.Goff (1963) fig.544} A necklace depicted on a normal scale would appear pictorially insignificant on a cylinder-seal, therefore it would have had to have been enlarged to render it visible and to emphasise its importance.

\footnotetext[149]{A.a Campo (1994) notes that of 78 figures sampled, 75% have a neck-band and 65% have a necklace, p.146}
\footnotetext[150]{G.Dales (1963) fig.8}
\footnotetext[151]{K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.6f; fig.5}
\footnotetext[152]{K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.6}
\footnotetext[153]{Barnett (1957:102) comments: ‘the necklace was a feature of a cult-figure in Syria of the Ishtar type.’}
\footnotetext[154]{G.Dales (1963) p.21}
\footnotetext[155]{B.Goff (1963) Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia Hartford, Connecticut, fig.281}
\footnotetext[156]{B.Goff (1963) fig.544}
Deities, often identifiable as Inanna-Ishtar, carry a ‘chaplet’ or string of beads and even some of the highly abstracted figures representing this goddess, such as the ‘Eye Idols’, wear a necklace—suggesting that the necklace is sometimes viewed as an important element for the identification of these figures. The importance of the necklace of Inanna-Ishtar is stressed in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* in which Ishtar swears by her necklace never to forget the days of the flood. Gimbutas considers the necklace motif to be the identifying badge of the Great Goddess, whilst Cles-Redon calls the multiple necklaces on Cypriot Plank Figures: ‘a token of the goddess’s dignity’.  

A necklace was also of prime importance to the Egyptian goddess Hathor and her association with the *menyt*, a special counterweighted necklace, may have been a result of influence from Mesopotamia where a counterweighted necklace had long been used in conjunction with figurines which may have been images of goddesses. The earliest evidence of counterweighted necklaces comes from a level dated to the Early Dynastic III period (c.2400 B.C.) at Khafaje, in the Diyala region of Iraq, where figurines with this type of necklace were found. On one example the necklace is represented by an applied strip of clay decorated with vertical incised lines, with the counterweight being indicated by single incised lines descending from the ends of the applied necklace strip. That Cyprus had some form of contact with Egypt during the Early Bronze Age period is shown by a necklace of Egyptian paste beads of the 11th Dynasty (2106-1963 B.C.) which was found in Lapithos Tomb 201. As the

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*Fig.23 Cylinder-seal. Uruk period. Fig.24 Cylinder-seal. Gawra period. From Billa, Iraq Museum 11953*
association between the Egyptian love and fertility goddess Hathor and the counterweighted "meny" necklace can be traced back as far as the 6th Dynasty\textsuperscript{161} (2350-2190 B.C.), there is a possibility that the association between a love-goddess and the necklace with a counterweight was known in Cyprus, not only through Near Eastern contacts, but also from Egyptian sources. Grace’s comments support an association between the necklaces on Cypriot Plank Figures and those from Egypt; she recognises the necklaces with groups of small beads alternating with a larger bead as being of Egyptian inspiration.\textsuperscript{162} The counterweighted necklace may also appear on Cypriot Plank Figures in the form of incised decoration and as an independent object made of terracotta, previously mistakenly identified by scholars as a facsimile of a comb or brush.\textsuperscript{163}

The present thesis proposes that the so-called ‘Comb’ or ‘Brush’ figures of Bronze Age Cyprus are neither combs nor brushes; but rather that they are representations of a counterweight designed to take the weight of heavy multiple necklaces off the back of the neck of the wearer. It will be further proposed that such counterweights had some symbolic meaning, possibly associated with fertility, which agrees with the most recent interpretation of these problematical artefacts as birth or pregnancy charms.

‘Comb Figure’ is the name given to individual objects belonging to a group of terracottas, found in Bronze Age Cypriot tombs, which have been dated from the end of Early Cypriot I\textsuperscript{164} to Middle Cypriot I.\textsuperscript{165} Not only do they appear manufactured in terracotta in three dimensional form (Fig.25), but their image can also be found in two-dimensional form incised on, or applied to, vessels, as well as incised on the backs or fronts of Plank Figures (Fig.26).

\textsuperscript{161} G.Pinch (1993) \textit{Votive Offerings to Hathor} Oxford, p.178
\textsuperscript{162} V.Grace (1940) p.50
\textsuperscript{163} The following argument regarding the meaning of the ‘Comb Figures’ has been published by the author, R.Washbourne (1997) ‘A possible interpretation of the “Comb Figures” of Bronze Age Cyprus’ \textit{Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus} pp.27-30
\textsuperscript{164} J.Hennessy, pp.10-22, in J.Birmingham (ed.) (1974) \textit{The Cypriot Bronze Age: Some recent Australian contributions to the prehistory of Cyprus} Australian Studies in Archaeology I
\textsuperscript{165} J.Stewart in P.Dikaios \& J.Stewart (1962). \textit{Generally accepted dates for these periods are Early Cypriot I, 2300-2075 B.C., Middle Cypriot I, 1900-1800 B.C. in V.Tatton-Brown (ed.) (1979) and V.Karageorghis (1982a)
The terracotta objects of both Red Polished and Black Polished ware are all stylistically similar and are decorated with incised geometric motifs consisting of lozenges, zigzags, lines and punctures. The decorative motif on the lower part of all the ‘Comb Figures’ consists of incised vertical lines. When ‘Comb Figures’ appear incised onto vessels they assume the basic shape of the terracotta models, but the major emphasis is placed on the vertical lines which form the decoration on the lower half.

These curious objects have been puzzling scholars as to their meaning ever since their first appearance in excavations. They have usually been interpreted as
models of brushes or combs and, more recently, as figurines relating to fertility. Their appearance incised on Plank Figures has led to speculation that they have some significance beyond that of being merely models of domestic items.

Flourentzos notes the appearance of ‘Comb Figures’ incised on the backs of some Plank Figures and interprets their meaning as belonging to the sphere of temple ritual where the brush may have been an important implement.\textsuperscript{166} Peltenburg considers the ‘Comb Figures’ to be models of carding combs.\textsuperscript{167}

More recently, Morris suggests that the ‘Comb Figures’ have the appearance of pregnant women and thus were endowed with a fertility role.\textsuperscript{168} He bases this interpretation on images of ‘Comb Figures’, in one case incised on a vessel and in another applied to a vessel, which appear to have anthropomorphic qualities (Figs 27, 28).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig27.png}
\caption{Red Polished ware amphora with incised decoration, from Kition Tomb 8}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{166} P.Flourentzos (1975)
\textsuperscript{167} E.Peltenburg (1981) Cypriot Antiquities in Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery Birmingham, p.23
\textsuperscript{168} D.Morris (1985) pp.138-141
V. Karageorghis questions the interpretation of the ‘Comb Figure’ as a comb or a brush when incised onto Plank Figures, and suggests that it might represent instead ‘the end of a long plaited lock with the hair left loose in the shape of a brush, as is sometimes the case in the rendering of the tails of oxen in later periods’. He notes, however, the difficulty of applying that interpretation when the ‘comb’ appears on the front of Plank Figures, a problem which will be addressed in this thesis presently. Karageorghis reiterates Morris’ interpretation, pointing out that ‘Comb Figures’ are now considered to represent human figures.

Despite this, however, ‘Comb Figures’ may originally have served a practical purpose which can be investigated. The interpretation of the ‘Comb Figures’ put forward in the present thesis presupposes the identification of the semi-circular bands incised around the necks of Plank Figures as multiple necklaces. As many of them have the appearance of being strung with beads, this interpretation appears extremely likely.

Such large multi-strand necklaces would be very heavy, and practical considerations suggest that the pressure of their weight on the back of the neck would be uncomfortable. To alleviate discomfort a counterweight could have been added to the necklace to hang down the back and so to relieve the pressure.

169 V. Karageorghis (1991b) p. 89
170 V. Karageorghis (1991b) p. 45
Counterweighted necklaces, recognised on early Mesopotamian figurines by Agnès Spycket,\(^{171}\) supply a body of evidence in a time-frame relevant to the Cypriot Plank Figures. One figurine from Diqdiqqeh, near Ur, probably from the Ur III period (2112-2095 B.C.),\(^{172}\) has incised lines on the back suggesting a fringe-like counterweight (Fig.29),\(^{173}\) an example which supports the interpretation of the incised lines on ‘Comb Figures’ as being fringes on counterweights. Possible evidence that contacts with Mesopotamia existed at this time comes in the form of a jar, from an Early Cypriot I tomb at Vounous, which Peltenburg suggests has parallels in jars found in conjunction with tablets of the Ur III period at Tell Sweyhat on the Euphrates River.\(^{174}\)

Fig.29 Terracotta figurine from Diqdiqqeh. Ur III period

The incised lines around the bottom half of the ‘Comb Figures’ led scholars to interpret them as models of brushes, as unfired clay brush handles with holes for bristles have been excavated in Early Bronze Age Asia Minor at Troy, Tarsus, and Karatas.\(^{175}\) The brush-like vertical lines on ‘Comb Figures’ might have a different interpretation if they are indeed necklace counterweights, as the incised lines around the bottom half may represent tasselled fringes attached to the counterweights. Fringing is not unknown in Near Eastern contexts. Spycket noted that the multiple

\(^{171}\) A.Spycket (1948) ‘Un élément de la parure féminine à al 1\(^{\text{er}}\) dynastie de Babylone’ Revue d’Assyriologie XLII pp.89-97
\(^{172}\) Dates for Ur III: Collins Dictionary of Archaeology P.Bahn (ed.) (1992), p.523. (I have also followed this publication for the chronology of Egyptian dynasties.)
\(^{173}\) G.Dales (1963) fig.9
\(^{174}\) E.Peltenburg (1982) Recent Developments in the Later Prehistory of Cyprus Göteborg, p.95. See also J.Stewart (1939a) ‘An Imported Pot from Cyprus’ Palestine Exploration Quarterly pp.162-168
necklaces depicted on Sumerian statues of goddesses were kept in place by a counterweight with a long fringe fixed to it and falling to the back of the knees.\textsuperscript{176}

In Egypt the counterweighted necklace was associated with the goddess Hathor and took on numinous qualities. Counterweights of the Egyptian \textit{menyt} necklaces (Figs.30,31) were placed in temples of Hathor as votive offerings,\textsuperscript{177} thus suggesting that they had a symbolic role.\textsuperscript{178} The votives were deposited in temple contexts from as early as the 11\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty (2106-1963 B.C.),\textsuperscript{179} which places them within a similar time-frame to the Cypriot examples. Egyptian counterweights were manufactured from materials such as faience and wood, and although they have a different shape from the Cypriot examples, like those from Cyprus they are flat. The scale of the Egyptian counterweights from Deir el-Bahri ranges from 8.3cm to 13.4cm\textsuperscript{180} and this compares favourably with Cypriot models which range from 6.5cm to 15cm.\textsuperscript{181} P.Barguet notes the similarity of Egyptian counterweights to the Egyptian 'Paddle Dolls' and concludes that the \textit{menyt} counterweight was a symbol of fertility and rebirth.\textsuperscript{182} It is worth noting that the multiple strands of beaded hair, still extant on some 'Paddle Dolls', echoes the multiple strings of beads attached to the \textit{menyt} necklace (Figs 31 and 32). A counterweight from the reign of Amun-Hotep III, c.1397-1360 B.C.\textsuperscript{183} is rendered in the form of Hathor, in an image which exemplifies the relationship between the counterweight itself and the goddess it represented. The three dimensional Cypriot 'Comb Figures' are related in form and decoration to the Plank Figures and it may be that, like the Egyptian \textit{menyt} and Paddle Doll relationship, counterweight and figure are seen as sharing some symbolic quality. In the case of the Plank Figure / 'Comb Figure' relationship the link is further strengthened in one instance where the incised zigzag lines used to denote hair on the reverse of Plank

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{176} A.Spycket (1960) 'La Déesse Lama' \textit{Revue d'Assyriologie} LIV pp.73-84
\item \textsuperscript{177} G.Pinch (1993)
\item \textsuperscript{178} M.Murray (1963,1987) \textit{The Splendour that was Egypt} London, notes that the goddess Hathor was immanent in the \textit{menyt} counterweight, p.138
\item \textsuperscript{179} Dates for 11\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty: \textit{Collins Dictionary of Archaeology} p.144
\item \textsuperscript{180} G.Pinch (1993) p.269. Pinch also notes that Egyptian faience counterweights range in size from 10cm to 20cm. \textit{Ibid} p.270
\item \textsuperscript{181} V.Karageorghis (1991b)
\item \textsuperscript{182} P.Barguet (1953) 'L'origine de la signification du contrepoids de collier-menat' \textit{Bulletin de l'Institute Français d'Archeologie Orientale} Vol.52 pp.103-111
\item \textsuperscript{183} W.Hayes (1959) \textit{The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art} Part I, New York, fig.164
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Figures are seen occupying the same position on one side of a Black Polished ware ‘Comb Figure’ from Vounous B, Tomb 121, no.43\textsuperscript{184} (Fig.33a,b).

The association between the counterweight and the human form can be brought to bear on the Cypriot situation since, as Morris notes, the ‘Comb Figure’ became anthropomorphised. There can be no doubt that the appearance of the ‘Comb Figure’ motif, both in model form and incised onto vessels, gives it an importance beyond that of a mere brush or comb; and this is an element that adds credibility to the interpretation of the ‘Comb Figure’ as a necklace counterweight which, like the meny\textit{t} example, had symbolic meaning.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig30}
\caption{Painted relief of Isis with Hathor’s sistrum and meny\textit{t} necklace, from Temple of Sethos I at Abydos}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{184} J. Stewart in P. Dikaios & J. Stewart (1962) p.234 Fig.90:4; V. Karageorghis (1991b) p.45 cat.A6
Fig. 31 Menyt of faience, glass, and stone beads, with a bronze counterweight.

Fig. 32 ‘Paddle Doll’ in painted wood. From a tomb of the 11th Dynasty (2023-1963 B.C.).

The scale of the Cypriot ‘Comb Figure’ models suggests that they could have fulfilled a role as necklace counterweights, and holes bored through the tops imply that the objects were designed to be suspended. Necklaces on Plank Figures are not depicted as completely encircling the neck; therefore the incised ‘Comb Figures’ on the backs of Plank Figures do not appear to be attached to necklaces. Nevertheless, that these objects were designed to depend from necklaces is evinced by their presence attached to necklaces incised on the fronts of a few Plank Figures.
The counterweight on the front of the necklace may constitute a problem for those who do not accept that it had a symbolic function along with a practical one, but the present writer proposes that such was the power inherent in the counterweight that it was also sometimes worn as a pendant hanging from the front of the necklace, a position which negates its practicality but emphasises its numinous property as a symbol (Fig.34). It may be safe to speculate that, like its Egyptian counterpart, the counterweight became a symbol in its own right and had an inherent symbolic meaning.
When the evidence regarding counterweighted necklaces from Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources is applied to the Cypriot ‘Comb Figures’, there is enough material to support the theory that the Cypriot examples are counterweights for necklaces. This interpretation seems more relevant than the general interpretation of ‘Comb Figures’ as models of brushes. Moreover, Morris’ interpretation is still tenable given the fact that the symbolic meaning of the counterweight itself must still, ultimately, be a matter of conjecture. If, like the links between Hathor and the menyti counterweight, the ‘Comb Figure’ counterweight’s symbolic power lies in its association with a goddess of love and fertility, the identification of Cypriot Plank Figures as representing a similar goddess becomes more likely. A possible candidate for such an identification is the goddess Inanna-Ishtar whose cult had ample opportunity to make its way to Cyprus, either through trading links or with colonists. Subsequently, Morris’ interpretation of the ‘Comb Figures’ as fertility figurines would be even more applicable to the Cypriot examples if they are linked with Inanna-Ishtar, a goddess who was associated with fertility in both life and death.
f. Nose pendants and pairs of weighted cords

The identification of Plank Figures as images of Inanna-Ishtar is reinforced by the possibility that the vertical lines incised below the nose on these figurines represent nose pendants, an article of adornment that can be shown to have associations with that goddess. Gjerstad made the suggestion that the incised line below the nose on a Plank Figure from Lapithos (Tomb 307:13) represents a nose pendant, but no other scholar appears to have investigated this possibility subsequently. The vertical lines below the nose on Plank Figures carry terminals depicted in a number of different ways, including one example with a 'comb' motif. Decorative terminals also occur on the ends of so-called 'arms' on Plank Figures, and these echo the motifs of the terminals of the vertical lines below the nose. Rather than dismiss the oblique lines on the body of Plank Figures as 'arms' with creatively rendered 'hands,' the present thesis will endeavour to prove that these represent ornaments which can be associated with Near Eastern deities, including Inanna-Ishtar. An ornament known as the *tudittu,* which Kramer translates as a 'breast-plate' and Jacobsen renders as 'breast-shields' named 'O man, come hither, come hither!' is associated with Inanna-Ishtar but its true appearance has not been defined.

The incised line below the nose of many Plank Figures is as difficult to interpret as the *tudittu* of Inanna-Ishtar. As has been noted previously in the present discussion, the incised line below the nose on Plank Figures has been variously interpreted as depicting the philtrum, as a costume slit or pin, or as a decoration on the chin. The Plank Figure head-fragment in the Logie Collection has three vertical lines incised below the nose; lines which, owing to the fragmentary nature of the head, break off before there is any indication of a terminal. The more intact of the Logie Collection's Plank Figures has a single vertical line incised below the nose, but it has no terminal motif.

185 M. Gimbutas (1989) *The Language of the Goddess* San Francisco, discusses the symbolism of the 'comb' motif in prehistoric European contexts and concludes that it represents a pregnant woman wearing a pleated skirt, pp.298-301
186 E. Gjerstad et al. (1934) p.65
188 T. Jacobsen (1987) p.201
189 R. Merrillees (1980)
190 D. Morris (1985) p.162
The idea that the vertical line motif represents a nose pendant might seem to be one of the least likely possible interpretations, but when the form of the terminal decoration is taken into account and compared with the motif used to illustrate both a necklace counterweight and the incisions used to define the so-called ‘arms’ of the figures, the nose pendant theory becomes more viable. Added to this is the proposed identification of Plank Figures as images of Inanna-Ishtar, whereby the presence of a nose pendant becomes explicable.

It has been argued here that the ‘combs’ incised on the backs and fronts of some Plank Figures are depictions of fringed necklace-counterweights which took on a symbolic role in addition to their utilitarian function. Thus it should not be altogether surprising that a similar incised motif appearing below the nose of a Plank Figure may represent another article of adornment (Fig.35). It has also been mentioned previously in this chapter that the exaggerated nose on Near Eastern figures is a reference to the ‘breath of life’. If the same interpretation applies to the nose on Cypriot Plank Figures, drawing attention to this feature by the use of a nose pendant would not be beyond the realm of possibility. In the light of the symbolic meaning proposed for the ‘comb’ motif when used as a necklace counterweight, the appearance of that same motif incised beneath the nose on one Plank Figure must also be interpreted as symbolic. It is in the context of symbolism that evidence will be examined in order to support the speculation that the motif represents the terminal of a nose pendant such as those belonging to the repertoire of adornments placed on representations of Inanna-Ishtar.

\[191\] A.a Campo (1994)
Both Morris\textsuperscript{192} and a Campo note a horizontal slit incised just below the nose on some Plank Figures and interpret this as a mouth. The vertical lines then appear to be on the chin of these figures,\textsuperscript{193} but it is still not impossible that these lines represent nose pendants which hang to below the mouth and dangle on the chin.\textsuperscript{194} Further confusion occurs as in some cases the incised line motif descends from the nostrils, whilst in others it appears to begin at a ‘mouth’.

Nose ornaments will be shown to be linked with the adornment of Inanna-Ishtar, adding weight to the present thesis which seeks to provide evidence to support the theory that Plank Figures represent this goddess.

Evidence linking the use of nose ornaments to Inanna-Ishtar is forthcoming in the form of the small faience ‘masks’, mentioned previously in the present chapter, which were common in Mesopotamia and throughout the Near East in the middle

\textsuperscript{192} D. Morris (1985) p.147
\textsuperscript{193} A. a Campo (1994) views the decorations as tattoos on the chin, p.103
\textsuperscript{194} H. Layard (1970) \textit{Nineveh and its Remains} London, p.118, notes that in the early 1800’s, during the time of his excavations at Nineveh, he met an Arab sheikh’s wife whose nose was adorned: ‘with a prodigious gold ring, of such ample dimensions that it covered the mouth and had to be removed when the lady ate.’
Although these ‘masks’ occur a few hundred years after Plank Figures, they share a number of features, the most obvious of which are the multiple-pierced ears which, like those of Plank Figures, no longer retain earrings. Additionally, both ‘masks’ and Plank Figures wear a low head-dress and multiple necklaces in the form of a choker combined with a string, or strings, of beads. Significantly for the present discussion, many of the faience ‘masks’ have noses which are pierced for ornaments, although no actual ornament is retained on any extant example.

Another, perhaps less obvious, similarity between the ‘masks’ and Plank Figures is the appearance of braids at either side of the head. The faience ‘masks’ have obvious braid-like decoration, whilst a number of Plank Figures have incised zigzag lines, either on the front surface on each side of the head, or on the narrow edges of their flattened heads and bodies (Fig.37). Groups of incised zigzag lines may denote a number of plaits on the back of Plank Figures, such as those appearing on the back of both free-standing Plank Figures in the Logie Collection, and it is possible that this

195 E. Peltanburg (1977a) p.180:3, fig.219
196 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no.Bc.19, Fig.74 p.65. E. Van Buren (1943:lxvi) notes that in Near Eastern contexts, goddesses are often depicted wearing their hair in a style which includes a long lock hanging on each shoulder. In some cases, these side-locks mark the identity of certain goddesses as some, like Ishtar wore them twisted spirally.
same motif on the front or sides of some figures also represents braided or spiralled locks of hair.

Fig.37 Red Polished Plank Figure. Provenance unknown. Restored H.29.3cm.

Peltenburg published a detailed study of a fragment of a faience 'mask' which was excavated from an early 12th century B.C. context at Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. The word 'mask' is not necessarily accurate as these artefacts are smaller than life-size and have no provision for eye-holes, they get their name from the fact that the back of the 'mask' is hollowed out in the same way as masks. Peltenburg cites thirty-two Near Eastern examples of such 'masks' and notes that the earliest known prototype is a fragment from Alalakh VII, from a period that is generally associated with the city which was destroyed by the Hittite king Hattusilis I in the 17th century B.C. At Mari a 'mask' was found in situ on the body of a female, and it appears to have been either strung around her neck or attached to her garments at chest level. Faience 'masks', all of very similar type, have been found at Ugarit, Gezer, and Ur. Not all 'masks' are from graves, some having been found in temple contexts and often in buildings dedicated to Ishtar; a circumstance which Peltenburg views as significant in the identification of the 'masks' as images of this goddess. In support of this, Peltenburg cites H.Kühne's study, 'Rätselhafte Masken' (1974), in which Kühne

197 E.Peltenburg (1977a)
proffers the theory that the faience ‘masks’ represent the mother goddess aspect of the Canaanite Ishtar/Aštar.199

A pierced nasal septum is a feature of thirteen of the thirty-five examples of ‘masks’ Peltenburg discusses and, although the incidence of piercing may be higher, it is not possible to ascertain to what extent as some of the ‘masks’ are fragmentary. However, the high number of pierced nasal septums from the examples given suggests that this practice was associated with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar, who is probably represented by these faïences.

Further, but unfortunately less comprehensible, textual evidence of nose adornment associated with Inanna-Ishtar is afforded by Love in the Gipar, one of the Sumerian Sacred Marriage texts, which describes Inanna-Ishtar adorning herself to meet her lover Dumuzi. Among the plentiful jewellery Inanna-Ishtar places on her body: *She picks ‘that which covers the princely house’, puts it on her nose.*200 This might be interpreted as a nose ornament of some kind, although its exact nature remains obscure.

In a much later context, further evidence linking Ishtar with nose piercing can be noted in the appearance of a nose-ring on a naked female figurine from an early 6th century B.C. context at the shrine of Aphrodite Paphia.201 If this figurine represents Aphrodite, and its context suggests that it might, the nose ornament would seem to have been passed on from Ishtar to her Greek alter ego. Another archaic link between faïence ‘masks’ and a goddess is the terracotta female bust, from the Phoenician Aštarte Temple at Kition (600-450 B.C.),202 which shares the head-dress, necklace, and braided hairstyle of the faïence ‘masks’, and ultimately, the Bronze Age Plank

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199 Room 2 of the palace. B.M. 130060
199 E.Peltenburg (1977a) p.191. Another association with the goddess Ishtar can be noted in the form of a star pendant, a generally recognised symbol of Ishtar, which was found with a ‘mask’ at Tell Rimah, in Mesopotamia (Peltenburg 1977a: fig.219).
201 P.Dikaios (1961) p.203. A nose-ring is evident on a number of fragments of terracotta figurines identified as Aphrodite by F.Maier and V.Karageorghis (1984) *Paphos: History and Archaeology* Nicosia, p.183 & fig.169. This ornamentation is echoed in a similar Phoenician example which bears a nose ring made of silver (D.Harden [1962] *The Phoenicians* London, fig.77)
Figures (Fig.38). The similarity between the terracotta bust and the faience 'masks' would suggest that the same deity is represented and the context in which the bust was found makes the identification of that deity as the Phoenician Astarte even more tenable. The sanctuary of Aphrodite-Astarte-Mikal on the Acropolis of Kition has been identified by two Phoenician inscriptions, providing evidence that Astarte is an alter ego of Aphrodite; a fact recognised by Pausanias in his Guide to Greece (1.14.6) in which he maintained that Aphrodite came to Greece with the Phoenicians.

Fig.38 Terracotta female bust. 600-450 B.C.
From bothros outside the Phoenician temple of Astarte at Kition. H.4.9cm

The terminal-decoration on nose pendants includes, in one instance, the use of a 'comb' motif. It is significant that this motif, which is also incised on the fronts and backs of some Plank Figures, is often echoed in the terminals of their so-called 'arms'; a circumstance which tends to belie the symbolic importance of the 'comb' motif unless it can be argued that the incised 'arms' are not arms at all. Morris approaches, with caution, the identification as arms the incised oblique lines on the fronts of Plank Figures as, in a few cases, Plank Figures have modelled arms as well as the incised 'arm' motifs (Fig.39). Another indication that the oblique lines do not refer to arms occurs on a fragmentary Plank Figure which has two sets of such lines incised on the body; one set of lines has comb-like terminals and the other displays concentric lozenge

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203 V.Tatton-Brown (1979) p.85, cat.262
205 D.Morris (1985) p.146
motifs at mid-point and culminates in terminals consisting of three depressions (Fig.40).\textsuperscript{206} In defence of the interpretation as 'arms' of the oblique incised lines, seen in conjunction with relief arms, Karageorghis notes that one figure has stubby arms yet has another pair depicted in relief against the stomach.\textsuperscript{207} However, this does not prove that the Bronze Age ceramist was negligent enough to render arms both in relief and by incision on the same figure, as the 'stubby arms', appearing in conjunction with relief arms on one specimen, might be intended to suggest wing-like protuberances at the shoulders, rather than to depict arms.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig39.jpg}
\caption{Red Polished ware Plank Figure. Provenance unknown. H.26cm. Menil Collection, Houston. No. CA 6327}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{206} M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (1893) Kypros die Bibel und Homer Berlin, pl.LXXXVI:6; V. Karageorghis (1991b) pl.XXVIII.3c Cat.Bc10
\textsuperscript{207} V. Karageorghis (1991b) p.94, Cat.Bj8
It is possible that the ‘arm’ motifs actually represent articles of jewellery attached at the edges of a garment and having pendant fringe-like or circular terminals. A Campo suggests that: ‘the lines indicate a strip of cloth with tassels and fringe of some sort, thrown over the shoulders and hanging down the front of the body.’ On some Plank Figures the oblique lines are linked together across the body with a horizontal band of incised decoration, perhaps depicting a chest ornament, further suggesting that the lines do not represent arms. It is possible that a number of elements make up the chest ornament on Plank Figures, and Kramer’s translation of the article of jewellery called the *tudittu* as ‘breast-plate’ may be appropriate for Plank Figures if this piece of adornment consists of more than one part. If the *tudittu* is an article of adornment consisting of a number of elements and including an area on the chest covered by a flat ornamental plate or band of some kind, this feature may be suggested on some Plank Figures, as an area on the chest is delineated to form a square or a band (Fig.41a,b). The possibility of this being associated with a shawl-like garment is supported by the incised decoration at the outer edges of the ‘arms’ which takes on the appearance of a item of clothing, wrapping in from the sides, whose foremost edges are defined by the oblique incised lines (Fig.42). What appears to be a shawl is depicted by groups of hatched lines on the shoulder of a Plank Figure with the same motif repeated on the back (Fig.43).

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208 A.a Campo (1994) p.104
Fig. 4.1a Red Polished Plank Figure. Provenance unknown. H. 24 cm. Hadjiprodromou Collection, Famagusta, no. 340

Fig. 4.1b Red Polished Plank Figure. From Vounous Tomb 76. H. 27 cm. Louvre. Inv. No. AO 18842

Fig. 4.2 Red Polished Plank Figure. Provenance unknown. H. 30.5 cm. North Carolina Museum of Art. Inv. no. G. 74.19.3
The terminals on the oblique 'arm' lines are sometimes depicted as tassels or 'combs' like those used to represent counterweights on necklaces; they are rendered also by concentric circle or semi-circle motifs, or sometimes by groups of bead-like motifs - all motifs which reappear as terminals of the vertical lines below the nose. This similarity would seem to place both tasselled and circular motifs incised on the body and below the nose within a similar frame of reference, namely that both represent a hanging, weighted ornament which is sometimes, as in the instance of the 'comb' motif, stylistically linked to the counterweight associated with the necklace of some figures (Fig. 44a, b).  

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Fig. 43 Red Polished Slab Figure. Provenance unknown. H.28cm. Louvre, Inv. no. AM 551

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209 E. Peltenburg (1984:58) 'Lemba Archaeological Project, Cyprus, 1982, Preliminary Report' Levant XIII, pp.55-65, proposes the theory that counterweights are represented by dotted circle motifs painted on the backs of two Chalcolithic Cypriot terracotta figurines depicting women giving birth. It may be that the fertility role of such figurines is implied symbolically by the weights attached to their garments.
The terminal-weights, suspended from cords, might be able to be identified in Near Eastern textual sources. The pendant jewellery, which appears to be attached to a garment worn by Plank Figures, may be the *tudittu*, an article of Inanna-Ishtar’s adornment which has caused considerable speculation among scholars. Jacobsen translates the *tudittu*, one of the items removed from Inanna in *Inanna’s Descent*, as ‘breast-shields’ named ‘O man, come hither, come hither!’

According to Dales, the term *tudittu* is used in reference to objects which are essential pieces of jewellery given to a bride at the occasion of her wedding and can be made of number of different materials, including silver, gold, bronze, copper, ivory, semi-precious stones, and wood. Weights of *tudinnātu* are often given in texts and these suggest that the gold and silver objects are probably small as their weights are light. The *tudittu* included a part called either the *rešu* or *qaqqādu* (head), which seems to suggest that it was threaded or suspended in some way, a situation which would agree with the appearance of the hanging pendant ‘arms’ on Cypriot Plank Figures. One example of a Plank Figure has modelled arms and appears to have

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211 G. Dales (1963) p.32. The Sumerian tu-di-tum (also tu-di-tā) was borrowed from Akkadian *d/tudittu* which first appears in the Old Akkadian period.
212 G. Dales (1963) p.32
pendant ornaments hanging on the chest, below the breasts, rather than in the position which has led to the usual interpretation of the lines as ‘arms’; this suggests that decorative jewellery is depicted (Fig.45).

Fig.45 Red Polished Plank Figure. From Ayia Paraskevi.

*Tudinātī* are sometimes referred to in the plural, as in the instance of the adornments of Ishtar of Lagaba which were itemised in a Babylonian text (L.B 1090): among the items listed were: ‘2 *tu-di-na-tum hurasum* hū-i₂’ (‘2 breast-ornaments of gold’). They may also have consisted of more than one piece as a text refers to: ‘1 great gold *tudittum* amidst (other, small) *tudinātī* (plural).’ Eleven pairs of gold and precious stones, along with one hundred pairs of silver *tudinātī* were among the gifts of Tushratta to Amenophis IV, probably on the occasion of the marriage of Amenophis to Tushratta’s daughter. Several texts from the Assyrian settlements in Cappadocia refer to *tī-ki-na-īā*, providing evidence that this article of adornment was known in Anatolia.

The fact that the *tudittu* was given to a bride at her wedding, and that the name ‘O man, come hither, come hither!’ is associated with it, suggests that the *tudittu* had a

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213 K.Maxwell-Hyslop (1971) p.154
214 W.Leemans (1952) *Ishtar of Lagaba and Her Dress* Leiden, p.1
215 W.Leemans (1952) p.6
216 *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* II/1 no.25, col.I, 22-32;col.III,64 cited in W.Leemans (1952) p.6
217 W.Leemans (1952) p.7
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fertility/seduction role. It must have been an accessory with considerable symbolic meaning as one text mentions a curse as a dire consequence:

> for rending a (woman’s) cloak, breaking (her) *d’udittu* and snipping off (her) *didit* garment.\(^{218}\)

This passage seems to suggest that the *udittu* is sometimes associated with a garment or garments, and might agree with the appearance of the twin pendant-like articles which may be attached to, or worn in conjunction with, the ‘shawl’ depicted on Cypriot Plank Figures.

The long cords to which the pendants were attached might not always have been worn just hanging, as is the case with most Plank Figures, but in some instances they may have been brought together to hang down between the breasts and join in a single pendant, or even lengthened and criss-crossed diagonally over the body. This latter usage is a strong possibility, as although the *udittu* is mentioned in texts, it has not actually been identified on images of mortal women or goddesses. What does appear consistently on Near Eastern female figures, from as early as the Obeid period in northern Mesopotamia,\(^{219}\) is the depiction of crossed chest-bands; and these also appear on one Cypriot Plank Figure which appears in relief on the fragment of a Red Polished ware jug mentioned previously (Fig. 18).\(^{220}\) It may be that these crossed bands depict the *udittu*. Generally, crossed chest-bands do not appear on Plank Figures, but crossed diagonal lines appear incised on the chest of a number of examples of their descendants, the bird-headed figurines of the Late Bronze Age. Crossed chest-bands also appear incised on some of the ‘goddess-handle jars’ from Kish (Fig. 46) and on the Cappadocian disc-shaped ‘idols’ (Fig. 20). Figurines from the Ur III-Old Babylonian period have crossed chest-bands applied in the form of clay strips, whilst crossed bands, which appear to be made from multiple strings of beads, occur on a number of Neo-Babylonian terracotta plaques from Susa (Fig. 47) which probably depict Inanna-Ishtar. Crossed chest-bands are applied as wide strips of metal on an Early Bronze

\(^{218}\) G.Dales (1963) p.32f

\(^{219}\) G.Dales (1963) p.34

\(^{220}\) Archaeological Reports 1968-69 p.41, fig.1

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Age sheet-gold and silver female figurine which Mellaart considers to be from a grave at Horoztepe in Anatolia and may date from c.2000 B.C. These chest-bands, along with bracelets and anklets, are the only items of adornment on the otherwise naked figure (Fig.48). The emphasis placed on this article of adornment suggests that it had an important symbolic role associated with the figures on which it is depicted.

Fig.46 Vessel from Tell U数目ir, Kish. Type A, 1925 230.

Fig.47 Terracotta moulded plaque. From Susa. Neo Babylonian period. Louvre

221 J.Mellaart (1966) *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze ages in the Near East and Anatolia* Beirut, pl.XXIII

222 Crossed chest-bands occur also on a Greek Late Neolithic (5300-5400 B.C.) female figurine which has painted spiral decoration to denote the breast area, multiple necklaces, and crossed chest-bands. T.Rombos-Samara, M.Toli, & G.Papathanassopoulou (1996) *Neolithic Culture in Greece* Minerva 7:5 (Sept/Oct) pp.7-12. The tapered lower body suggests that this figure may have been pushed into the earth to keep it upright.
Even such a rudimentary and simplified figurine as an Early Bronze Age II example of the Anatolian 'Kusura type', is decorated with four incised lines around the neck to represent multiple necklaces, crossed lines on the chest, and a zigzag line around the lower section that may denote a hip-belt. This comparatively abundant decoration, incised on a marble plank-like figure whose disc-shaped head and dearth of features apart from some traces of red paint on the head emphasise the presence of the ornamentation, suggests that it is meaningful (Fig.49). Crossed chest-bands occur also on a fragmentary Early Bronze Age figurine from Thermi in Lesbos on which the incised bands are depicted along with a choker style necklace, a longer, beaded multiple necklace, and a 'hip-belt' band of decoration (Fig.50). More elaborate chest-bands occur on a clay idol of the Anatolian 'Caykenar' type of the same period (Fig.51). The multiple chest-bands incised on this figure are accompanied by numerous necklace-lines at the neck, along with a band of alternating chevrons at 'waist' or 'hip' level. This decorative band is very similar to those occurring incised on Cypriot Plank Figures and may represent a hip-belt or girdle. Also like Plank Figures, the incised decoration is filled with white.
Fig. 49 Marble 'Kusura' type idol. Early Bronze Age II period. From Anatolia.

Fig. 50 Terracotta Reddish black ware figurine. From Thermi, House BΓ, House 7, Town III

Fig. 51 Terracotta Çaykenar type idol. From Anatolia.

225 J. Thimme (1977) Cat. no. 547. The vertical lines appearing below the chevron band on this figure, and its general shape, have links with the Cypriot 'Comb Figures'.
That crossed chest-bands are used to establish an identifying badge associated with the anthropomorphisation of certain objects is demonstrated by their appearance incised on an anthropomorphised Red-Black Burnished Ware (Khirbet Kerak culture) andiron from the Plain of Antioch. The high back of the andiron is decorated with a human face with nose and brows in relief. The crossed bands on the body and a zigzag line decorating the upper forehead are rendered by incision (Fig.52). A similar form of decoration appears on a ‘portable bar-shaped altar’ from Pula in Anatolia. The two uprights at either end of this artefact have relief decoration in the form of ‘idols’ with what appear to be crossed chest-bands below the faces, while the bar-shape linking the ‘idols’ has a zigzag decoration (Fig.53). Not only are andirons and portable altars thus brought within the sphere of female figures with crossed chest-bands, but this decoration also appears on an anthropomorphised vessel from Troy’s ‘fifth prehistoric settlement’. This vessel has a face depicted in relief on the neck, whilst the body has small relief breasts and a pubic region represented by a relief disc decorated with a swastika. Incised lines around the neck depict double necklaces and further incised lines form a diagonal cross between the breasts (Fig.54). H.Schliemann saw an ‘owl face’ on these vessels, and suggested that they were representative of Athena. The appearance of crossed chest-bands on objects such as andirons, altars, and vessels incorporates these artefacts into the sphere of figurines and also emphasises the intention of the crossed chest-bands as representing an identifying badge of some kind.

228 H.Schliemann (1884) *Troja* London, no.101
229 That this unrealistic decoration depicts the pubic region is verified by a lead figurine from Troy which has a more naturalistically rendered pubic region decorated with a swastika. B.Johnson (1988) fig.240

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In summary it has been proposed that the vertical lines incised below the nose on Plank Figures depict lightly weighted nose pendants which can be associated with the goddess Inanna-Ishtar. Supportive evidence has been noted in the form of faience 'masks' which are decorated with ornamentation similar to that found on Plank Figures. A link has been established between the tasselled counterweights, depicted attached to necklaces, and what might be weighted nose pendants. It has also been
proposed that the fringed necklace counterweights, both incised on Plank Figures and manufactured from terracotta, are symbolic and are associated with Inanna-Ishtar in her capacity as a fertility goddess. This interpretation has been extrapolated to encompass a relationship between the nose pendants depicted on Plank Figures, and the nose ornaments associated with Inanna-Ishtar which may be intended to draw attention to the Near Eastern concept of the sanctity of the nose as the conduit from which emerges the ‘breath of life’. The oblique incised lines on the front of Plank Figures have been interpreted as weighted appendages, perhaps sometimes attached to a shawl-like garment, rather than as ‘arms’, and as similar motifs occur incised below the nose on many Plank Figures. This interpretation is used to strengthen the case for identifying these also as weighted pendants of some kind. Although evidence of the wearing of nose adornments by women of the Levant is given in Isaiah (III:21), where the daughters of Zion are described as wearing rings and nose jewels, it might be doubtful whether the dangling nose pendants depicted on Plank Figures were actually worn by Bronze Age Cypriots themselves. However, embellishments such as nose pendants, along with counterweighted necklaces and special garments associated with long, weighted appendages, may have been decoration placed on statues of Inanna-Ishtar as part of her ritual adornment. Near Eastern texts describing the article of breast-jewellery called the tudittu have been discussed in an attempt to identify the pendant motifs which have hitherto been identified as ‘arms’ on Cypriot Plank Figures, and to provide evidence to support their identification as articles of ritual jewellery which have a role associated with marriage, fertility, and goddesses. The possibility of a link between the Near Eastern tudittu and the κεπτός ἴματος of Aphrodite will be discussed in Chapter Five.

g. Hip-belt or girdle

Among the articles of adornment removed from Ishtar as she descends into the Underworld is the hip-belt or girdle of birth-stones. On Cypriot Plank Figures this belt might take the form of the patterned band incised across a section of the lower third of

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231 The fertility associations of this article of jewellery might be the reason for one being given to the underworld god Ningisizia on the occasion of Ur-Namunu’s death. In this instance, the tudittu was decorated with the head of a bison. S.Kramer (1967) ‘Death of Ur-Namunu’ Journal of Cuneiform Studies 21, line 121
the body on a number of Plank Figures. This area of decoration on Plank Figures is rarely shown as low as the bottom edge, and it could be construed as appearing at hip level. A Campo identifies the area as a ‘waistband’, which suggests that she considers it to be at a higher level than most commentators would place it. If Plank Figures are clothed, then the decorative band incised around their body could be a belt over the top of the garment or alternatively, if a significantly abstracted naked body is depicted, the decorative band may represent a hip belt. Dales illustrates a number of Near Eastern figures which wear hip-belts and each of these is explicitly naked, although according to the myth of the descent of Inanna-Ishtar into the Underworld, the hip-belt could be worn in conjunction with a garment.

The uncertainty regarding the state of dress or undress of Plank Figures is exacerbated by some scholars’ interpretation of the semi-circular lines around the neck of these figures as folds in a garment. Most scholars, however, consider these multiple lines to represent necklaces and this would seem to be a more likely explanation in light of the bead-like appearance of some of the decorations. When the interpretation of the semi-circular lines as necklaces is combined with the appearance of modelled breasts, each complete with a depression to indicate the nipple, it would seem that at least some figures are naked but wearing necklaces, twin pendants which fall to below the breasts, a hip belt, and possibly a nose pendant. It has been noted previously that some Plank Figures appear to wear a shawl-like garment of some kind and thus cannot be deemed to be completely devoid of apparel. The Plank Figure with the crossed chest-bands mentioned previously in this chapter (see Fig.18), is depicted with a dividing line to indicate legs and thus can be more readily construed as naked. The divided legs of figures does not indicate male gender as the figure attached to the handle of a Red Polished ware jug (discussed later in this chapter, Fig.59) has divided legs along with breasts in relief which it supports with its hands in the style of Near Eastern ‘Astarte figures’.

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232 A. a Campo (1994) 18% of 78 figures sampled as have a ‘waistband’, p.146
h. Head-band or crown

Many Cypriot Plank Figures have a band of incised ornamentation across the head above the brows, perhaps representing a hat or a fillet of some kind. The linear designs which decorate this band often make it appear to be woven. This article of adornment might depict a ‘woven head-band’ of the type described in a text which lists the possessions of Ishtar of Lagaba. In Herodotus’ comments on the rites of the Babylonian temple of Mylitta, woven head-bands are noted as part of the ritual associated with the ‘sacred prostitution’ of the worshippers of the goddess who is probably an aspect of Inanna-Ishtar and whom Herodotus identifies with Aphrodite:

Every woman who is a native of the country must once in her life go and sit in the temple of Aphrodite and there give herself to a strange man . . . most of them sit in the temple precinct with a plaited wreath around their heads.

There is no reason to exclude Inanna-Ishtar herself from wearing this badge of ritual prostitution as she also was considered to be a ‘hierodule’. The practice of wearing a plaited band (or garland) probably refers to the temple prostitution of Inanna-Ishtar’s devotees and might be again referred to by the biblical Jeremiah in a passage in which he seems to allude to some identifying badge of prostitution, worn on the forehead and associated with idolatry, when he comments on the backsliding of the people of Israel. He writes of them as committing a form of adultery by returning to their old gods:

... but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; ... and thou hadst a whore’s forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed. . . Hast thou seen that which backsliding Israel hath done? She is gone up upon every high mountain and under every green tree and there hath played the harlot. . . she defiled the land and committed adultery with stones and with stocks.

(III:1-9)
The faience ‘masks’ of Inanna-Ishtar also bear across the forehead a band which appears similar to that worn by Cypriot Plank Figures (see Fig.36), thus another article depicted on Plank Figures can be brought into the same range of adornments by which Inanna-Ishtar can be identified. Although the horned head-dress worn by the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar is not seen on Cypriot Plank Figures, this badge of divinity may have been present in the representations of bovines and bucrania such as those occurring attached to the pole-like structures which were featured in the models of shrines from the Early Bronze Age.

Table 2 gives a number and percentage of the occurrences of incised adornments on a sample of 37 single-headed, free-standing, non-fragmentary Plank Figures which do not carry a child.234

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necklaces</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck-band</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incised ‘arms’</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hip-band</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head-band</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose-pendant</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band between ‘arms’</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Comb’</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Occurrences of incised adornments on a sample of 37 Plank Figures

234 Sample taken from V. Karageorghis (1991b) catalogue: Ba no’s 1-13,16,17; Bb no.2; Be no’s 1-5,7-18,20,22; Bg no.1
Chapter Two

i. Summary of the identification of Plank Figures as Inanna Ishtar

The above section (2.4) concentrates on providing evidence by which Plank Figures can be identified as images of the Near Eastern goddess Inanna-Ishtar. Near Eastern myths, including that of the descent of Inanna-Ishtar into the Underworld, give evidence of the adornments of this goddess, whose statue hosted the deity herself and was clothed according to the requirements of the specific ritual in which her image was taking part. Inanna-Ishtar’s association with the dead and her restoration to life in the myths of her descent and return from the Underworld, link her with the funerary and fertility role of Cypriot Plank Figures. In the myths relating to Inanna-Ishtar her adornments are itemised, and in most instances, notably the earrings, necklace, nose- pendant, hip belt, and head-band, these ornaments compare favourably with those depicted on Plank Figures. The tenuous link is the identification of the tudittu which remains ambiguous even on Near Eastern images of Inanna-Ishtar and is therefore difficult to identify on the Plank Figures of Cyprus.

2.5 The occurrence of Plank Figures on vessels

The presence of Plank Figures on vessels links both Plank Figure and vessel together in some expression of ritual or religious belief in such a way as to make it impossible to discuss Plank Figures fully without attempting to explain their presence on vessels. No scholar has undertaken such an investigation, possibly because often the appearance of these miniature versions on vessels tends to negate the theories put forward regarding the role played by the larger, free-standing figures. This might explain a Campo’s ambivalent attitude as to whether the miniature Plank Figures on vessels are really just small restatements of the larger versions.235

It is necessary to take a number of theories noted previously in this chapter regarding the purpose and identity of Plank Figures, and to refer them to Plank Figures

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235 A.a Campo (1994) p.166 ‘The use of plank figures differs. Those attached to vases probably served as ornaments and/or handles, possibly referring to free-standing figures.’
on vessels; thereby cross-checking to see if the interpretations regarding free-standing Plank Figures also apply to those attached to vessels.

The interpretation of the role of Plank Figures as being similar to those of the Egyptian figures, expected to come to life to serve the dead in the next life, would seem to be less likely if the figure is attached to a vessel. Similarly, the speculation that Plank Figures are the effigies of widows in substitution for the real widow is less tenable if the widow is tied down to a vessel, and the same restriction applies to the theory that these were effigies of concubines for the male deceased. Plank Figures as depictions of women in ceremonial dress might remain an acceptable theory when applied to the small versions attached to vessels, but it does not explain the presence of the vessel itself. Figures adorned with various articles of jewellery reflecting the status of women in Cypriot society might also be an acceptable interpretation of both free-standing and miniature vessel-attached Plank Figures, but again this explanation does not address their relationship with the vessels on which they appear. Like their free-standing versions, vessel-attached miniature Plank Figures might be images of a large cult statue or xoanon, implying that somehow the deity depicted is associated with the vessel on which she stands, as well as appearing in her own right as a free-standing representation.

Having thus applied the same interpretations of free-standing Plank Figures to the vessel-attached figures, it has been possible to eliminate the less likely explanations as to whom or what Plank Figures represent. It would appear that we are left with the image of the large cult statue associated with a ‘meaningful’ vessel as the most likely explanation of both the free-standing Plank Figures and the versions attached to vessels.

Of particular relevance to the present thesis are the figurines which take the form of handles attached to vessels dated to the Early Dynastic III period in southern Mesopotamia. The so-called ‘mother-goddess handled jars’ have a single upright female figurine as a handle on the shoulder; many have breasts and a defined pubic region, and some display multiple necklaces. P.Moorey notes that it is possible that the ‘goddess-handled jars’ in Cemetery A at Kish have an association with the cult of
Ishtar. Similarly constructed handles have been found on jars at Susa. The ‘goddess-jar handles’ link particularly well with the Plank Figures of Cyprus, as the latter sometimes appear attached to vessels and may have been placed in this position to draw attention to the vessels’ symbolic role rather than their utilitarian function.

Free-standing Plank Figures do not have feet, a circumstance which suggests they may have been intended to have been partially embedded upright in the earth. The fact that they are decorated on the back as well as the front implies that they were intended to be seen from both sides, yet their flatness precludes their standing unaided. If in fact they assumed an upright position stuck in the soil, they would take on the appearance of some of the Plank Figures on vessels which seem to be in the process of emerging from the surface of the pot - sometimes from the centre of a series of concentric circles. It is a simple matter to extrapolate on the concept of a figure emerging from the earth or from a ripple and speculate that here is a representation of the Cypriot goddess who, in her Greek manifestation as Aphrodite is depicted on Classical Greek pots in an anhodos (rising up) motif with the upper part of her body emerging from the earth, or who is described in Greek literature as emerging from the sea (Hesiod Theogony 1.188-208). In ambiguous iconography, such as that on the Ludovisi Throne, where neither earth, nor sea nor any attribute relating to a specific deity is depicted, scholars are unable to decide if Aphrodite, Demeter, Ge, or perhaps even Pandora is represented. Aphrodite’s representation in an anhodos motif may refer to her birth from the sea, or, in an expression of a lingering memory of her persona as the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar, a return from the Underworld. Aphrodite’s association with the Underworld is one of her darker aspects, seeming to refer back to her Near Eastern roots rather than to relate to her more typical manifestation as a goddess of love and laughter. Aphrodite as a goddess of the tomb, the dead, and the Underworld, will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

Explicit associations between vessel and Plank Figure are admirably illustrated in the pyxis in the University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection (Cat. no.20). A

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237 R.de Mecquenem (1931) ‘Excavations at Susa (Persia) 1930-1931’ Antiquity V, pp.330-343; PLIX; fig.11
miniature Plank Figure, which may have originally been one of a pair, stands on the exterior surface at one end near the mouth of the ovoid-shaped vessel. At either side of the mouth is a miniature jug, one with a round-mouthed neck and the other with a cut-away style neck. The specific application of these two different types of jug suggests some purpose, perhaps associated with cult or ritual, and this possibility is supported by a similar employment of these two different mouth types on an Early Bronze Age Red Polished ware twin-necked jug on which one neck has a round mouth whilst the other bears a cut-away style. On the Logie pyxis, the miniature jugs standing on a larger vessel and appearing in conjunction with a Plank Figure, juxtapose these seemingly disparate elements to form a complete unit in which much of the funerary symbolism of Early Bronze Age Cyprus might be seen to be embodied.

The present thesis will offer evidence to support the proposition that many of the vessels found in Cypriot Bronze Age funerary contexts are related to Plank Figures, both in their technique of manufacture and in their role in effecting the rebirth of the dead. It is, arguably, for the latter reason that the prehistoric potters of ancient Cyprus placed effigies of the cult statue of their goddess on vessels - to mark pots with a sign to convey their special purpose in graves and perhaps to place certain vessels under the protection of that goddess. For pots to require the protection of a goddess suggests that they had a special function beyond the utilitarian, and as the goddess depicted by Plank Figures has been argued as depicting Inanna-Ishtar in her capacity as a goddess of resurrection, so must the vessels which bear her effigy be viewed in this light. The way in which vessels might function in the process of rebirth will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

There seem to be only a few types of vessels which have Plank Figures attached to them: pyxides, jugs, and multiple bowls. The Logie Collection's pyxis has been detailed as an example of a pyxis bearing a Plank Figure in conjunction with other

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238 See infra Fig.55 for an example of a pyxis on which two miniature Plank Figures confront each other.

239 Relief-decorated Red Polished ware from Lapithos. Illustrated in D.Morris (1985) fig.18. Another example of a vessel bearing the two different styles of mouth can be noted on an Early Bronze Age Red Polished ware composite vessel which consists of twin juglets (one with a round mouth and one with a cut-away mouth) placed on top of twin juglets. Illustrated in D.Morris (1985) fig.4.
symbolic decorations and a number of pyxides which have been found in funerary contexts have Plank Figures standing on the surface. Other pyxides have different, and arguably equally symbolic decoration which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Another example of a pyxis complete with Plank Figures comes from Vounous Tomb 2 (no.91) (Fig.55). In this instance a Plank Figure stands at each end near the mouth of the pyxis; one figure is a kourotrophos. The appearance of a Plank Figure holding a child is not unusual as a number of the free-standing variety are depicted in this way. This child-carrying motif would seem to point to a fertility role for some of these figures; a role which might be interpreted as a form of 'sympathetic magic' whereby the occupant of the tomb is envisaged as having made the transition from death to life and is held, a newly born infant, in the safety and protection of the arms of the goddess who will introduce it to its new life in the Underworld. The appearance of incised Red Polished ware models of babies in their cradleboards appearing in graves might have the same associations.

The ovoid pyxis, with or without an attached Plank Figure, might be considered the surrogate ‘womb’ or ‘egg’, from which the reborn has emerged. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the prehistoric use of vessels as both burial containers and as storage receptacles for seed-grain provides a link between vessel, death and re-birth which may have been reflected in funerary contexts.

Fig.55 Red Polished ware pyxis. From Vounous Tomb 2:91.

240 J. Stewart (1992) Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age II Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology III:2, Jonsered, pl.XXXI:4
Jugs also bear miniature Plank Figures\textsuperscript{241} and as these vessels are of a size and shape suitable for liquids, it is most likely that they contained water. Water was probably seen to be of prime importance to the dead if they were going to survive in the afterlife and even more especially if the ancient Cypriots had a knowledge of how Inanna-Ishhtar was restored to life in the Underworld by the application of water and grass to her corpse.\textsuperscript{242} This is stated clearly in the passage of the \textit{Descent of Inanna} in which the agents sent by Enlil to rescue Inanna bargain for her body with Ereshkigal, the Queen of the Underworld and, having come to an arrangement with her, they carry out the following procedure:

They were being given
the tainted slab of meat
hanging on the peg
and threw upon it,
one the grass of life,
one the water of life,
and Inanna rose.

1.270-272\textsuperscript{243}

An example of a Red Polished ware jug with a miniature Plank Figure rising from the surface comes from Vounous Tomb 76:62\textsuperscript{244} (Fig.56). The Plank Figure emerges in an \textit{anhodos} motif from a series of incised concentric circles, while a number of the same concentric circles, linked by groups of oblique lines in what has been

\textsuperscript{241} It is of special interest for the present thesis that James Stewart, the excavator of the University of Canterbury's Logic Collection, when listing the type, ware, shape, projections and decoration of vessels in his 1988 \textit{Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part I} Göteborg, p.100, actually names the Plank Figure projections as 'Aphrodite'.

\textsuperscript{242} Water was of great importance to the dead in their afterlife according to Near Eastern sources. In the \textit{Curse of Hammurabi}, a postscript to his \textit{Laws}, the result of breaking the laws is: 'his spirit in the world below shall lack water', and a blessing appearing on clay cylinders: 'may his departed spirit in the world below drink clear water' provides further evidence of the Near Eastern belief that water is of prime importance to the \textit{continued life} of the deceased in the Underworld. L.Farnell (1911) \textit{Greece and Babylon} Edinburgh, p.212

\textsuperscript{243} T.Jacobsen (1987) p.221f

\textsuperscript{244} J.Stewart (1988) Pl.XXV:1
termed a 'sling-net pattern', appear incised on other parts of the juglet. It will be noted in the following chapter that the concentric circle motif is the most popular decoration on Cypriot pots and might, by virtue of its frequent appearance, be considered more than just ornamental. That the motif had an ulterior meaning is rendered even more likely when it is seen in conjunction with a Plank Figure, as is the case in the example described in this paragraph.

Another, similar, Red Polished ware juglet bearing the same motif of a Plank Figure emerging from the centre of an incised concentric circle motif, comes from Lapithos, Tomb 6 (no.44). This tomb has been dated as belonging to Stewart's Early Cypriote III period as it also contained a Minoan Bridge-spouted vase (no.16) which provided an external indicator to aid the establishment of a date.

Miniature Plank Figures standing on the surface of jugs are usually located on the shoulder opposite the handle. This would render the jug difficult to pour as the figure would impede the process and if bumped would probably be damaged or break off. Another example of this type of Red Polished ware vessel is also from Vounous Tomb 76 (no.27), but it differs from the other jugs mentioned as, like the pyxis from Vounous Tomb 2, the figure on the jug is a kourotrophos, with the baby secured in a

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245 A term which may be misleading as it suggests a utilitarian function associated with the decoration which may not be the case as will be shown in Chapter Three.
246 A few Plank Figures are actually decorated with concentric circle motifs.
247 V. Grace (1940) Fig.26

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cradleboard. As is the case with the other jugs mentioned, the remainder of the body is decorated with concentric circle motifs - on this example linked by groups of lines.

Yet another vessel from Lapithos (Tomb 302A, no.22) has a Plank Figure standing on its surface and although the figure does not emerge from a series of concentric circles, the ‘sling-net pattern’ is incised on the vessel as part of the overall decorative scheme (Fig.57). This vessel might be classified as of a ‘ritual’ or ‘cult’ nature as it has two necks and mouths, thus rendering it less than serviceable from a utilitarian point of view.

Fig.57 Red Polished ware double-neck jug. From Lapithos Tomb 302A:22

An example of a vessel bearing a figurine on its handle is especially notable as it provides a link with the so-called ‘goddess-jar handles’ from Kish, mentioned previously in this chapter (see Fig.46), and linked with Ishtar by one commentator. A Cypriot example of figure-attached handles on a vessel occurs in an amphora whose upward-extended handles are each adorned with a human face (Fig.58). Although

248 V. Grace (1940)
250 J. Stewart (1988) Fig.24:11
251 P. Moorey (1978) Kish Excavations 1923-1933 Oxford (my drawing reconstituted from side and detail views in Microfiche 1, Frame D 09). It is possible that this undeniably female figure is bearded, or a necklace was intended depicted around the neck.
252 V. Karageorghis (1991b) PL.XCVII:3, cat. IV.10 (provenance unknown)
not truly of 'classic' Plank Figure configuration, these anthropomorphised handles are
closer in appearance to Plank Figures than they are to the more rounded 'human'
figures, depicted as taking part in 'everyday' scenes on some vessels. Another
example of a Plank Figure on the handle of a vessel appears on a Red Polished ware
jug (Fig. 59) from Lapithos, Tomb 829C. In a slightly different pose from the usual
'classic' style Plank Figure, it has modelled arms with its hands held beneath its breasts
in a typically Near Eastern pose usually interpreted as a gesture by which figurines are
identified as Astarte. By reason of their striking resemblance to the 'goddess-jar
handles' and their less than practical positioning, these Cypriot figurines on the handles
of vessels convey the implication that the vessels on which they occur have a meaning
which is other than utilitarian, while at the same time having Near Eastern connections.
Jugs would normally be judged as utilitarian in purpose, whilst the less obviously utilitarian shape of the pyxis lends itself more readily to interpretation as a ritual vessel of some kind. Its shape suggests an egg, an object which has long been associated with the dead and rebirth as will be noted in the following chapter. However, the jug is more problematical when viewed as an object with ritual function, as its everyday utilitarian use as a container for liquids is a purpose which is so immediately obvious that most scholars would be inclined to accept it without question. The more esoteric-minded scholar might go so far as to suggest that specially marked jugs such as those with Plank figures attached, those with obviously non-utilitarian form such as two necks, or those which had detailed incised decoration or modelled ornament, had a ritual purpose for the pouring of libations. But it is nowhere suggested that it is equally possible that vessels themselves may have had a symbolic function as receptacles from which rebirth occurred and that the water that jugs probably contained symbolised the amniotic fluid in which a foetus grows. The ovoid shape of the body of many jugs also hints at the form taken by pyxides, thus linking the two vessel-shapes. The evidence supporting the theory that pyxides and jugs are associated with rebirth will be discussed fully in Chapter Three where vessels will be shown as having had a very long association with renewal and rebirth. It is also worth noting that the Logie Collection’s pyxis and the jugs, mentioned in the previous paragraphs, have incised decoration in the form of concentric circles; a circumstance which suggests that this motif is of importance to the symbolism of the vessel on which it occurs.

Plank Figures are not confined exclusively to the fully-modelled type attached to vessels, as is shown by the previously mentioned fragment of a Red Polished ware jug which has two Plank Figures in relief on the surface (Fig.18). One of these figures has crossed bands in an X shape incised on the chest; an early example in Cyprus of a type of decoration which has previously been noted in this chapter as appearing on earlier Mesopotamian figurines, the disc-shaped Anatolian ‘idols’ and on some of the later Cypriot bird-headed figurines.
Another variety of Plank Figures associated with pots are those that seem to 'preside' over multiple-bowl vessels. These figures range from recognisable Plank Figures to abstracted versions which seem to have evolved to a state where they have become something other than a Plank Figure and appear to relate more to architecture than to the human body.

The use of Plank Figures to preside over these multiple vessels suggests that they had a ritual use - perhaps similar to the Greek kernoï of the historic period in which, according to Athenaeus (XI: 52, 476f and 55, 478d), first fruits were offered to promote future fertility. In the Bronze Age Cypriot funerary context these composite bowl vessels may have contained grains like those of the present day kollyva offered at Cypriot funerals, which consists of a mound of moistened wheat ritually divided into quadrants and each mixed with another symbol of fertility, such as almonds, figs, and invariably pomegranate seeds. L. Farnell notes that in 'ancient times' the pomegranate was sacred to Aphrodite and, according to Athenaeus, a pomegranate tree was the one thing Aphrodite was said to have planted on Cyprus (III: 27, 84c). E. Neumann suggests it was the abundance of seeds in the pomegranate that symbolised fertility.

The most anthropomorphised versions of Plank Figures attached to multiple-bowl vessels come from Vounous. One example, from Tomb 48 (no.2), has modelled arms and breasts, carries a baby in its left arm and has an unusual feature in the form of a pair of modelled legs, located in one of the cut-out holes which are a characteristic of most examples of this particular type of figure (see Fig.1le). The second example, from Vounous B (special series no.10), has modelled legs appearing within the pierced hole in the body but unlike the former, it does not have modelled arms or breasts, nor does it carry a baby. The modelled legs appearing on both of the above-

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253 Archaeological Reports 1968-69 p.41, fig.1
254 S. Xanthoudides (1905-6) 'Cretan kernoï' Annual of the British School at Athens XII pp.9-23
255 F. Grunfeld (1985:31) 'Aphrodite Lives! At the crossroads of the gods, in Cyprus, the pagan goddess is still venerated' Connoisseur 215 pp.28-38
258 V. Karageorghis (1991b) PL.XCIII.3, cat. no.III.3
259 V. Karageorghis (1991b) PL.XCIII.2, cat. no.III.2
mentioned figures do not appear to belong to the primary figures and may be an attempt to render a child within the womb. This interpretation might agree with the possibility that the role of the figures relates to fertility and re-birth. A secondary stage of development towards a more abstract type can be noted in an example from Vounous B (special series no.9) which has the pierced body of the previous figure with a Plank Figure neck and head attached (see Fig.11f). Yet another stage towards abstraction occurs in a multiple-bowl vessel with the attachment having the outline of a pierced-body Plank Figure, but now without facial details (see Fig.11g). A link can be seen between this abstracted version and another which has the pierced body of the former varieties (see Fig.11h). The ‘body’ has now become uprights in an architectural sense which seem to echo the concave-topped uprights on the back of the bench modelled in the ‘Vounous Bowl’ scenic vessel (see Fig.11j). In a six-bowl version of the composite vessels under discussion, the pierced body forms two vertical rows and there are now three uprights (see Fig.11e), perhaps echoing the triple-headed Plank Figures and/or the tripartite shrines which appear as both free-standing models and also as part of the décor of the ‘Vounous Bowl’. A final stage can be noted whereby the pierced ‘body’ of what once was a Plank Figure now culminates in a vessel at the top instead of a head (Fig.60). The combination of vessel and uprights can be seen again in the models of shrines in which three uprights are topped by bucrania, whilst a vessel stands at the base (Fig.11k). All of the examples cited in this paragraph are manufactured in Red Polished ware and have incised decoration.

260 V.Karageorghis (1991b) PL.XCIII:1, cat. no. III.1
261 P.Dikaios (1940) PL.XXVII:b
262 D.Morris (1985) Fig.77
263 V.Grace (1940) PUB 98 & 102
264 P.Dikaios (1940) PL.XXVII:c
265 V.Karageorghis (1991b) PL.CII:2-3 cat.VII.3; see also PL.CII:1-2, cat.VII.4 for a similar shrine model.
A Campo comments on the similarity between the decoration on Plank Figures and that which appears on vessels: ‘It cannot be stressed enough that the decorative patterns of plank-figures . . . are in general the same as those used on pots. The connection between plank-figures and incised Red Polished vessels is evidently very strong.‘266 A similar link between vessels and figurines was noted by Talalay in reference to the material from the Neolithic Franchthi Cave in Greece: ‘The similarities were probably intentional and may have been motivated, at least partially, by a desire to render explicit, for whatever reason, symbolic connections among the human body, pottery, and figurines.’267 This link was not necessarily specifically funerary as it has already been noted here previously that Plank Figures have been found in settlement contexts and it is also apparent that the same incised decorative motifs on vessels occur in non-funerary contexts as well. This does not negate the funerary symbolic references of Plank Figure and pots and in fact their appearance in both funerary and settlement contexts strengthens the speculation that both have a reference to fertility and on-going life, whether in tomb or dwelling.

Miniature Plank Figures attached to vessels occur in the same tombs as free-standing Plank Figures in the case of tomb 76 at Vounous and Tomb 313b at Lapithos. If the locations of tombs containing Plank Figures and those with vessels bearing miniature Plank Figures are combined, a more complete picture of the spread of Plank Figures is possible.

266 A.a Campo (1994) p.64
267 L.Talalay (1993) p.35
Figures is arrived at. By examining the locations of provenanced free-standing and attached Plank Figures (and this excludes a large number of unprovenanced examples) it is possible to state that the Plank Figure image in one form or another was known at Vounous, Lapithos, Alambra, Ambelikou-Alentri, Dhenia, Tamassos, Palealona, Ayia Paraskevi, Phoenijies, Limassol town, and Mavro Nero.\(^{268}\) (see Map 3).

The association between Plank Figures and vessels can be further extended to encompass a number of artefacts which appear to be Plank Figures that have metamorphosed into vessels. One example appears in the form of a fragment of a Red Polished ware jug, from Vounous Tomb 64 (no.110), whose neck has the face, hair, pierced ears and earrings of a Plank Figure, modelled below the lip of the jug, whilst the ‘body’ of the vessel has become the body of the figure (see Fig.21d).\(^{269}\) In addition to the face appearing on the neck, a fragment which may have been the handle of the jug also depicts the face and hair of a Plank Figure and is reminiscent of the ‘goddess-handled jars’ from Kish and Susa mentioned previously in this chapter. Another example of an anthropomorphised vessel shows the link between the belly of the vessel and that of a figure by the ceramist having created modelled arms which curve under the rounded belly in a pose reminiscent of that of a pregnant woman (see Fig.21b).\(^{270}\) The suggestion of a state of pregnancy is further enhanced by the everted navel on the figure. The figure’s relationship with Plank Figures is emphasised by the large double-pierced ears attached at the sides of the neck of the vessel and also by the incised decoration ornamenting the pot. Yet another anthropomorphised vessel reiterates the links between Plank Figure and pot in that the handles of the amphora have become ‘arms’ bearing another vessel on each shoulder. This humanoid vessel has a Plank Figure’s large multiple-pierced ears attached at the sides of the ‘head’ and is further linked to Plank Figures by the use of incised decoration which, in this case, appears to depict a fringed skirt-like garment, perhaps reminiscent of the decoration on ‘Comb Figures’ (see Fig.21e).\(^{271}\) It is still unknown whether such vessels were made solely for funerary contexts as little excavation work has been done in settlements; nevertheless,

\(^{268}\) Compiled from the catalogue in V.Karageorghis (1991b) with additions of the vessels in the Logie Collection

\(^{269}\) J.Stewart (1988) Pl.XVIII:5

\(^{270}\) J.Stewart (1992) Pl.XII:2

\(^{271}\) D.Morris (1985) fig.99
it may be that pots of an anthropomorphised nature were used in households, albeit for special purposes as their decorative shape appears to be somewhat less than utilitarian.

To complement the above examples see Fig.21 (a-g) which illustrates a number of anthropomorphised vessels from Bronze Age Cypriot contexts.

The possibility that incised Red Polished ware material from settlement contexts refers to fertility and life is supported by the appearance of similar incised decoration to that which occurs on Plank Figures and vessels in funerary contexts, appearing on an Anatolian-style andiron (Fig.61) found in settlement excavations at Marki-Alonia (P2000).\(^\text{272}\) Andirons do not occur in Cypriot funerary contexts yet, because of the presence of incised decoration, they may belong to the ‘life’ aspect of artefacts with such embellishment. D.Frankel and J.Webb comment on a possible association between Plank Figures and andirons: ‘the central nose-like knobs, and the general shape and decoration of the Cypriot examples, in particular P2000, are reminiscent of contemporary Cypriot plank idols.’\(^\text{273}\) It might be safe to add that the presence of two punctured dots appearing in the band of zigzag decoration on each side above the ‘nose’ may represent eyes and thus anthropomorphise the object in the same way as andirons of the Near Eastern Khirbet Kerak culture.\(^\text{274}\) These andirons have anthropomorphic representations, like Plank Figures in appearance, incised on the backs and on the frontal upright supports (Fig.62). Just as the Plank Figures attached to vessels might be seen as serving a protective function in Cypriot contexts, so might the figures incised on andirons as these important pieces of household equipment were inextricably linked with the sustenance of the family. To extend the association between the numinous andiron and its symbolic decoration further, we may here have an early reference to the deity who would become the Greek Hestia, a goddess who

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\(^\text{272}\) D.Frankel & J.Webb (1994) ‘Archaeological Research in the Marki Region, Cyprus’ Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 3, pp.115-127. The spelling of the place-name Margi has been altered to Marki in accordance with the place names given in M.Christodoulou & K.Konstantinides (1987) A complete gazetteer of Cyprus, Nicosia

\(^\text{273}\) D.Frankel & J.Webb (1994) p.56

\(^\text{274}\) Pot stands of this type have been found connected with Khirbet Kerak ware in the ‘Amuq, Palestine, north-east Anatolia, and the Caucasus from the Early Bronze period. Fragmentary examples of this type date from the Copper Age at Alishar, and Late Bronze Age examples are known from Kusura. S.Daimont & J.Rutter (1969:147) ‘Horned objects in Anatolia and the Near East and possible connexions with the Minoan “Horns of Consecration”’ Anatolian Studies 19 pp.147-177
remained sedentary and attached to the hearth at the centre of the ancient Greek family.

![Fig.61 Reconstruction of Red Polished ware andiron. From Marki-Alonia, P2000](image)

![Fig.62 Partially reconstructed Khirbet Kerak ware andiron. Early Bronze Age. From the 'Anuq plain, Tabara el Akrad](image)

### 2.6 Chapter summary

The above chapter has described the two free-standing Plank Figures and the vessel-attached miniature example in the University of Canterbury's James Logie Collection and has linked these with a number of similar examples in an endeavour to discern whom or what they represent and how they functioned in the contexts in which they were discovered.

In attempting to identify the meaning of Plank Figures, possible prototypes with similarities in ornamentation and/or techniques from Anatolian and Near Eastern
contexts have been used as comparative material to provide evidence of a shared source for depictions of this nature. In Cypriot contexts, links have been established between Plank Figures and the Late Bronze Age bird-headed figures and these links suggest that an evolutionary process took place. Plank Figures did not disappear, but changed their form and continued on in the iconography of Bronze Age Cyprus as evidence of their importance to the people who made them. Such longevity suggests these figurines had a deep-seated meaning and tends to negate the more prosaic explanations for their existence proffered by some scholars. Furthermore, the severely abstracted examples of Plank Figure type objects have been associated with the shrines of ancient Cyprus in an attempt to emphasise their sacred connotations as opposed to explanations for their existence as profane or utilitarian articles. On the basis of their iconographical associations with Near Eastern and Anatolian figurines and on their demonstrably meaningful existence in funerary contexts, the present thesis proffers an identification of Cypriot Plank Figures as images of the multi-faceted Near Eastern goddess of love, fertility, and rebirth, Inanna-Ishtar. Associations between Plank Figures and the Near Eastern goddess have been elucidated in the most concrete ways available, specifically by the adornments incised on figures which have been cross-referenced with Near Eastern images of the goddess, as well as the available Near Eastern literary evidence in the form of her myths.

This chapter has also brought vessels into the realm of the goddess of regeneration and rebirth, vessels on which her image has been placed in a symbolic reference to their importance in association with fertility and renewal. The link between Plank Figures and vessels has been well established in the present chapter and this link can only be interpreted as an expression of a system of belief that involves both figure and pot interrelating within the symbolism of that system.
Map 3  Distribution of provenanced free-standing and vessel-attached Plank Figures
3

VESSELS

The discussion in this chapter is aimed at outlining the technique and decoration of Cypriot Red Polished Ware vessels, and to argue in favour of possible symbolic associations held by the vessels and their decoration. The argument concentrates on providing evidence to support the theory that many of these vessels had a symbolic role as surrogate ‘wombs’ from which the dead would be reborn into an afterlife. In the previous chapter it was noted that Plank Figures are related to the vessels by their similar technique, their presence attached to some vessels, and their apparent metamorphosis into vessels. The links between Plank Figures and the vessels will be used to support the speculation that the vessels, like Plank Figures, had a role relating to rebirth; a role stemming from the use of vessels as containers for seed-grain and for water storage, both commodities essential for the sustenance of life. Early Near Eastern and later, more geographically widespread, evidence will be used to support the theory that both water and its container were considered to be primary agents in rituals relating to fertility and rebirth.

3.1 Cypriot vessels: general

a. Categorisation

As was noted in Chapter Two, the Red Polished wares are similar in appearance and decoration from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age right through

1 P. Davis (1997) ‘Mortuary practice in Bronze Age Cyprus’ Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus pp.11-26, comments that most scholars tend to focus on particularly discussion-worthy objects from tomb deposits, yet they disregard the domestic pottery included as part of ‘the entire funerary process.’ The author of the present thesis could be accused of following this same selective process. However, it should be noted that all the pottery in any tomb assemblage, plain or elaborate, domestic or of obviously non-everyday structure, falls within the framework of the opinion argued here; that all funerary deposits were intended for use by the reborn deceased in their new existence and some vessels may have been more important to that process than others.
until the middle of the Middle Bronze Age,² a period of perhaps 600 years.³ Numerous attempts have been made at establishing a typology of Red Polished ware - beginning with Myres’ and Ohnefalsch-Richter’s 1899 publication of the pottery held by the Cyprus Museum.⁴ As more excavations were carried out, the need to redefine the typologies resulted in publications by Gjerstad (Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus Uppsala, (1926) and the The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, which was written by several scholars collectively and published between 1934 and 1972.

It was originally thought that Red Polished ware could be categorised by differences in fabric and surface treatment. Vessels with a heavy glossy red slip were classified as Red Polished II, whilst those with a metallic, hard fabric and dull surface were Red Polished III. This classification system came to be temporal also, assuming that Red Polished III ware was chronologically later than Red Polished II ware. But, in reality, only Philia Red Polished ware can be classified as a separate group, with the remainder of Red Polished wares difficult to segregate because stratification is confused due to multiple burials occupying the same tomb in Early Bronze Age Cypriot cemeteries.⁵ Pottery associated with the Philia culture is slightly different from the typical Red Polished wares. It has some incised decoration and unlike that of typical Red Polished ware, this is not usually white-filled. Some of the shapes differ too, with beaked mouth jugs being prevalent, along with flat bottomed vessels. It is unclear whether the Philia culture was a development from the Cypriot Chalcolithic or whether it existed at the same time as the other Early Bronze Age cultures typified by sites such as Vounous and Lapithos in the north of the island.

From the above-mentioned publications and others that have followed (for example Merrillees 1978, 1991) it is clear that the process of categorising Red Polished

² J.Stewart in P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.227; E.Peltenburg (1982) Recent Developments in the Later Prehistory of Cyprus Göteborg, p.50; P.Dikaios (1940) p.167 notes that there is some evidence for the continuity of cultures from Chalcolithic Khirokitia and Erimi as varieties of a Red Polished ware were excavated at these locations.
⁴ J.Myres and M.Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899) A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum with a Chronicle of Excavations Undertaken since the British Occupation and Introductory notes on Cypriote Archaeology Oxford

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ware is in a constant state of revision as more material is excavated, but it is also clear that the parameters set out in the collective literature provide a system which is capable of absorbing new material.\(^6\)

The present thesis will follow S.Kromholz's (1982) lead and put aside the Roman numeral system of classifying Red Polished ware in favour of describing shapes and/or decoration which are aspects of the ware most pertinent to the discussion in hand.

b. Manufacturing technique

Red Polished ware\(^7\) is hand-made with vessels most likely being made using the coiled or pinched technique. The round base of jugs and bowls was either supported in a ring, moulded in a sherd or a small bowl, or perhaps supported in a basket. A sherd, from Vounous Tomb 143 (sherd 7), retains the impression of a woven basket or mat.\(^8\) In Philia Red Polished wares the base is usually flat. Tempering was provided by the use of grit, sandy grog, or chopped straw, although straw was used less frequently by the Middle Cypriot I period. Jug handles were generally attached with the lower end inserted in a hole pushed into the body and then bent inside the vessel to give added strength when fired.\(^9\)

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\(^5\) S.Kromholz (1982) p.50f
\(^6\) However, see D.Frankel (1992:62) 'Inter- and Intra-site Variability and Social Interaction in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: Types, Ranges, and Trends' Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 292, pp.59-72, who cites a personal communication from J.Barlow suggesting that Red Polished pottery should be classified according to clay type, texture, inclusions, and hardness.
\(^7\) Information on the Red Polished pottery technique is from I.Todd (1986a) Vasilikos Valley Project 1: The Bronze Age cemetery in Kalavasos village Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:1 Gothenburg, p.134ff
\(^8\) E.Stewart and J.Stewart (1950) Vounous 1937-38: Field-report on the excavations sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens Lund, p.380
\(^9\) R.Merrillees (1978) Introduction to the Bronze Age archaeology of Cyprus Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocketbook No.9 Gothenburg, p.14, notes that even after the potter's wheel was introduced into Cyprus at the end of the Middle Cypriot period, much pottery still continued to be made by hand. This circumstance may be related to the fact that religious traditions are slow to change and tend to continue as ritual despite technological changes in other aspects of cultural activity. This may add credibility to the notion that Cypriot funerary pottery had a religious aspect separate from utility. S.Weinberg (1965:189) 'Ceramics and the supernatural: cult and burial evidence in the Aegean world' in F.Matson (ed.) (1965) Ceramics and Man New York, pp.187-201, comments that the older tradition of handmade ware 'held a certain sanctity'.
The walls of much Red Polished ware are relatively thin, and this is achieved by scraping the vessels while the clay is still damp. During the ‘leather hard’ stage the pots were burnished with a hard, smooth object to produce the polished effect. Wherever a marked difference between the surface colour of a pot and that of the fabric is apparent, it is probable that a slip has been applied. Morris, citing L.MacLaurin,\textsuperscript{10} notes that Bronze Age Cypriot funerary ware was fired at less than 600° C.

Incised decoration was made while the vessel was still moist or leather hard. Lime paste was used to fill the incised decoration and, as this is easily washed away in water,\textsuperscript{11} its ephemeral nature may lend support to the theory that such decoration was not intended for vessels of everyday use. It is notable that the incised Red Polished ware belonging to the Philia Culture rarely has white filling although it is not entirely absent. During the Early Cypriot III to Middle Cypriot III periods, incised decoration became more frequent with the most common motif being the net pattern which Stewart interprets as representing a fibre sling or carrying net.\textsuperscript{12} The main motifs in incised decoration throughout all periods in which Red Polished pottery occurs are geometric and consist of dots, parallel lines, zigzags, triangles, lozenges, circles, chequers, and wheels. However, there are a few instances of decoration representing stags and perhaps (questionably) a human figure wearing stag’s antlers. ‘Comb Figures’ occur incised on a few vessels.

Incised and relief decoration appears throughout the period of Red Polished ware and perhaps the earliest relief ornaments are vertical or horizontal stripes along the rim or upper parts of bowls, or crescents and bucrania at the rim of bowls or on the neck of amphorae.\textsuperscript{13} Depictions of cattle, deer, birds, Plank Figures, and humans, occur fully modelled on vessels from an early date, with snakes, stags and other horned animals occurring as relief motifs.

\textsuperscript{11} I.Todd (1986a) p.136
\textsuperscript{12} J.Stewart in P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.228. See also E.Gjerstad (1926) Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus Uppsala, p.109
\textsuperscript{13} E.Gjerstad (1926) p.94
The types of vessels in Red Polished ware include, among others, bowls of various sizes and shapes, jugs, juglets, amphorae, cooking pots, pyxides, askoi, composite vessels, and 'cultic' vessels. Other objects were also manufactured using the Red Polished technique and, along with Plank Figures, these include horns, models of shrines, models of animals, spindle-whorls, models of babies in their cradleboards, and models of daggers and sheaths. Many of these vessels and objects are of relevance to the present thesis.

c. Women potters?

It is also of relevance to the present thesis to argue for the production of pre-wheel pottery by women. If women were responsible for the manufacture of Red Polished wares, the theory that these wares reflect the feminine principle of birth-giving and sustenance in life and in death will be enhanced.

Many scholars concur that the production of pre-wheel pottery was an occupation of women and, although many of these scholars' arguments in favour of this theory are based on ethnographical studies which may be inappropriate for the prehistoric Cypriot context, it would appear that there is more evidence in favour generally of pre-wheel potters being female.

Traditionally, it has been considered that hand-made pottery was labour-intensive and time consuming and that with the advent of the potter’s wheel the time required to produce a pot was shortened, thus commercialising the process and taking it out of the hands of women.\textsuperscript{14} In the Cypriot context it is difficult to know whether pots for funerary purposes were utilitarian or had some symbolic associations. The present thesis supports the latter possibility and, therefore, the implication is that pots with symbolic meaning were created as part of a funerary ritual. This concept is supported by the undeniable fact that incised Red Polished ware was an element of Cypriot funerary practice for a long period of time, a circumstance which is in tune

with the idea that religious expression is slow to change. Todd notes that ‘the adoption of the potter’s wheel in Cyprus cannot be documented until the end of the Middle Bronze Age, roughly 500 years after its acceptance by Minoans and mainland Greek potters, and nearly 1500 years later than its appearance in Egypt and the Near East.’

There is some evidence from Crete that women were involved in the pottery-manufacturing process. P. Michaelidis notes that the female figure on a steatite prism-seal, from Kastelli Pediada southeast of Knossos, was interpreted by Evans as a woman potter. Michaelidis further comments that possible philological evidence for women potters is forthcoming in the use of the feminine ka-ra-me·ja (κεραμεία) on the Linear B tablet Ap 639 from Knossos.

Among the scholars who would appear to agree that pre-wheel potters were female is Morris, who notes the incidence of women potters who hand-make pottery in modern tribal communities and comments that this activity is akin to kneading and baking bread. Frankel implies that women were the potters when he explains the spread of pottery wares, shapes, motifs, and styles from one area of Cyprus to another by the movement of pottery-making women. If handmade pottery was a feminine activity, then the funerary ceramics of Bronze Age Cyprus were also the responsibility of women. Women created life and perhaps the pots they manufactured were also linked to the life-giving forces of the feminine.

3.2 ‘Cult’ vessels

Perhaps the most obvious choice of vessel-type for initial discussion is that which is termed ‘cultic’. This type, along with what might be seen as impractical
vessels, appears to be less than utilitarian and for this reason has attracted the ‘cultic’ or ‘ritual vessel’ appellation.

Among the vases Dikaios includes under the term ‘cultic’ are bowls or goblets with birds or animals standing on the rim and he comments that Gjerstad grouped this type along with ‘all the fantastic, composite, animal-shaped vases and pyxides’ as Red Polished III ware.¹⁹ The pyxis in the University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection thus assumes the title of ‘cultic’, as to the modern viewer it has no readily identifiable utilitarian purpose other than as a container and its fragile decoration renders it difficult to ‘use’ in an everyday sense. However, it must be stressed that although ‘cultic’ vessels are seen as non-utilitarian by modern viewers, this does not necessarily reflect the perceptions of the Bronze Age Cypriots who made and used them. The fact that ‘cultic’ vessels are adorned with three-dimensional ornamentation, which would make pouring or drinking from them difficult, may not have been seen as a hindrance; nor perhaps would the presence of two or more spouts on a jug. Whatever the case, it cannot be ruled out that heavily ornamented vessels had some ulterior meaning in the Cypriot funerary context. It is the objective of the present thesis to attempt to interpret that meaning from the clues provided by the ornamented vessels themselves and by historic evidence referring to systems of religious belief which, most scholars would agree, are slow to change and rely heavily on tradition for their rituals.

It is obvious that a number of different types of vessels appear to be ‘special’ in that their form and decoration renders them less than utilitarian, or that their ornamentation confers an element of ‘specialness’ which might be construed as out of the ordinary. Among many other differing shapes, the pyxis is one vessel that can be used as an initial example of vessels whose shape and/or decoration implies a secondary meaning beyond the utilitarian.

a. Pyxides

It has been noted previously (Chapter Two), that the Logie Collection’s Red Polished ware pyxis has a miniature Plank Figure standing on the shoulder at one end

¹⁹ P.Dikaios (1940) p.57
of the mouth and that there is a possibility that another Plank Figure stood facing it at the other end. This possible arrangement is suggested by the evidence of another pyxis, from Vounous Tomb 2 (no.91), which bears an anthropomorphised figure at each end of the mouth; an arrangement which in the case of the Logie pyxis is enhanced by the mirrored miniature jugs at either side of the mouth. Such mirroring might suggest that the other motifs were also mirrored. However, evidence of ornamentation on other pyxides suggests that the doubling of the Plank Figures is not necessarily the case and it would be less than scholarly to leave out reference to the other possible motifs which may have adorned the area opposite the Plank Figure.

Morris cites twenty-eight examples of pyxides that he has been able to track down in the literature. To these must be added the fine example in the Logie Collection. Of the twenty-eight examples cited by Morris, seventeen are of a plain egg-shape with no "special embellishments", whilst another two are of a plain flat-bottom shape. The remaining nine pyxides are egg-shaped with modelled ornament which Morris has differentiated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>No. of pyxides</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two miniature bowls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two anthropomorphic figures</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two anthropomorphic figures and four birds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two deer and two birds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One bull and one bird</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One anthropomorphic figure and one bird</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two anthropomorphic figures on horse-necks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3 Decoration of pyxides

20 D.Morris (1985) p.75
22 (1) Red Polished ware, from Vounous Tomb 2 no.91, in V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.II.1, pl.XCI:1, Cyprus Museum. (2) Red Polished ware, provenance unknown, in ibid. Cat.II.2, pl.XCI:2, Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca, no.31
23 Red Polished ware, from Vounous Tomb 37 no.84, in V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.17, pl.CXXXVI:3, Cyprus Museum
24 Drab Polished ware, provenance unknown, in V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.IX.6, pl.CXII:2, Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca, no.61
25 Red Polished ware, from Aghirda, in V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VIII.6, pl.CVII:2, Cyprus Museum Inv. no. 1967/VII 7/1
To Morris’ breakdown of motifs can be added a pyxis illustrated by Karageorghis. On this example two outward-facing Plank Figures are attached, one on each shoulder of the long sides of the pyxis. Each figure has an exaggeratedly long nose, a feature which has been noted previously (Chapter Two) as perhaps being of special importance to the ancient Cypriots. The overstated nose may be a symbol of the ‘breath of life’ in a manifestation similar to the large noses which occur on Near Eastern models which have been interpreted as expressing this concept. At the middle of each narrow side of the pyxis shoulder is a bird figurine facing outwards.

Karageorghis adds another pyxis with four birds to the example, mentioned by Morris, which has four birds and two anthropomorphic figures in relief on the lid. The example given by Karageorghis lacks anthropomorphic figures and is decorated with a pair of birds confronting each other from the shoulder of each of the short sides of the pyxis.

Karageorghis also provides an example of a pyxis which is in a similarly damaged state to the Logie Collection’s pyxis as it has a Plank Figure attached to the shoulder with a remaining, ambiguous, stump opposite. It would be fair to state that in the case of the Logie pyxis, the mirroring of the miniature jugs attached to the vessel suggests that a Plank Figure once stood opposite the existing one, although in the light of evidence of non-mirrored attachments it cannot be stated categorically that the damaged stump originally supported another Plank Figure.

b. Composite vessels

Overtly more ‘impractical’ vessels than pyxides are the so-called ‘composite vessels’ which come in a variety of interesting and puzzling forms. One form echoes the individual miniature jugs on the Logie pyxis in that it bears both a round spout and a cutaway spout - but in this case on the same jug. The ‘usefulness’ of such a vessel is

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27 White Painted ware, from Vounous Tomb 64, Middle Bronze Age, D. Morris (1985) p.205, Fig.329
28 Red Polished ware, from Limassol town, Ayios Nikolaos quarter, in V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.II.5, fig.118,119, Limassol Museum Inv. no. LM 151/148, T.31
29 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.16, pl.CXXVII:2, from Vounous Tomb 37 no.93, Cyprus Museum.
30 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.II.4, pl.XCII:2, from Vounous Tomb 38 no.4, Cyprus Museum
questionable as it consists of twin conjoined bodies that each have a neck joining onto the base of a further pair of joined bodies. The upper set of conjoined vessels have the differing spouts mentioned above. The tendency towards multiplicity in vessels echoes that of Plank Figures with their doubled and tripled necks and heads. In vessels, this inclination reaches an extreme in the form of a seven-bodied vessel from Vounous Tomb 19 (no.67). Its vast size (83cm) is formidable enough, but the complexity of its form seems to deny any utilitarian function and implies some other intention altogether (Fig.63). The rounded form of the seven conjoined jugs and their necks with cut-away spouts give the impression of a nest of newly-hatched birds with their hungry mouths open awaiting food. Such an analogy may seem far-fetched, until one takes into account cut-away spout vessels which have added decoration which hints at birdlike appendages and the vessels which have almost fully metamorphosed into bird-shaped askoi. Bird-shaped vessels will be discussed fully later in this chapter.

![Image](image-url)

**Fig.63** Large Red Polished ware composite vessel.  
From Vounous Tomb 19, no.67. H.83cm. Cyprus Museum.

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31 D.Morris (1985) Fig.54  
32 J.Stewart (1988) pl.XII:7
Plank figures and their abstracted developments attached as ‘handles’ to composite bowls have been noted in Chapter Two as rendering these vessels ‘meaningful’ in that they bear the image of a deity or refer to a tripartite shrine. The four bowls at the base of many of these ‘handles’ may have been intended as receptacles for offerings. Thus four bowls which appear on a different type of composite vessel may also have the same connotations. This example, an Early Bronze Age Red Polished ware composite vessel from Lapithos Tomb 322d (no.6), consists of a jug body which is surmounted by another jug complete with handle and cut-away spout. Four hemispherical bowls emerge suspended around the circumference at the junction of the upper and lower jugs (Fig.64). It is difficult to imagine pouring from the jug as the contents of the bowls would spill in all directions and it is for reasons such as these that such vessels may be held to have a ‘cultic’ or ‘ritual’ purpose.

Fig.64 Red Polished ware composite vessel.
From Lapithos Tomb 322D, no.6. H.42.5cm.

c. Bowls

A similar difficulty in ascertaining function can be noted in a number of Early Bronze Age Red Polished ware bowls, one example of which is a long-stemmed bowl whose rim is surmounted by three small tulip bowls alternating with modelled animals (from Vounous Tomb 160a no.17). In this case, the function of the vessel might be surmised as a container in which liquids or solids were served, but it is not a vessel

33 D.Morris (1985) Fig.73
which would be likely to be lifted to the lips as the modelled decoration would impede the process of drinking. The vessel’s height of 52.7 centimetres also renders this function unlikely. Consequently the vessel may have remained on the ground or on a table with a drinking tube inserted to facilitate the drinking process and if this were the case it would align it to Near Eastern practice depicted on cylinder-seals. A Cypriot example of this custom occurs in a scene on the ‘Hubbard Amphora’ of the Cypriot Geometric period (850-750 B.C.) which depicts a seated woman drinking from a vase through a long straw.\(^{34}\) The vase that the woman sips from is supported on what appears to be a wheeled stand, bronze examples of which have been excavated in 12th century B.C. contexts and may have been used for the same purpose as the stand depicted on the ‘Hubbard Amphora’ (Fig.65). The drinking scene is possibly part of a cult ritual, suggested by the bull protome on a pole at the left of the scene. The bucranion on a pole is an image which goes back as far as the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus and occurs on terracotta shrine-images as well as on the interior wall of the ‘Vounous Bowl’ in a context which is suggestive of cult activity.

A number of other vessels can be included among those termed ‘cultic’. These include jugs with modelled figures and objects standing on the surface, goblets and bowls with modelled animals and objects attached to the rim, kernoi, so-called ‘scenic vessels’ and askoi. All these types will be addressed later in the present chapter in

\(^{34}\) V.Tatton-Brown (1979) Cat. 211, p.68
reference to the discussion regarding the various motifs attached to or incised on particular vessels.

d. Domestic versus ‘cultic’

In attempting to interpret ‘meaning’ associated with the form and decoration of funerary vessels, it is necessary to take into account household pots that have been found in settlement contexts and are often decorated using motifs similar to those found in funerary contexts. Evidence from historic times suggests that pots, whatever their context, have esoteric qualities and this is exemplified in Hesiod’s Works and Days:

Μηδὲ ἀπὸ χυτροπόδων ἄνεπιρρέκτων ἀνελόντα
ἔσθειν μηδὲ λόεθαι ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐνι ποινή.

Take nothing to eat or to wash with from uncharmed pots, for in them there is mischief.

(748-9) \(^{35}\)

In light of such evidence supporting the ambiguous nature of all pots, it might be reasonable to assume that domestic pots as well as funerary vessels shared numinous attributes. In the Cypriot case, evidence suggests that settlement pottery shares most of the shapes and decoration of funerary pottery, although some vessels appear to have been deliberately made for funerary purposes. There seems to be little agreement among scholars as to homogeneity or otherwise between the Red Polished ware from the few Cypriot settlement sites excavated and the ware from cemeteries. In 1956, Weinberg, referring to excavations at the Early Bronze Age settlement at Phaneromeni, intimates that although not enough pottery had come from the settlement to allow for valid comparisons, there seemed to be differences between settlement and cemetery finds. He notes the large size and heavy weight of funerary vessels and suggests that they would be ‘impractical for household use’ when filled and

\(^{35}\) Translation by H.Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library, 1920, p.59
that ‘it would seem likely that they were made for the graves’. 36 In 1965 he reiterates his findings of 1956, adding that the pottery from tombs was not well fired and often had large firing cracks; as opposed to settlement pottery which was well fired and in ‘useful shapes’. 37

J. Barlow (1983) provides relevant data from the Cornell excavations at Alambra in 1982 where a settlement and a cemetery furnished Red Polished ware for comparison. As the tombs contained only one individual apiece, the pottery in each tomb could be construed to have been in contemporary use. The nearby settlement provided Red Polished ware predominantly and all the shapes from tomb AI.102 were represented in the settlement, as was the decoration which was either incised or in light relief. In the case of tomb AI.102, seven of the fourteen vessels were incised, or otherwise decorated, wares of a soft fabric that ‘would not withstand hard use’ 38 and the finer, more highly-decorated wares occurred in a higher proportion in the tomb.

Webb (1992) also reaches a different conclusion from that of Weinberg regarding tomb/settlement wares. Using evidence from the Middle Cypriot and Late Cypriot periods, she informs us: ‘Where settlement pottery is available for comparison . . . the mortuary assemblage is compatible in shape, fabric and decoration with contemporary domestic pottery, although the tombs contain a higher proportion of decorated vases and few large jars and pithoi . . .’. 39 She goes on to note that a significant vase in burial deposits is the ‘non-utilitarian’ zoomorphic vase which increased in popularity throughout the Bronze Age with bird-shaped vessels predominating in the Early Cypriot and Middle Cypriot periods. 40

Judging from the observations of Weinberg, Barlow, and Webb in the above paragraphs, it would appear that some pottery crosses the boundaries between settlement and grave, whilst other examples, including highly-decorated pots and bird-
shaped askoi, may have been more specifically funerary. To the latter category might be added the 'cultic' vases and those, such as the composite vessels, which have been noted as being 'impractical' for everyday domestic purposes. The predominance of highly-decorated wares in tombs suggests that the ornamentation had a specific 'meaning' and therefore it is necessary to discuss the decoration of vessels in an attempt to interpret what may have been intended by the motifs displayed.

3.3 Incised motifs on Cypriot vessels

Incised decoration, usually without white filling, appears in conjunction with Philia Red Polished ware and although the earlier sites of Erimi and Myloutkia produced some sherds with punctured and incised decoration, this was the exception rather than the rule. However, that there was some continuation from the later Neolithic and Chalcolithic motifs into the Early Bronze Age is likely according to Dikaios, who provides comparative material to support his claim. Such a continuation might be suggestive of a new technical and artistic approach superimposed on an existing tradition, possibly by a new population melding with an established society.

Decoration incised into Red Polished ware is in the main restricted to geometric motifs. On very rare occasions a vessel has an incised pictorial image and it would appear that incised decorative motifs followed a rigid traditional format from which the potters rarely deviated. It is for this reason that authors, such as Morris, suggest that the abstract patterns and in particular the concentric circle motif, must have been significant in some way. Because of the extremely varied repertoire of motifs incised onto Red Polished ware vessels, only the most common or seemingly significant motifs will be dealt with in the present thesis.

41 E.Peltenburg (1982) p.98
42 P.Dikaios (1940) p.130
43 P.Dikaios (1940) p.131f
44 D.Morris (1985) p.293, 299
a. Concentric circles

The concentric circle motif occurs as a major element in the decorative scheme adorning the pyxis in the Logie Collection (Cat. no.20). In this particular case, the motif is divided vertically by a group of straight lines. Morris notes that divided concentric circles are the second most popular circular motif occurring on Cypriot Red Polished ware of the Early Bronze Age, with the concentric circle motif being the most popular.45 A divided concentric circle motif similar to that on the Logie pyxis occurs on a bowl from Lapithos Tomb 6A (no.47), a rock-cut tomb that was dated by the presence of a Minoan bridge-spouted vase (no.16).46 Lapithos Tomb 6A also contained a jug (no.44) with the head of a modelled Plank Figure emerging from a concentric circle motif incised on the front shoulder of the vessel.47 The occurrence in the same tomb of the concentric circle motif, both divided and with a Plank Figure emerging from it, suggests that this motif is linked with Plank Figures and their role as overseers relating to vessels and, as was proposed in Chapter Two, thus to re-birth. From Karageorghis' catalogue section dealing with Plank Figures standing on vessels,48 there are fourteen examples of figures in conjunction with the incised concentric circle motif and, of these, ten examples have a Plank Figure emerging from the centre of a concentric circle motif. That both Plank Figure and concentric circle motif are related to re-birth might be a possibility if evidence in the form of a Red Polished ware juglet, decorated with large concentric circle motifs and a kourotrophos Plank Figure standing on the front shoulder (Fig.66),49 is taken into account.

45 D.Morris (1985) p.300
46 V.Grace (1940) p.25. Grace compares this vessel with a similar vase (Candia Museum no.2744) which was part of a deposit of MM la pottery.
47 V.Grace (1940) fig.26
48 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.I: 2-14,16
49 Red Polished ware from Vounous Tomb 76, no.27 & 35, Louvre no. AO 17517, in J.Stewart (1988) pl.XXV:4
Out of the Mouths of Pots

Fig. 66 Red Polished ware juglet. From Vounous Tomb 76, no's 27 & 35. Louvre AO 17517

The concentric circle motif also occurs in conjunction with bird and bull figurines modelled on vessels. A pyxis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, bears a modelled bird at one end of the mouth and a modelled bull at the other. The large, incised concentric circle motifs occupying the sides of the pyxis are divided horizontally by triple lines travelling around the vessel and forming an unbroken band. The relevance of images of the bird and the bull in many ancient religious contexts will be discussed later in this chapter; but suffice it to say at the moment that the appearance of these animals occupying the position often taken by Plank Figures on a pyxis, along with the concentric circle motif, suggests that some 'meaning' might be attributed to incised and modelled motifs.

Incised concentric circles also occur in conjunction with birds on a Red Polished ware bowl from Vounous (Fig.67). Below each of the birds attached to the rim of the bowl is a concentric circle motif. The positioning of this incised decoration is suggestive of an egg on which the modelled bird might be sitting. Another association between bird and concentric circle motif can be seen on a Red Polished ware jug on which a modelled bird emerges from the centre of an incised concentric circle motif in the same manner as Plank Figures emerge (Fig.68). The emergence of

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51 Vounous Tomb 5, no.16, Early Bronze Age. V.Karageorghis (1991b) pl.CXXIII:4, cat. no. XII.5. Cyprus Museum
the bird from the concentric circle motif may imply that hatching from an egg is being depicted.

Fig.67 Red Polished ware bowl.
From Vounous Tomb 5, no.16. Cyprus Museum.

Fig.68 Red Polished ware jug.

In interpreting the concentric circle motif as pertaining to fertility, it is necessary to provide evidence that such a motif may have been viewed in this way in other instances that can perhaps have some application to the Cypriot circumstance. One of the most obvious links between the motif and fertility comes from Neolithic Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia. Shrine E VII,23 (c.6150 B.C.) contained a painted relief of a 'pregnant goddess' which is decorated with angular linear motifs over the whole body, an overall decoration which serves to cause the concentric circle motif surrounding the navel to stand out in contrast (Fig.69).53 It will be noted later in the present chapter that Çatal Hüyük shares a number of 'religious' ideas with sites in Bronze Age Cyprus, despite the wide differentiation in chronologies between the two regions.

53 J.Mellaart (1978) Earliest Civilizations of the Near East London, fig.83
Fig. 69 Painted relief depicting a pregnant goddess.
From Çatal Hüyük, Level VII, c. 6150 BC.

Also from Anatolia, from Kültepe, comes an alabaster disc-shaped idol whose double-headed body is decorated with incised concentric circles that seem to have as much importance as its crossed chest-bands and pubic triangle. Another disc-shaped idol is decorated with an incised double necklace, a chest-band, and concentric circles defining the breasts and the navel.

Crete supplies a Middle Neolithic fragmentary clay figurine bearing concentric circles painted on the front and the back. These motifs are accompanied by zigzag lines incised down the back of the buttocks and on the right side of the figure. Like the incised decoration on Cypriot Red Polished ware, there are traces of white paste filling in the incision of the Cretan example.

The concentric circle motif is a common decoration on Cypriot Red Polished ware vessels and it also occurs, although less frequently, on Plank Figures. Incised concentric circles appear above and below the 'faces' on a double-headed Plank Figure from Lapithos (Fig. 70), whilst two other double-headed examples bear incised

54 S.Lloyd (1967) p. 41, fig. 36
55 G. Dales (1963) fig. 24
57 Tomb 18, no. 206. V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no. Bd.2, pl. XXXII:3
concentric circles associated with multiple zigzags on their bodies. Yet another Plank Figure has the motif incised at the junction of its neck and body.

58 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no’s Bd.8, Bd.11. Pl.XXXVI:1,2
59 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no. Bd.14, pl.XXXVII:2
60 For an example see V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no. Ba.10, pl.XXIII:1
fertility and sexual drives.' These symbols possessed a 'magical power' and 'were able to bestow the very sexual attributes they represented.61 The 'magical power' was used to cure such problems as impotence and the sorceress Paškuwatti takes a spindle, a mirror, and women's clothing from an afflicted client and gives him instead a bow and arrow, symbols of masculinity, to restore his sexual prowess.62

That in Near Eastern society the spindle-whorl was considered an emblem of femininity can be noted in 2 Samuel (11:29) in which the curse pronounced on Joab after he had killed Abner includes:

... and may the house of David never be without a man having gonorrhoea, or a leper, or one who holds a spindle (mabr'ziq bappelek)...

The 'spindle' was interpreted in the Septuagint as a 'staff', but S.Driver suggests that palak originally meant 'spindle-whorl'.63 Given the above evidence from Near Eastern literature, it is possible that the spindle-whorl in Cypriot graves is an emblem for the feminine principle and its associations with fertility, thus becoming a symbol of regeneration of the dead.

Male burials seem to be provided with the more 'phallic' and male-oriented Red Polished ware copies of daggers.64 If the spindle-whorl has multiple feminine connotations, then the concentric circle motif may also belong to the same frame of symbolic reference. The placing of spindle-whorls in graves is a feature of cultures in

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62 H.Hoffner (1966) p.331
64 As has been noted in Chapter Two, the presence of spindle whorl or dagger is not an absolute indication of the gender of the deceased, but it does seem to be a general distinction.
many places other than in Cyprus and it may be that the whorl was a widely-recognised archetypal symbol of the feminine.\textsuperscript{65}

If concentric circles incised on vessels and Plank Figures are related to the whorl they link both vessels and Plank Figures to the realm of the feminine and this evidence serves to add support to the proposed theory that vessels, Plank Figures, and whorls are the physical expressions of a symbolic ‘language’ understood by the Bronze Age Cypriots to relate to the female role in fertility and in the re-birth of the dead. Giedion comments that in primeval art, the circle in all its manifestations had manifold meaning: ‘but was always related to the external human desire for procreation, for fertility.’\textsuperscript{66}

Concentric circles also occur in conjunction with straight lines which link them together in the so-called ‘sling net pattern’. Vessels with rounded bases might have been carried or hung for storage in a woven net and this may have been approximated in the decoration. The concentric circle linked diagonally with multiple lines is a fairly common motif and occurs on three vessels in the Logie Collection - all from Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi Tomb 11: two flasks (no.3 [Cat.no.3] and no.6 [Cat.no.6]) and a knob-lug bowl (no.10 [Cat.no.10]). However, the likelihood that the motif represents a carry-net consisting of fibres and knots is diminished by the emergence of a Plank Figure from the centre of a concentric circle ‘knot’. It would seem that even if the motif originated in the artist’s desire to render, by incision, an approximation of a carry-net, this was absorbed into the symbolism associated with the presence of a Plank Figure. Other evidence, that the diagonally-linked concentric circle motif does not represent a carry-net, occurs in the form of a footed goblet which is decorated with this motif and has two modelled birds and two miniature bowls attached to the rim.\textsuperscript{67} A carry-net would not be necessary for such a vessel therefore a symbolic interpretation of the motif might be applicable in this instance. Nor would a carry-net be used in conjunction with a tripartite-upright, multiple-bowl vessel such as the

\textsuperscript{65} The symbolism relating to whorls placed in burials is an area of research still largely ignored by scholars although as early as 1940 Grace was suggesting that ‘this class of objects bas not been adequately presented in the Cyprus publications. A study would be useful.’ (1940) p.30
\textsuperscript{66} S.Giedion (1962) p.126
\textsuperscript{67} P.Dikaios (1940) pl.XVd, from Vounous, special series no.4
example from Lapithos bearing the linked concentric circle motif below a band of chevrons along its upper section.\(^6\)

A different manifestation of the concentric circle motif is the much more rarely occurring concentric diamond motif that looks like a spider’s web in form. Rectangular boxes containing triple zigzags accompany this motif on a Red Polished ware tulip-bowl from Lapithos (Fig. 71).\(^6\) A similar motif occurs on a Red Polished ware pyxis from Vounous Tomb 47 (no. 23) (Fig. 72).\(^7\)

![Fig. 71 Red Polished ware tulip bowl. From Lapithos.](image1)

![Fig. 72 Red Polished ware pyxis. From Vounous Tomb 47, no. 23.](image2)

b. Rayed circles

Also belonging to the category of circular motifs are the rayed circles that occur incised on some Cypriot vessels which might come under the definition of ‘cultic’ wares. A relationship between the concentric circle motif and the rayed circle is apparent when each motif is used in the same position on two similar ‘cultic’ vessels, both from Vounous and both of Red Polished ware. On one vessel (from Tomb 161, no. 18) the concentric circle motif appears incised onto two rim-projections whilst a third occurs below and between these (Fig. 73). A similar vessel (from Tomb 111, no. 40) has the projections on its rim incised with a rayed circle motif in the same position as the concentric circles on the previous example (Fig. 74). Both vessels are

\(^6\) V. Grace (1940) pl. Ib: 98 & 102
\(^7\) E. Herscher (1975) fig. 1
\(^7\) J. Stewart (1992) pl. XXXI: 7
defined as 'cult' vessels by Karageorghis because besides the incised rim-projections, they have modelled animal (perhaps cattle) protomes attached to the rim. The former vessel mentioned in this paragraph has a rayed circle motif incised on the body in addition to the concentric circle motifs mentioned.

Another Red Polished ware vessel with rim-projections in association with animal protomes comes from Vounous Tomb 91 (no.14). Below the rayed circle motif incised on the circular rim-projections is an incised figure which may represent a stag seen from above, or a human figure wearing a stag mask, or perhaps the skeletal framework of a stag (Fig.75). This is one of the rare occasions when a representational motif is incised onto a pot. Others will be noted in reference to the possible symbolic meaning of stags depicted on vessels - both incised and modelled.

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Fig.73 Red Polished ware deep bowl. From Vounous A Tomb 161, no.18. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

Fig.74 Red Polished ware deep bowl. From Vounous Tomb 111, no.40. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

Fig.75 Red Polished ware deep bowl. From Vounous Tomb 91, no.14.

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71 E. & J.Stewart (1950) pl.LXXIX:e
A slightly different form of rayed circle from those mentioned above appears on the interior of a White Painted ware bowl from Lapithos Tomb 6A (no.3) (Fig. 76). This motif consists of four groups of five straight lines radiating from a concentric circle motif in the centre. Sets of straight lines are alternated with groups of two wavy lines creating a motif remarkably similar to the rayed circle that in the Near East was a symbol used for both Shamash and Ishtar (Fig. 77). The Cypriot version of this motif may be further evidence of Near Eastern symbolic motifs having made their way to Cyprus to appear in the repertoire of potters - whether they be native Cypriots or representatives of an immigrant culture. Also from Lapithos comes a Red Polished ware black-topped jar which bears an incised rayed circle motif repeated in different forms around the widest part of the vessel (Fig. 78).

Fig. 76 White Painted ware bowl. From Lapithos Tomb 6A, no.3.

Fig. 77 Gold roundel decorated with repoussé.

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72 V. Grace (1940) fig. 22
73 Gold roundel (KW 756.3:2) G. Bass et al. (1989) 'The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign' American Journal of Archaeology 93, fig. 4
74 E. Herscher (1975) fig. 2
Yet another link between the rayed circle and the concentric circle motif can be noted in regard to a Red Polished ware jug which bears a miniature Plank Figure rising out of the centre of a rayed circle in the same way as other examples arise from a concentric circle motif (Fig. 79). Thus the link between Plank Figures, circular motifs and vessels is even more firmly established.

c. Zigzags

The link between Plank Figures and vessels, which has become increasingly apparent throughout the present thesis, might be further emphasised by the appearance of zigzags on both classes of objects. On Plank Figures zigzags are used to depict hair
and sometimes also occur as decorative elements on the body. In Near Eastern contexts, the hair of Inanna-Ishtar was often coiffured differently from that of other goddesses, and scholars such as Van Buren use the presence of locks hanging in front of the ears to identify figures as representing that goddess.\textsuperscript{76} Hair seems to have been of particular interest to Ishtar as offerings were made at the temples of the Syrian goddess at Bāmbyce according to Lucian (\textit{De Dea Syria VI}). A Red Slip ware bowl of the Geometric period (c.800 B.C.) comes from the Phoenician temple of Aštarte at Kition\textsuperscript{77} and bears a Phoenician inscription referring to a hair offering:

\begin{quote}
In Memorial. ML had his hair (herein) shaved and prayed to Lady Aštarte and Aštarte listened to his prayer \\
And were offered (as sacrifice): on the part of ML, a sheep and a lamb, 
\hspace{1cm} together \\
with this hair; on the part of the family of ML, a lamb. This vase \\
\hspace{1cm} ML filled with his hair (herein) . . . seven in number, because of 
\hspace{1cm} the prayer made in Tamassos 
\hspace{1cm} . . . The gift . . . which he liked . . . 
\hspace{1cm} Tamassos\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

A third century B.C. Phoenician inscription found at Palaeapaphos verifies the fact that hair offerings were made to Aštarte at Paphos.\textsuperscript{79}

Snakes are another possible interpretation of zigzag motifs as a Red Polished ware jug from Vounous Tomb 106A (no.16),\textsuperscript{80} rendered ‘special’ by the horned figure incised vertically on the shoulder, bears a vertical triple zigzag filled in between the lines with groups of hatching (Fig.80). The zigzag motif is especially notable as it is positioned in the same place on this jug as snakes in relief are located on others, such

\begin{itemize}
\item V.Karageorghis (1991b) pl.XC:1, Cat. No. I.16
\item E.Van Buren (1943) p.Ixvi
\item Cyprus Museum, Kition area II/1435
\item V.Tatton-Brown (ed.) (1979) \textit{Cyprus B.C: 7000 years of history} London, cat.275, p.84
\item E. & J.Stewart (1950) pls XCIII:b; L:a
\end{itemize}
as a jug from Vounous Tomb 111 (no.42),\(^8\) a circumstance which might suggest that the same image is being represented by different techniques (Fig.81). The zigzag is an extremely common incised motif and appears on a vast number of vessels. The presence of a single zigzag decorating a wall to the entrance pit of Tomb 6 at Karmi-Palealona\(^9\) and of another, double zigzag, on the upper façade above the entrance stone of a tomb at Karmi-Lapatsa\(^10\) suggests that they may have had some funerary meaning.\(^11\) If this is the case, the zigzag motifs ornamenting tomb façades might represent the snake, denizen of the earth and perhaps guardian of the Underworld. The funerary association of the snake might be further borne out by the ancient belief that the spine of the deceased becomes a snake (Ovid Metamorphoses XV:387f). The location of these tombs at Karmi is particularly significant for the present thesis as the tomb-groups in the Logie Collection originate from Karmi-Lapatsa and Karmi-Palealona.

![Fig.80 Red Polished ware jug. From Vounous Tomb 106A, no.16.](image1)

![Fig.81 Red Polished ware jug. From Vounous Tomb 161, no.5.](image2)

Another form of the zigzag motif is the so-called ‘pawnbroker zigzag’ which takes its name from the three circular depressions which interrupt the line at each change of angle. This motif occurs on a number of vessels such as a Red Polished

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\(^8\) J.Stewart (1988) pl.III:6
\(^9\) R.Merrillees (1976) p.176
\(^11\) See, however, D.Frankel and A.Tamvakis (1973:42) who suggest that zigzags may belong in the repertoire of inspiration from a religious source, but that in reality they: ‘may be no more than the expression of a common artistic tradition’. 

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ware multiple-bodied vessel from Vounous, a Red Polished ware vertically-aligned twin-bodied vessel from Lapithos Tomb 319b (no.34), and an amphora from the same tomb (Fig.82).

![Red Polished ware amphora. From Lapithos Tomb 319B, no.9.](image)

**Fig.82** Red Polished ware amphora.

**d. Stags**

The presence of stags incised on vessels is particularly striking as this animal is one of the few representational images amid a plethora of geometric ornamentation. As stags occur incised, in relief, and in modelled form on vessels, the use of all three decorative techniques might indicate that this animal had a very powerful symbolic meaning for the Bronze Age Cypriots. Four left-facing spotted stags are incised on a Red Polished ware jug from Vounous Tomb 15 (no.60). These animals occupy a band on the shoulder area of the jug and are each alternated with a large concentric circle motif. Below this band of ornamentation is a continuous, horizontal, quadruple zigzag which has different types of individual decoration in its peaks and valleys. Another row of five concentric circles is placed below the zigzag, this time alternated with rectangular blocks containing varied geometric motifs instead of with stags. The overall impression of this vessel is one of richness and variety, and the intensity of the ornamentation lends it an air of importance that cannot pass unnoticed (Fig.83).

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85 D.Morris (1985) fig.59
87 P.Dikaios (1940) fig.14, pls XXIIb, XXIII,b

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The impression of ‘cultic’ associations assigned to the vessel in the paragraph above is reinforced by a double-necked Red Polished ware jug, from Vounous Tomb 34 (no.49),\(^8\) which has incised on its shoulder two spotted stags confronting each other on either side of a large concentric circle motif. From the same tomb comes a fragmentary Red Polished ware Plank Figure and a Red Polished ware amphora with an ‘idol’ on each handle,\(^9\) perhaps emphasising the ‘cultic’ links between individual artefacts in the same tomb.

Stags occur painted on a White Painted ware bowl, from Vounous Tomb 2 (no.32),\(^9\) the exterior surface of which is divided into eight sections by varied linear motifs such as wavy lines, chevrons, and dashes. Almost every segment contains a different group of motifs, among which are stags and another horned animal without the distinctive branching antlers. The overall impression imparted by the decoration on this vessel is that there is a message to be ‘read’ if only one knew the language (Fig.84). Dikaios in *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*\(^{91}\) comments on the ‘remarkable bowl with painted ornamentation including stags and signs probably belonging to a script in use at the end of the Early Bronze Age’. Perhaps the use of the term ‘script’

\(^{8}\) P.Dikaios (1940) pls XXIIId; XXIVb
\(^{9}\) P.Dikaios (1940) p.69, pl.L,1
\(^{90}\) P.Dikaios (1940) pl.IIb
\(^{91}\) P.Dikaios (1961) p.21
is misleading as at this stage the images may have been more related to pictographs than to an actual script, and might thus be described more accurately as a ‘proto-script’. The notion that the whole does not ‘read’ as a series of ‘words’ is supported by the fact that some sections are reversed images of others and it would seem more likely that each section is to be viewed individually. The fact that stags are important pictorial elements of this ‘proto-script’ suggests that they were meaningful in the funerary context in which the bowl was deposited.

Fig. 84 Decoration on a White Painted ware bowl. From Vounous Tomb 2, no. 23.

At the Cypriot Late Neolithic sites of Erini and Karavas pit-shaped graves contained bodies placed on animals’ bones or stags’ antlers, suggesting that already during that early period antlers were associated with funerary rites, perhaps relating to the concept of regeneration.

The meaning attached to the stag might relate to the fact that it was an archaic image of cyclic renewal as it annually sheds its antlers. M. Eliade notes that in Greek tradition the stag renewed its life by eating serpents and drinking from a spring after which its antlers fell away and it was rejuvenated for fifty (or five hundred) years. It is interesting that also in Greek tradition stags were associated with serpents as these also had the power of rejuvenation by shedding their skin. In Cypriot iconography stags and snakes are often placed together on pots, as are cattle and snakes. It may be that the wavy lines depicted on the White Painted ware bowl described in the previous paragraph are images of snakes and, if this is the case, then the bowl placed in the tomb has images referring to regeneration - a circumstance which is especially relevant to the present thesis in which it is proposed that some funerary vessels are symbolic ‘wombs’ through whose agency rebirth is accomplished.

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92 P. Dikaios (1940) p. 125
e. ‘Comb Figures’

Like stags, ‘Comb Figures’ are among the very few representational images incised on Cypriot vessels, and they also appear depicted in relief. We have already seen (Chapter Two) that these enigmatic objects occur as models in terracotta and may be replicas of counterweights, used in conjunction with multi-stranded necklaces, which eventually came to symbolise a goddess. The ‘comb’ motif also occurs incised onto the backs and fronts of some Plank Figures, and the possibility that this circumstance indicates that the motif has symbolic reference must be taken into account when it is found incised on vessels. As the presence of modelled Plank Figures standing on vessels creates a link between figure and vessel, the occurrence of ‘Comb Figures’ on both also enhances that association.

That the ‘Comb Figure’ represents an anthropomorphised object might be implied by the ‘head’ and ‘arms’ which seem to be attached to the ‘combs’ incised on a Red Polished ware amphora from Tomb 8 at Kition (see Fig.27).94 Other ‘Comb Figures’ are less obviously anthropomorphised with four examples incised on a squat-neck jug in Mottled Red Polished ware having indications of ‘arms’ but no readily identifiable human characteristics (Fig.85).95 Another four examples, exhibiting even fewer anthropomorphic characteristics, occur on a Red Polished ware amphora96, whilst others, from a fragmentary Red Polished ware juglet,97 seem to hang from semicircular motifs, perhaps suggesting that they are attached to a necklace. Similar pendant motifs occur on a Red Polished ware tulip-bowl that is rendered ‘special’ by having two opposed bird-protomes on the rim and a bucranion or ram’s head in relief.98

95 D.Morris (1985) pl.56a, p.141, DM-ABR-04
96 D.Morris (1985) pl.102a, p.141 DM-ABR-54
98 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.30, pl.CXXX:4, from Vounous Tomb 67. Louvre Inv. no. AM2732
f. Human figures?

The only examples of incised decoration that have been interpreted as depicting the human form are less than convincing. Dikaios interprets one example, from Vounous Tomb 34 (no.49), as ‘the upper part of a human figure with arms akimbo’. However, the figure described appears to have downward curving horns, suggesting that either it is an animal, or that it represents a masked person belonging to a similar repertoire as the figures interpreted by Stewart as masked humans. These appear on two other vessels: a Red Polished ware ‘cult vessel’ from Vounous Tomb 91 (no.14) and the Red Polished ware jug from Vounous Tomb 106A (no.16) mentioned previously in this chapter in reference to snakes and rayed circles. It should be noted that if, indeed, the horned figures on these vessels do represent masked dancers, they must also be wearing hand and foot coverings which have been manufactured to imitate the cloven hooves of animals. Karageorghis avoids interpreting the figures on

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99 P. Dikaios (1940:69f, pl.XXII:a)
100 An upright figure with similarly down-curved horns appears painted on a pottery vessel of the 6th C. B.C. from Hacilar level I/II. This vessel is not only significant for the horned figure, but also for the concentric circle motif which accompanies it and surrounds the handles which emerge from it in the same way as Plank Figures emerge from this motif on Cypriot vessels. (Illustrated in J. Melkaart [1978] London, fig.96.) A combination of handle and concentric circle motif similar to the Hacilar example appears on a Red Polished ware juglet from Lapithos Tomb 314B, no.36 which has a pierced lug issuing from a concentric circle motif incised on the shoulder.
101 E. & J. Stewart (1950) caption to pl.XCIII

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the ‘cult vessel’ as human and instead describes them as ‘four incised horned animals with cloven hooves (stags and a ram?)’.

To summarise, the range of motifs depicted by incision on Cypriot Red Polished ware is limited mainly to geometric designs with the concentric circle among the most frequently occurring. In contrast, the number of representational motifs is low, with few objects chosen by the potter to be depicted. Of the animal world, stags seem to be the most commonly incised representational motif, yet the Cypriot potter included them also among a range of bird and animal depictions modelled in the round on vessels, suggesting that there was some meaning behind the choice of this particular animal to be rendered by incision whilst others were excluded. Snakes also appear to have been depicted by the use of incision in the form of a zigzag motif and it would seem that these animals fulfilled the special requirements necessary for their inclusion among the incised motifs. Another representational motif rendered by incision is the ‘comb’ and Karageorghis queries: ‘If a mere brush or comb, why would it be given such prominence? It would be the first ‘utensil’ to be depicted so conspicuously on vessels…’ The present thesis maintains that the ‘Comb Figure’ motif represents a necklace counterweight which, because of its associations with a goddess, evolved from a utilitarian object to become an object of religious symbolic meaning in its own right. This might explain its presence on pots, in isolation and divorced from its original attachment to a necklace, and add credibility to the theory that pots in themselves were esoteric objects entitled to be decorated by sacred signs and symbols. This section has attempted to prove that these signs and symbols were associated with fertility and thus, by extension into a funerary context, with rebirth.

3.4 Motifs applied in relief on Cypriot vessels

A number of motifs which occur incised onto vessels also appear depicted in relief; these include stags, snakes, ‘Comb Figures’, and humans, as opposed to Plank Figures, which are much more readily identified as such in the relief examples. Horned animals of various kinds appear in relief on vessels and, except in the case of stags, it is

103 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XI.3, p.151
not always a simple matter to define which particular species of horned quadruped is being depicted.

a. Stags and other horned animals

As has been noted previously in the present chapter, besides by incision, stags also appear both modelled fully in the round and in relief. Their distinctive antlers make identification easy, and the Cypriot potter exploited this by identifying does in the same way, but adding a suckling fawn to specify the gender of the parent. This method of gender differentiation occurs on the deer depicted on a large jug of Red Polished ware from Vounous (special series no.5). Similarly, it may be correct to assume that the potter meant to define as female any antlered ‘stag’ depicted without a penis. This second form of gender identification occurs on a vessel, from Vounous Tomb 39 (no.8), which has three ‘stags’ in relief, but the male gender indicated on only one (Fig.86).

Fig.86 Red Polished ware jug. From Vounous Tomb 39, no.8.

Stags depicted in relief are not placed on vessels in isolation; they are often accompanied by a ‘rope’ pattern such as that which occurs around the neck and on the shoulder of two Red Polished ware jugs in the Logie Collection: Karmi-Lapatsa Tomb 11 (no’s 4 and 21, Cat. no’s 23 and 38).

104 V.Karageorghis (1991b) p.169
105 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIV.1, pl.CXXXII:4. Cyprus Museum
106 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIV.7, pl.CXXXIII:4. Cyprus Museum
Besides ‘rope’ patterns, stags are often depicted in conjunction with snakes. A striking instance of this combination occurs on a Red Polished ware jug from Vounous Tomb 11 (no.19). The body of the vessel is decorated with three stags separated by three vertical snakes, whilst the neck of the jug has one stag flanked by a vertical snake on either side.

The importance of horned animals appears to be stressed in some cases as stags appear in conjunction with goats. A Red Polished ware vessel from Vounous has the shoulder area divided into panels by groups of four wavy lines; one panel having a stag with large antlers and another panel having a goat with backward-curving horns.

Outside Cyprus one of the Brak ‘Eye Idols’, figurines which have been identified as images of Inanna-Ishtar (see Chapter Two), has incised on the front of its body a goat, with large backward-curving horns, accompanied by a bird (Fig.87). The presence of these animals on a figure representing a goddess suggests that they had a cult meaning associated with her, and it would seem likely that if immigrants or traders from the Near East brought their goddess with them to Cyprus, her cult animals would accompany her.

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Fig.87 ‘Eye Idol’. From Brak. Ninevite period.

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107 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIV.4, pl.CXXXII:6
108 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIV.5, pl.CXXXII:5. Louvre AO 17527
109 M.Mallowan (1956) Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery (1932-1956) London, fig.12F
The association between a horned animal and a female figurine, possibly representing a fertility goddess, is not only suggested by the Brak Eye Idol, but also by a Neolithic figurine, from Tel Aviv, which has goats incised on the chin. This association is further substantiated by a mid-thirteenth century B.C. figurine from Aphek, Israel. The figurine is a nude female with long Hathor-styled curled locks of hair. She displays her vulva with her hands, whilst the area between her breasts bears two babies in relief. A tree and horned animals are modelled on each thigh.\footnote{P.Beck (1986:32) ‘A New Type of Female Figurine’ in M.Kelly-Buccellati (ed.) \textit{Insight Through Images} Malibu}

b. Cattle

Despite the occurrence of cattle modelled in three dimensions on vessels, these animals do not appear as whole beasts depicted in relief. The only way in which cattle appear in relief is in the form of a bucranion, which is a comparatively rare relief motif although it is often depicted in a fully modelled form on numerous ‘cult’ vessels. The fully modelled version of the bucranion will be discussed in section 3.5 of this chapter along with the possible significance of the use of this motif.

One example of a vessel bearing a bucranion (or a ram’s head) in relief is a tulip bowl of Red Polished ware from Vounous Tomb 67.\footnote{V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.30, pl.CXXX:4} The significance of this particular bowl lies in the combination of motifs occurring on it. Below the rim is a bucranion or a ram’s head in relief, whilst two fully-modelled opposed bird protomes decorate the rim. The bowl has incised geometric motifs including concentric semicircles pendent from the rim and ‘Comb Figures’, each of which appears to hang from a single semicircular line – perhaps indicating the presence of a necklace (Fig.88).
c. Snakes

Snakes have been noted previously in this chapter as a likely interpretation of some zigzag motifs incised on Cypriot vessels. The suggestion that snakes were represented in these particular instances was based on the similarities between the positioning of the incised vertical zigzag motifs on the necks of jugs, and the snakes in relief occupying the same position on the necks of other jugs. Often the snake motif is described by commentators as 'wavy bands' rather than as 'snakes', as a realistic rendering of a snake would normally include a rounded head opposed to a pointed tail. It is difficult to see such details on most of the relief 'wavy bands', but given the symbolic importance placed on snakes in a wider cultural context it would be unwise to dismiss the 'wavy bands' as abstract motifs, particularly when relief decoration on Cypriot artefacts usually seems to be representational.

Dikaios has no hesitation in identifying as snakes wavy bands in relief on the shrine-wall of the Vounous Bowl. On the Red Polished ware jug, from Vounous Tomb 11 (no.19), mentioned previously in the present chapter in reference to stags depicted in relief on vessels, he specifically identifies the vertical wavy lines that alternate with stags as snakes. On this particular vessel the two vertical snakes flanking the stag on the neck have rounded heads and pointed tails in the drawing supplied by Dikaios.

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112 Y.Karageorghis (1991b)
113 P.Dikaios (1940) p.26
114 P.Dikaios (1940) fig.10
Dikaios suggests that in Cyprus the snake, among other interpretations, may already have been a ‘chthonian deity connected with those under the earth’ and that ‘this attribution is closely connected with the qualities of the snake as a god of fertility.’ He also notes that the snake motif is often present alongside that of the bull, and he links the two motifs to the fertility cult.

Links between the snake and the bull might be suggested by the use of the snake motif to decorate terracotta models of bulls. Two examples provide evidence for such a link and imply also that the incised zigzag line and the relief wavy band represent the same motif in some instances. B. Mundkur illustrates a stylised bull from Cyprus marked with an incised zigzag line on the left foreleg, and compares it with a more realistically rendered bull, also from Cyprus, bearing a snake in relief in the same position as the incised zigzag on the former example (Fig. 89). Another example linking bull and snake occurs on a Red Polished ware bowl, from Vounous Tomb 36 (no. 10), which has two modelled bucrania added to the outer surface just below the rim. Attached to these heads are two snakes that seem to emerge from the mouths of the bulls (Fig. 90). This motif may also been taken to depict bulls eating snakes. The association of bulls and snakes seems reminiscent of Clement of Alexandria’s quotation regarding the bull being the father of the snake, and the snake the father of the bull (Exhortation to the Greeks 2.16, p. 14P).

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115 P. Dikaios (1940) p. 128
116 B. Mundkur (1983) The Cult of the Serpent Albany, fig. 4a, b
117 P. Dikaios (1940) pl. XIe
That wavy lines were intended to depict snakes is made more plausible given the evidence of two Red Polished ware jugs, from Vounous Tomb 164B (no.27) and Tomb 104 (no.3) (Fig. 91),\textsuperscript{118} whose cut-away necks have depicted on them a wavy line that is rendered more snakelike by the addition of dots pricked into the surface.

A neck fragment of a jug, from Dhenia Tomb A (no.5c),\textsuperscript{119} has on the neck a vertical snake in relief that is depicted realistically by having a rounded head and a

\textsuperscript{118} J.Stewart (1988) fig.2:3; fig.2:7
\textsuperscript{119} J.Stewart (1988) fig.19:8
pointed tail. This motif is accompanied by a number of rings in relief aligned vertically on either side of the snake.

Morris comments that ‘none of the Early Bronze Age snake motifs actually displays a snake’s head at one end of the relief line’, but the above examples suggest that this is not altogether accurate. However, Morris does make the salient point that the wavy line motif is open to a number of interpretations, one being that it is a rope; also a possible interpretation of the wavy line motifs hanging from the crossbeams of the shrine depicted on the wall of the Vounous Bowl. Nevertheless, he then goes on to suggest that the snake was ‘a powerful symbolic element in the thinking of early human societies on a world-wide scale’ and that this creature had associations with renewal of life through death because of its ability to shed its skin and renew itself. If the ‘wavy bands’ depict snakes, it follows that this animal had some meaning connected with the funerary imagery of Bronze Age Cyprus and therefore its occurrence on funerary vessels was not merely decorative.

Snakes were probably animals having some symbolic meaning when occurring on Early Bronze Age Cypriot vessels as by the Late Bronze Age convincingly rendered snakes, complete with a realistic body and head, appear on the bodies of Base Ring ware jugs. Recognisable snakes are depicted on the handles or bottoms of Proto White Painted ware vessels from the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Like the Early Bronze Age versions from Tombs 164B and 104 at Vounous, these are decorated with spots and also, like many of their Early Bronze Age counterparts, these snakes are associated with a horned animal’s head. By late antiquity, Cyprus had acquired the title of Ophionissa ‘abode of snakes’ (Ovid Metamorphoses X:231).

Evidence from the Near East, which may be applicable to the Cypriot context owing to proximity and possible immigration, suggests that snakes had an important cult role. A ‘shrine’ of unknown provenance, but similar in style to another found near
Ur, consists of a rectangular terracotta box on the outside of which are six serpents. Inside the ‘shrine’ is a stepped area before which rest three serpents, their bodies decorated with punctured dots to represent their mottled skin. Van Buren dates the shrine model to c.2700 B.C.\textsuperscript{123} The use of dots to decorate snakes occurs in Cyprus on the vessels from Vounous Tombs 164B and 104, discussed previously in this section.

Van Buren notes that ‘snakes in many religions and ages have been regarded as chthonic in character’ because they burrow in and emerge from the earth. Both at Tello and at Ur it was in the necropolis that models of snakes were found; and in the latter place funeral urns were decorated with reptiles.\textsuperscript{124}

Snakes may have associations with Inanna-Ishtar as in the Ishtar Temple at Aššûr, bowls have been discovered that are decorated with serpents that seem to lay their heads on the rims.\textsuperscript{125}

Philo of Byblos notes that the nature of the snake was divine, that it sheds its old skin and becomes young, and that it is immortal (Eusebius \textit{Praeparatio Evangelica} I:10.45). The ancient Greeks called the cast-off skin of a serpent γῆρας ‘old age’,\textsuperscript{126} and Farnell comments that in Greek religions the serpent was sometimes considered to be the embodiment of the earth-deity or an incarnation of a departed spirit.\textsuperscript{127}

In summary, it would appear that the ‘wavy bands’ depicted in relief on Cypriot vessels represent snakes. In view of the wide-ranging cultural associations between snakes and funerary contexts, it may be reasonable to assume that in Cyprus snakes occurring on funerary vessels, often in association with bulls or horned animals, had a relevance that was beyond the merely decorative.

\textsuperscript{123}E. Van Buren (1943) fig.299
\textsuperscript{124}E. Van Buren (1943) p.li
\textsuperscript{126}LSJ, s.v.
d. ‘Comb Figure’

As has already been noted in the present thesis, the presence of ‘Comb Figures’ incised on vessels seems to imply that this motif had a relevance that was equal in meaning with geometric motifs incised on vases. In view of the prevalent occurrence of representational motifs depicted in relief on vessels, it is likely that the relief ‘Comb Figure’ held importance similar to such motifs. There is only one example of a ‘Comb Figure’ in relief on a Cypriot vessel, and this occurs on one of three fragments of what was once an impressively decorated large bowl of Red Polished ware from Margi-Vounaros Tomb 1 (no.9c) (Fig.92). This bowl is particularly rich in ornament as both the bowl and the relief motifs are decorated with incision. The ‘Comb Figure’ is depicted with a depression at the top, suggesting a hole for suspension as its three-dimensional terracotta versions have. It may be that it was intended to appear as if it were suspended from the relief ‘rope’ pattern which encircles the lip of the bowl. Next to the ‘Comb Figure’ is a large quadruped with a long upright neck and a small head without ears or horns. This quadruped motif is repeated on the two other fragments of the bowl (no’s 9a and 9b). The quadrupeds are all decorated with incised patterns, with zigzags being the main motif; whilst the ‘Comb Figure’ is decorated with the horizontal lines above a series of vertical lines as are usually seen on its incised and three-dimensional counterparts. It has been noted in Chapter Two that ‘Comb Figures’ are anthropomorphised in some instances, and it may be that they relate in form, and in some symbolic way, to Plank Figures.

![Comb Figure](image)

**Fig.92** Red Polished ware bowl. From Margi-Vounaros Tomb 1, no.9c.

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e. **Human faces and figures**

Human figures, as opposed to Plank Figures, depicted in relief on vessels are rare. One example bearing decoration consisting of human figures is a double-necked Red Polished ware jug, from Vounous Tomb 19 (no.10),\(^{128}\) which is of special interest as the figures depicted on one of the vessel’s necks appear to be a male and a female. The male places his left arm around the neck of the female whilst his right hand rests on the genital area of her body. On the opposite side of one of the necks of the vessel is a bucranion in relief. The same bucranion motif appears on the second neck of the jug, with another horned animal, possibly a goat, on the opposite side. The vessel’s two necks are joined by a bridge with a bird, modelled in the round, perching upon it. It is likely that the close contact between the human figures is an expression of human fertility, and when they are associated with bucrania, a horned animal, and a bird, the whole composition becomes an expression of human and animal life.

Another instance of a couple appearing depicted in relief, this time on the lid of a pyxis from Vounous Tomb 37 (no.84),\(^{129}\) again suggests that fertility may have been the motivation for such a depiction (Fig.93). The figures on the pyxis lid are a male and a female. The female gender of the figure on our right in the illustration is identified by puncture marks depicting the genitals.\(^{130}\) This figure, although not a Plank Figure, has three concentric semicircular lines interrupted by depressions around her neck. This motif may represent a necklace similar to those depicted on Plank Figures and, if this is the case, it is a possibility that the female figure is a human enacting the role of the goddess in a ‘Sacred Marriage’ and wearing the ‘special’ necklace that has been shown in Chapter Two to have been an article of cult adornment in Near Eastern contexts. The possibility that a sacred act to ensure fertility is being depicted here is rendered more plausible by the presence of four birds, two at the head and two at the feet of the figures, attached to the rim of the pyxis. Doves are particularly associated with Ishtar and Aphrodite, as will be discussed later in this chapter in reference to bird motifs. Furthermore, the shape of the pyxis is reminiscent

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\(^{128}\) V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIII.1, pl.CXXX:5-6

\(^{129}\) V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.17, pl.CXXVI:3

\(^{130}\) V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII17, p.160
of an egg, and eggs have been considered a symbol of fertility and regeneration from an early date in many cultures.

![Red Polished ware pyxis and lid. From Vounous Tomb 37, no.84.](image)

Humanoid couples appear in relief on a large, fragmentary Red Polished ware bowl from Dhenia Tomb 23 (no.17).\(^{131}\) Two hand-holding stick-figure ‘couples’ occupy two of the fields created by vertical motifs in the form of ‘ropes’ and snakes. A horned quadruped occupies another of the fields, and thus we have another combination of human couples linked in the decorative scheme with a horned animal.

A human face, which cannot be linked stylistically with those of Plank Figures, occurs on a shallow bowl in Mottled Red Polished ware illustrated by Morris.\(^{132}\) The face, with nose, brows and ridges at either side possibly representing hair, is depicted in relief on the outside rim of the bowl. This image has a precursor from Chalcolithic Erimi in the form of a fragmentary jug lip that has extant part of a similarly modelled and incised face.\(^{133}\) The similarity in appearance of these two faces might suggest a link between the Chalcolithic culture of Erimi and the Early Bronze Age culture to which Morris ascribes the shallow bowl in his collection.

In summary it has been noted that representational images are generally depicted in relief. Consequently, it is likely that ‘wavy bands’ and ‘rope patterns’ depict real objects. Horned animals, snakes, human couples and ‘Comb Figures’ are all motifs likely to be associated with fertility, and their presence as vessel decoration in

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\(^{131}\) V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XIII.3, pl.CXXXI:1. Cyprus Museum  
\(^{132}\) D.Morris (1985) pl.184, *DM-MRP-29*
tombs indicates that to Bronze Age Cypriots death was not final. These symbols of fertility draw attention to the vessels themselves and it is likely that these too are included in the sphere of fertility symbolism.

3.5 Modelled motifs on Cypriot vessels

a. Cattle and other horned animals

In Cypriot contexts cattle, along with stags and snakes, are considered by Stewart to be zoomorphic representations of fertility deities, according to Dikaios and Stewart. The link between the tomb and the idea of fertility relating to cattle can be seen at Vounous where Grace notes that an entire bovine skeleton was discovered 'sacrificed in the tomb'. If fertility was one of the motivating forces behind the presence of the bovine skeleton in the grave, some form of regeneration of the deceased may have been expected as a result. Cattle occur as fully-modelled representations, often along with other objects or animals, attached to vessels placed in graves.

The University of Canterbury's Logie Collection pyxis has already been mentioned in Chapter Two in reference to the Plank Figure standing on the shoulder, and again in the present chapter because the vessel is decorated with large divided concentric circle motifs. Both the Plank figure and the concentric circles have been identified in the present thesis as motifs enhancing the likelihood that the pyxis and its decoration held some 'special' meaning in the funerary rites of Bronze Age Cyprus. Another example of a Red Polished ware pyxis, from Aghirda, adds credence to the possibility of 'specialness' associated with these vessels as it is not only decorated with incised divided concentric circle motifs, but it also has a bull and a bird on its shoulders in the same position as that of the Plank Figure on the Logie pyxis.

133 V.Karageorghis (1991b) pl.XVI:85. Erimi no.926
134 P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.293
135 V.Grace (1940) p.23
136 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VIII.6, pl.CVII:2. Cyprus Museum no. 1967/VII-7/1
A Red Polished ware jug, possibly from Margi,\textsuperscript{137} is decorated with two bulls, one standing at each side of the neck on the shoulder. In front of each bull is a circle in relief, whilst on the neck is a crescent with downward-facing points. As will be noted in reference to bucrania, cattle have a special place in Bronze Age Cyprus as their heads were mounted on poles to become tripartite 'shrines'. In view of the probable religious use of bucrania, it is likely that the bulls attached to this jug, and other vessels, had some symbolic reference.

From Kotachati comes another Red Polished ware jug with bulls attached to the shoulder. On this example, there are two pair of these beasts, separated by a 'rope' motif in relief. Rendering this jug even more significant is the attachment of two miniature deep conical bowls supported on a short stem and placed on the shoulder on either side of the handles. Around the top of the neck of the jug and below the miniature conical bowls are snake motifs in relief. The neck of the jug is decorated in relief on each side with a goat with long backward-curving horns. This vessel supplies a number of motifs that are considered in the present thesis to be 'significant' rather than merely decorative. The occurrence of snakes, horned animals and miniature vessels are all elements that arguably have relevance for the funerary rituals of the Early Bronze Age Cypriots.

Like cattle, stags are also horned animals and occur in fully modelled form attached to vessels. It has been noted previously in this chapter that stags are the only animals other than snakes to be depicted by the use of incision, and it may be that they were part of the incised 'language' used on pots to express ideas about death and regeneration at a very early stage of the development of 'pots with a message'. And, although modelled forms imparted relevant information, they were not originally included in the incised 'language', therefore never becoming part of the range of traditional incised motifs.

\textsuperscript{137} V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VIII.3, pl.CVI:1-2. Hadjiprodromou Collection, Famagusta, no.942
An example of a vessel bearing modelled motifs suggestive of communication rather than utility is a stemmed bowl from Vounous Tomb 160A (no. 17). The motifs occurring on this vessel are one stag and three bovids alternating with three deep conical miniature bowls. The body of the stag is decorated with dotted circles, whilst linear motifs are incised on the three small bowls, the body, and the stem of the vessel. Karageorghis notes in reference to this vessel: ‘A bowl decorated in this way and with such a long stem could not have been used for practical purposes.’

An unusual amphora standing on three short legs has on one side of its shoulder two horned animals, which may be cattle, and two stags on the other side. This unprovenanced vessel is unusual as it is the only amphora of its size that is decorated with figurines in three dimensions.

In line with the argument that pyxides such as the example in the Logie Collection are ‘special’, it is fitting that this type of vessel should also provide an example with stags attached. Stag attachments occur on a pyxis, of unknown provenance, which bears a stag on the shoulder of each long side of the ovoid body, and a bird on each short side.

The domestication of deer seems to be implied by the decoration on a large round-based jug in the collection of Desmond Morris. This cut-away spouted jug bears on its shoulder a scenic composition consisting of a modelled stag and perhaps a doe, and a human (not Plank) figure sitting on a low four-legged stool with a small jug placed between his or her feet. A large milk bowl rises from the surface of the jug on a stem and is close to the right hand of the figure. Morris has interpreted this scene as depicting either deer-milking or deer about to be killed for their blood which would then be ceremonially collected in the jug and bowl. The former explanation is viable in terms of cultic activity as it may have been that milk was collected for a ritual in the

138 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. VIII.4, pl. CV:3. Cyprus Museum
139 V. Karageorghis (1991b) p. 147
141 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. IX.6, pl. CX.2. Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca, no. 61

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tomb during funerary rites. There is a possibility that deer milk was used in place of human milk, which may have originally been used in this rite in Chalcolithic times. Evidence suggesting this possibility occurs in the form of a terracotta figurine of a human female who presses her breasts over a large bowl held on her lap, perhaps expressing milk into it (Fig. 94). Karageorghis suggests that expressing milk into a bowl was ‘probably an act connected with fertility’, and if there were some belief that the dead would be reborn into a new life, then the offering of human or animal milk in the tomb as part of the funerary ritual would not be an impossibility. However, such a theory cannot be linked specifically to the Chalcolithic figurine as it is unprovenanced, and it cannot be established whether it came from tomb or from settlement. Another similar, fragmentary, figure from Alaminos appears to depict the same act as the example with the bowl.

b. Cornucopias

Cattle seem to have had much of their potency focussed in their heads and horns as the bucrania-topped poles, which will be discussed presently, show. This interest is even more closely defined by the presence in tombs of pairs of modelled horns made of Red Polished ware and incised with designs similar to those found on

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143 However, V. Karageorghis (1991b) notes in reference to deer-milking that it is unclear whether deer were domesticated during this period (p. 124).
144 V. Karageorghis (1978) fig. 21. Louvre AM 1176
145 V. Karageorghis (1978) p. 34
146 D. Morris (1985) fig. 174
Plank Figures and on vessels. Because the bucranion resembles the uterus of a heifer, it became the hieroglyphic sign for both ‘cow’ and ‘vulva’ in Egypt.\textsuperscript{147} The Egyptian goddess of fertility, Hathor, was also envisaged as a cow. It may be by reason of their association with the vulva that in other cultures the horned heads of cattle held associations with fertility and regeneration. So too might the horns themselves have such associations as their power as objects of fertility lasted until historic times when they became \textit{cornu copiae} (‘horns of plenty’). It seems paradoxical that in Greek literature the cornucopia was traditionally associated with the Underworld and Hades unless the power of regeneration of vegetable life, from under the earth after the dead time of winter, was the symbolic message it conveyed. Such may have been the meaning in Bronze Age Cyprus where horns may have been placed in the tomb as a symbol of fertility and the regeneration of the dead.

At Vounous, a number of Red Polished ware and White Painted ware imitation horns were placed in tombs along with grave goods. The University of California’s Robert Lowie Museum has a joined pair of Red Polished ware horns,\textsuperscript{148} which suggests that a form of bucranion was intended. Like other incised Red Polished ware, the horns have bands of decoration consisting of diagonal strokes and a zigzag pattern. Grace notes that at Vounous a pair of terracotta horns was found next to the head of a human skeleton.\textsuperscript{149} Another pair of horns was discovered in Vounous Tomb 9 (no’s 61 and 105).\textsuperscript{150} It seems likely that the power inherent in the bucranion was invested in the horns as much as in the whole head and, judging by the emphasis placed on the large horns depicted on complete modelled bovines, this may have been the case in all representations of cattle.

Evidence from outside Cyprus gives a hint of the importance given to the horn in other ancient cultures. The idea of the horn having some symbolic meaning may go

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{147} A.Barb (1965) ‘Diva Matrix’ reprinted from \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes} 16 (1953), p.234 n.244.
\textsuperscript{148} V.Karageorghis et al. (1974) \textit{Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 5: Cypriote Antiquities in the San Francisco Bay Area Collections} Gothenburg. Cat.8, fig.8. University of California Robert Lowie Museum 8/3282
\textsuperscript{149} V.Grace (1940) p.23. See also P.Dikaios (1940) p.73 (Tomb36 no’s 96, 109) pl.XXXVIII:a
\textsuperscript{150} P.Dikaios (1940) pl.XXXVIII:b,e
\end{footnotesize}
back as far as the Palaeolithic period with the relief image of the ‘Venus of Laussel’, from the Dordogne, who has a horn-shaped object depicted in her right hand.\(^{151}\)

The idea that horns are symbols of plenty is apparent in the depiction of cornucopias on a cylinder-seal\(^{152}\) from Warka of the Uruk Period (3800-3100 B.C.).\(^{153}\) This cylinder-seal has an image of vegetation-issuing horns seeming to emerge either from the backs of or from behind each of a series of horned beasts, which are alternated with two different forms of amphorae. The juxtaposition of cornucopias, horned animals, and vessels together on this seal seems to imply some link among the three; a link which has been argued in the present thesis to have existed in Bronze Age Cyprus and which was associated with fertility and the rebirth of the dead in funerary contexts.

Joined, paired horns in clay from Ninevite Period Brak (2900-2500 B.C.)\(^{154}\) are illustrated by B.Goff\(^{155}\) and these are comparable to the joined pair of horns from Cyprus which belong to the Robert Lowie Museum.

Single Red Polished ware horns are found in Bronze Age Cypriot tombs (Fig. 95); and in not too distant Anatolia, at Yümük Tepe, Mersin, a partly-baked yellow clay horn-shaped object was excavated from a Neolithic burial.\(^{156}\) From Grave XIV at Baba Koy in Anatolia comes a horn-shaped ‘flask’ with incised decoration around the widest part.\(^{157}\)

![Fig.95 Red Polished ware model of a horn. From Vounous Tomb 164A, no.61.](image)

\(^{151}\) A.Cook (1914) fig.363
\(^{152}\) B.Goff (1963) 273
\(^{155}\) B.Goff (1963) fig.667
\(^{156}\) J.Garstang (1953) Prehistoric Mersin: Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey Oxford p.33, pl.VII:c,d

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In the Greek historical period Zeus was considered to have been nourished as an infant in Crete by the horn of Amaltheia, a goat’s horn (named for either the goat or the nymph who owned the goat)\footnote{J. Stewart (1992) pl.X:7} which had the miraculous property of refilling itself whenever it was emptied. In art, Philemon has the cornucopia as a cow’s horn (\textit{Pterygium frag. 1.11}\footnote{A. Cook (1914) p.501}), whilst Pherekydes (\textit{frag. 37}\footnote{Frag. com. Gr. iv.20 Meinecke}) says it was the horn of a bull. Pluto’s attribute is the \textit{cornucopia} and this is taken over by Hades; both are gods who are associated with the Underworld.\footnote{J.Fontenrose (1980) \textit{Python: A study of Delphic myth and its origins} Berkeley, p.380}

From the above evidence from the historical period it is clear that the horn had a meaning relating to ongoing fertility and plenty. This may be a lingering association from the prehistoric period when a number of cultures seem to have viewed the horn in a similar light – so too might have the Bronze Age Cypriots.

c. Bucrania and other horned animal heads

One of the most compelling artefacts linking the bucranion to the religious fabric of Bronze Age Cyprus is the ‘Vounous Bowl’, a Red Polished ware vessel from Tomb 22 (no.26) which many scholars\footnote{Including P.Dikaios (1940), J.Stewart (1962b:292f), R.Merrillees (1973:47), J.Karageorghis (1977:42f), and V.Karageorghis (1991b:141). Scholars who do not consider the Vounous Bowl to represent a sanctuary scene are: D.Frankel & A.Tanvaki (1973:42) who propose that it represents a burial scene in a tomb; D.Morris (1985:218) sees the whole composition as a representation of a village scene after a hard day’s work; M.Mogelonsky (1988:216-22) \textit{Early and Middle Cypriote terracotta figurines} Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University [cited in V.Karageorghis (1991b:141)] suggests that it is a burial scene taking place outside a tomb. None of these dissenting theories denies that the tripartite ‘shrine’ on the wall of the vessel has a religious meaning, it is just the location of the whole scene that is debated.} have identified as a document depicting a sanctuary scene (Fig.96). The bowl contains numerous free-standing human and bull figurines, and against one wall is what appears to be a ‘shrine’ consisting of three bucrania-topped poles in relief, joined by crossbeams from each of which hangs a vertical snake (Fig.97). The ‘shrine’ is complete with a semicircular area projecting out onto the floor of the bowl. That the arrangement of poles, bucrania, and a dais represents a shrine is rendered probable by two similar free-standing objects of Red Polished ware depicting an almost identical array, and a more fragmentary version

\begin{footnotesize}
\end{footnotesize}
which is simpler in design but depicts the same tripartite arrangement of poles, crossbeams, and dais.

![Figure 96: The 'Vounous Bowl'. Red Polished ware. From Vounous Tomb 22, no.26. Bowl diam. 37cm.]

![Figure 97: Detail of the shrine area from the 'Vounous Bowl'.]

From Kochati comes the most complex example of the three comparative shrines and, like the version on the wall of the Vounous Bowl, it includes crossbeams linking three upright poles; but in a different presentation of this motif, the uprights here are surmounted by fully modelled bucrania (Fig.98). A horn-shaped object protrudes at the front (and at the back) of each of the upper panels created by the vertical and horizontal members. Standing in front of the central bucrania-topped pole is a small human figure facing toward a large amphora-pithos, suggesting that some cult activity was taking place. The relationship between the bucrania-topped poles and a vessel is iterated by the other, slightly more simple but similar, shrine.

163 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VII.3, pl.CII:2-3. Cyprus Museum 1970/V-28/1
model from Kochati/Margi\textsuperscript{164} which has the three poles in relief topped by modelled bucraania, but is missing the horizontal beams linking the vertical poles. The free-standing figure and the vessel which both occur on the previous example are repeated here, suggesting that their appearance was not merely a whim of the potter but was an important element in the cult ritual.

![Fig. 98 Red Polished ware shrine model. From Kochati/Margi. Cyprus Museum 1970/V-28/1.](image)

The third shrine model, from Kalopsidha Tomb 5,\textsuperscript{165} consists of three poles in relief joined by crossbeams, but the object is damaged at the top; and what may have existed originally on top of the poles is now lost. Like the former examples, a platform-like projection extends out from the front of the model.

These four examples of remarkably similar shrines from three different locations, two definitely from tombs, might be a sufficiently wide sample to support the probability that bucraania mounted on poles were part of the religious fabric of Bronze Age Cyprus.

Bucraania mounted on poles are also featured on bowls, one of which is a Red Polished ware example in Desmond Morris’ collection (Fig. 99).\textsuperscript{166} Two fully-modelled tall poles surmounted by bucraania are placed on the rim of the bowl and are accompanied by a modelled bird, miniature cup-shaped vessels, and a modelled bull.

\textsuperscript{164} V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VII.4, pl.CIII:1-2. Cyprus Museum 1970/V-30/1
\textsuperscript{165} V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.VII.5, pl.CIII:3-4. Cyprus Museum A 1923
\textsuperscript{166} D.Morris (1985) pl.219. DM-IRP-39
That the bucranion-mounted poles are associated with a vessel in this instance suggests that the vessel, as well as the motifs which accompany the poles, had a meaning related to the shrine’s significance to the people of Early Bronze Age Cyprus.

A bowl from Vounous Tomb 18 (no.7), published by Dikaios, has an abbreviated version of the relief appearing on the inner wall of the Vounous Bowl. Dikaios describes the relief on the spouted bowl from Tomb 18 (Fig.100)\(^{167}\) as a ‘stylised human figure(?) with horned head and snakes emerging from the sides.’\(^{168}\) However, if the vertical is considered to be a pole, surmounted by a bucranion and standing slightly above the rim of the vessel, the wavy outstretched ‘arms’ actually represent the crossbeams of tripartite shrines here depicted as snakes. Thus the complete image would be comparable to those on the Vounous Bowl and the three examples of modelled shrines.

\(^{167}\) P. Dikaios (1940) pl.Xv.d
\(^{168}\) P. Dikaios (1940) p.41. At the time Dikaios was writing this he had access to the comparative example provided by the Vounous Bowl and to the simplest, most fragmentary model shrine of the three discussed in the present thesis – an object that had been an enigma to scholars until the other two were discovered. Dikaios considered the relief poles and bucrania on the Vounous Bowl as ‘three figures, which appear to have horns, are depicted in relief; their hands are extended and joined to one another, and from where they are joined hangs a snake.’ (1940:119)
A similar intention to depict a shrine may be inferred from the presence of two modelled bucrania, with pendent snakes in relief seeming to emerge from their mouths, depicted on a bowl from Vounous Tomb 36 (no.10) (see Fig.90).  

A Red Polished ware jug in Morris’ collection implies the potency of the bull. The long neck of the jug becomes the pole on top of which a bucranion is modelled, whilst a spout issuing from the body of the jug seems to represent a penis.

Cypriot ‘survivals’ of the pole-mounted bucranion motif occur in objects and contexts which add credence to the supposition that these motifs had a religious meaning. That this meaning may have either originally been associated with a goddess or at least came to be associated with one, can be divined from artefacts of a much later date than those described in the above paragraphs. One such artefact is a ‘wall-bracket’ from Early Iron Age Cyprus which is similar in concept to the bucrania-topped poles of the Early Bronze Age in that it consists of a vertical upright topped by two fully modelled bucrania. Below the bucrania and in the centre of the upright is the modelled figure of a woman, whom Karageorghis has interpreted as Aštarte, standing on what appears to be an altar with two inward-curving horns (see Fig.160 Chapter Five). Given that the figure might be Aštarte, and bucrania attached to an

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169 P.Dikaios (1940) pl.XIe
170 D.Morris (1985) pl.220. DM-IRP-93
171 V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.125
Out of the Mouths of Pots

upright are present on this object, it is likely that it represents some aspect of Iron Age cult imagery. Its find-spot in a tomb links it also with the Bronze Age examples.

Another possible ‘survival’ of a bucranion linked with a cult image from the Cypriot Bronze Age can be seen depicted on the Hubbard Amphora, mentioned previously in this chapter. Dikaios identifies the panel containing the woman sipping liquid through a straw as depicting a cult scene.172 Painted at the left of this scene, and seeming to emerge from the handle, is a bucranion on a pole; an image which implies that the Bronze age objects of religious devotion had not been lost by the Iron Age.

There is a wide-ranging Mediterranean application of bucrania in religious expression. B.Hayden notes that ‘bucrania, bulls, and rams were strongly associated with shrines in Old Europe, the Minoan islands, Anatolia and the Near East’.173 It is from Anatolia and the Near East, as the closest land mass to Cyprus, that the present thesis argues much of the influences on the Early Bronze Age originated. Peltenburg notes that cattle bones were found buried with the dead in many Vounous tombs, but that this activity is not seen at Erimi group sites; thus he concludes that ‘it is likely that this beast was introduced to Cyprus during the transition’174 (from Neolithic to Early Bronze Age).

At Çatal Hüyük, in Anatolia, cattle had been part of the urban economy and the religious fabric since Neolithic times. Evidence of bucrania associated with shrines comes from numerous levels at this site where the bucrania are attached to pilasters in much the same kind of motif as those found in Early Bronze Age Cyprus. This utilisation of a motif does not necessarily mean that the Early Bronze Age Cypriots were descendants of, or had contact with the culture from Çatal Hüyük, as the chronology of the Anatolian site would seem to be much too early. However, the

172 P.Dikaios (1936-37) ‘An Iron Age Painted Amphora in the Cyprus Museum’ Annual of the British School at Athens 37, pp.56-72. Dikaios suggests that the woman sipping with the straw was intended either to depict a deity or the deified deceased.
similarities between the shrines at Çatal Hüyük and those of Early Bronze Age Cyprus do highlight the fact that the bull had great religious power.

The east and west walls of shrine VII.9 (c.6500 B.C.) at Çatal Hüyük are particularly interesting because of their similarity to the shrine depicted on the Cypriot Vounous Bowl and the shrine models. On the east wall two upright pilasters bear bucrania in the centre, in line with crossbeams. The central crossbeam has a smaller bucranion attached in the middle with horns extending outwards horizontally in a wavy line. In front of this shrine is an area forming a sunken ‘stage’. The arrangement of the bucrania on the west wall of the shrine is similar to that on the east except that the two upright pillars have bucrania with horizontally outstretched wavy horns reminiscent of the snakes on the Cypriot spouted bowl discussed earlier in the present chapter.

The male gender of cattle had come primarily to mean potent fertility and power in the Near East. Deities were often identified by the horns that adorned their heads. Both Lucian (De Dea Syria IV) and Philo of Byblos (Eusebius Praeparatio Evangelica I:10.31) note that Astarte placed the head of a bull, the badge of royalty, on her head. However, the male is not the only gender to consider as regards the symbolic references of cattle as the female of the species is also an extremely symbolic animal. In Egypt this is especially evident in the case of Hathor, who was a cow-headed goddess particularly associated with fertility and regeneration. In Near Eastern texts Inanna-Ishtar is referred to as ‘heaven’s wild cow’, and ‘impetuous wild cow’. She also appears as the male ‘angry wild ox’ in the Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar (1.51).

The heads of horned animals other than bovids occur as decoration on Cypriot vessels, sometimes in conjunction with bucrania, sometimes alone. Morris notes that the combinations of horned animals occurring as decoration on vessels suggest that

175 J.Mellaart (1967) figs 19,20
177 Exaltation of Inanna by Enheduanna (I.58), in N.Walls (1992) p.47
178 J.Pritchard (1955) p.384
almost any powerful horned head will do’ to convey a symbolic message; perhaps linked with fertility or protection.\textsuperscript{179}

A bucranion occurs in conjunction with a ram’s head along with two miniature ‘tulip bowls’ modelled on the rim of a Red Polished ware ‘cult chalice’ from Vounous A Tomb 111 (no.1).\textsuperscript{180} The ‘cult chalice’ consists of a shallow hemispherical bowl supported on a high hollow stem that widens towards the base. This vessel, as well as the miniature ‘tulip bowls’ on its rim, is decorated with incised ornamentation. The presence of the bucranion along with a ram’s head and miniature ‘tulip bowls’ ornamenting a vessel from a tomb suggests that all three motifs have significance in the funerary rituals of Early Bronze Age Cyprus.

A range of animal species must have had special meaning for the Early Bronze Age Cypriot potter as animals’ heads other than those described in the above paragraph also occur in conjunction on vessels. One example, a Red Polished ware ‘tulip bowl’, has two opposed loop handles from the rim to the body. One handle is topped with a bucranion and the other with the head of a stag\textsuperscript{181}, a combination giving equal importance to both beasts. Yet another vessel, a Red Polished ware ‘cult vessel’, from Vounous A Tomb 160B (no.12), bears on its rim a bird protome, a ram’s head, and a bull’s head, along with two disc-shaped projections supported on a flat stem and with concentric circles incised on their outer surfaces.\textsuperscript{182} This ‘cult vessel’ is one of a number of vases that include the bird as a decorative motif, thus signifying the importance of birds as motifs associated with funerary vessels.

d. Birds

Birds are among the animals modelled in three dimensions and attached to vessels of various types. In some instances birds occur in conjunction with quadrupeds, whilst in others birds are the main decorative motif. The link between birds and vessels is established in three ways: as vessel attachments, in conjunction

\textsuperscript{179} D. Morris (1985) p.192
\textsuperscript{180} V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XI.18, pl.CXVII:2-3. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery Inv. no. 69338-1
\textsuperscript{181} V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XI.20, pl.CXVIII:3. Hadjiprodromou Collection, Cyprus
\textsuperscript{182} V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XI.1, pl.CXIII:1-2
with miniature vessels attached to larger vessels, and by vessels themselves taking the form of birds. Like cattle, birds do not occur as incised motifs.

As vessel-attachments birds appear in a variety of ways. They can be found perching on bridges between the necks of double-spouted jugs, as in the Red Polished ware example of unknown provenance which has birds facing in opposite directions perched on the two bridges joining its two necks. The shoulders of jugs are also a suitable roosting spot, and a bird perches on the shoulder of a Red Polished ware jug of unknown provenance in Desmond Morris’ collection. In other instances birds occur depicted perching on the apex of upright handles attached to vessels. In one such example the vessel consists of a composite of three small, conjoined juglets which are linked together again at the lips by a tripartite handle which joins at the top and terminates in a modelled bird (Fig. 101).

Fig. 101 Red Polished ware composite vessel. Provenance unknown. Sévres no. 10689,6.

The application of modelled birds occurs on other composite vessels, with a striking example being a vertically-aligned double jug from Vounous which bears a modelled bird on its lower front shoulder, another on the lower handle, and yet another on the front shoulder of the upper jug’s body (Fig. 102). Both upper and lower jug bodies are decorated with concentric circle motifs divided horizontally by a continuous double line and, on the lower neck and body only, zigzag motifs.

184 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.27, pl.CXXIX:4. DM-IRP-96
186 V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.13, pl.CXXVI:3. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia no.1933/1-31/1.
Sometimes birds are associated with miniature ‘cups’ modelled and attached to vessels; in some cases on the shoulders, and in others on the rims. The birds are often placed alongside the miniature cups in a position which suggests that they may be eating or drinking from them. This feature occurs on a Red polished ware double-necked juglet of unknown provenance on which the bird, placed on one shoulder of the jug, stands next to a shallow bowl which is supported on a cylindrical stem. Both bird and juglet are decorated with incised geometric motifs.

Birds drinking or feeding also occur on a large Red Polished ware spouted jar from Kochati(?). In this example two birds, supported on narrow stems, face each other over a stemmed ‘cup’ on each side of the vessel’s shoulder (Fig.103). The position of the birds and the cups implies that the birds are preparing to eat or drink, but this action is never depicted, and it may be that the birds have some other role.

Fig.102 Red Polished ware composite vessel.
From Vounous. Cyprus Museum no.1933/1-31/1.

187 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XI.32, pl.CXXII:2. Severis Collection, Nicosia no.1562
188 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.1, pl.CXXII:3. Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca no.87
The bird-and-cup motif also occurs on the rims of vessels and two examples bearing differing placements of the elements of the motif serve to highlight the implication that the birds have some function other than merely eating or drinking. A Red Polished ware deep bowl from Vounous Tomb 5 (no. 16)\textsuperscript{189} bears on its rim two birds facing in opposite directions, each with a stemmed cup before it. Below each bird, incised onto the body of the vessel, is a concentric circle motif, almost suggesting an egg underneath the body of the modelled bird (see Fig.67).

Another example of a vessel with birds and cups decorating the rim is a stemmed Red Polished ware bowl, from Vounous (Special Series no.4),\textsuperscript{190} which has two birds facing each other from opposite sides of the bowl. Two stemmed cups occupy the rim equidistant from, and alternating with, the birds (Fig.104). The body of the bowl is decorated with incised concentric circles linked together by multiple diagonal lines; the stem is decorated with incised lines and zigzags. The birds on this vessel display no intention of eating or drinking from the miniature cups, nor from the main vessel as they lean back from the rim. Birds on other vessels actually face outwards from the bowl, turning their backs on the contents and thereby signalling that their presence is not denoting a feeding motif.\textsuperscript{191}

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\textsuperscript{189} V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. XII.5, pl.CXXIII:4. Cyprus Museum
\textsuperscript{190} V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. XII.4, pl.CXXIII:3. Cyprus Museum
\textsuperscript{191} E.g. Vounous Special Series no.2 and Tomb 2 no.83
It is of interest that vulture-like birds occur on a few Bronze Age Cypriot vessels, with an example of this motif occurring on a shallow bowl with a raised horizontal loop handle surmounted by horned lugs and a horizontal bar across the middle (Fig. 105). Three birds with S-shaped necks that resemble vultures perch on the rim of this vessel whilst two miniature shallow bowls are placed between them. Very similar birds adorn one of the so-called ‘crowns’ discovered in the ‘Cave of the Treasure’ at Nahal Mishmar in Palestine, dated to the end of the Chalcolithic Period and containing pottery vessels characteristic of the cultures of Teleilat Ghassul and Beersheba. The ‘crown’ (Fig. 106) is one of ten made of metal and is decorated with three-dimensional ornamentation and incised linear chevron designs. The similarity between the motifs of the Cypriot Bronze Age and the motifs on one of the crowns is remarkable. Two vulture-like birds with incised linear decoration stand on the rim along with a type of ‘standard’ that resembles the Cypriot ‘cups’. Attached at either side of the ‘crown’ is a studded rectangular form surmounted with a pair of horns. The overall outline-shape of this form is that of a Cypriot Plank Figure and the space left in the middle is reminiscent of the Cypriot ‘handles’ mentioned previously in Chapter Two in reference to the severely abstracted Plank Figure form and its possible links with the bucrania-topped tripartite shrines. On the Nahal Mishmar ‘crown’ can

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192 Y.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat.XII.6, pl.CXXIV:2. Cyprus Museum A452
193 P.Bar-Adon (1962) p.216
194 Y.Karageorghis (1991b:144) comments: ‘Iconographically one may compare the Kotchati models with … the Chalcolithic copper stands from Nahal Mishmar in the Judean Desert … which have been interpreted as either temple façades or altars’.
be seen all of these features brought together – 'handles', horns, Plank Figures, birds, and miniature cups. The similarities are compelling but it cannot be proved that there was a link between the cultures of Palestine and Cyprus of this period and, furthermore, the chronologies do not tally exactly.

Another of the Nahal Mishmar 'crowns' has one remaining stemmed 'cup' shape attached to the rim and bears a face in relief on the body (Fig.107). Like those of Cypriot Plank Figures, the nose is prominent. The body of the 'crown' is decorated with incised zigzag motifs separated by a band of chevrons. The side of the 'crown' opposite the face bears an incised rayed motif.

There is no guarantee that there is a link between the Nahal Mishmar 'crowns' and the motif of Bronze Age Cyprus, but a possible 'survival' of the bird-and-cup motif which lends credence to the argument that it was of religious importance occurs in the form of a bronze gilt votive pin of the 2nd century B.C. from the Temple of
Aphrodite at Paphos (Fig. 108). The inscription on the pin identifies Eubola as the woman who vowed the pin to Aphrodite. The elements that may be ‘survivals’ of Bronze Age religious motifs are the four miniature cups, each with a dove alongside. These are supported by goats’ heads and acanthus foliage and Tatton-Brown notes that ‘the motifs illustrate some of the many traditions blended into the cult of the Paphian Aphrodite’.

James Stewart went as far as suggesting that the appearance of birds in the iconography of Early Cypriot Bronze Age religion was the manifestation of Aphrodite whose symbol was the dove. It would seem that the presence of a prototype Aphrodite was considered by Stewart to have been a possibility and this equates well with the argument of the present thesis that Inanna-Ishtar, as the Near Eastern ancestor of Aphrodite, may have been known from a very early period in Cyprus. That Inanna-Ishtar was conceived of as a bird is evinced by Near Eastern texts such as the Exaltation of Inanna by Enheduanna who writes:

O my lady, (propelled) on your own wings, you peck away at the land
(l.126)

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197 N. Walls (1992) p. 43
An association between Ishtar and birds occurs also in the many small terracotta shrines, found in the court of the inner shrine of Ishtar at Assur, which were adorned with rows of doves on the cross sections. A terracotta shrine-model from Beth-Shan has a nude female figure with a bird in each hand sitting in the upper storey window.\textsuperscript{198} Aphrodite's association with birds will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Dikaios observes that birds in Bronze Age Cypriot funerary contexts are often associated with motifs that are in turn linked with fertility. He notes that at Vounous modelled birds attached to vases occur in connection with the bull or the snake, with human figures, or with small hemispherical bowls. He cites a number of examples of bird-associated motifs and concludes that the bird motif must equate with other fertility-associated motifs such as horned animals and human couples embracing.\textsuperscript{199} It would therefore seem logical to include the miniature vessels appearing in conjunction with many of these motifs as belonging to the same 'meaningful' repertoire.

If birds belong to the repertoire of symbols of fertility, it is likely that their eggs are an equally potent image. The concentric circle motif noted previously in this section as appearing incised beneath the modelled figure of a bird attached to the rim of a vessel, from Vounous Tomb 5 (no.16), may represent an egg. The association between the layers contained within an egg might explain the concentric circles. Inside the egg is the incipient new life, a perfect metaphor for fertility or rebirth. The divided concentric circle such as that which occurs on the Logie Collection's ovoid pyxis may imply the division of an egg and the resultant emergence of a new form.

In many ancient cultures ostrich eggs seem to have represented fertility and were found in the cemeteries of Kish\textsuperscript{200} (the find-spot of the goddess-handled jars noted previously in Chapter Two). At Mari, ostrich eggs accompanied the body inside a pithos burial and, at Toumba tou Skourou in Cyprus, the presence of decorated ostrich eggs in a 17\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. tomb equates with contemporary practices in

\textsuperscript{198} S Langdon (1964) \textit{The Mythology of All Races: Semitic} Vol.V, New York, p.32
\textsuperscript{199} P Dikaios (1940) p.125f
Jericho. Caubet notes that the ostrich egg’s significance in the Near East was related to rebirth when it was placed with the dead.\textsuperscript{201}

At Tell-es-Sweyhat on the Euphrates River an oval chamber grave of c.2500 B.C. had pig, sheep, goat, and cattle bones on the floor. One sheep or goat skull had birds’ eggs placed in the eye sockets whilst a terracotta vessel held more than twenty pigeon-sized birds’ skeletons along with eggs.\textsuperscript{202} This find in the Near East can be equated, in content if not in chronology, with a Late Cypriot Bronze Age tomb (Tomb 11 at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios Late Cypriot IIA) which, besides artefacts, contained bones of sheep, goats, rock doves, and fish, along with eggshells.\textsuperscript{203}

If, as the present thesis argues, ovoid-shaped pyxides and jugs represented surrogate wombs from which the dead would metaphorically emerge re-born,\textsuperscript{204} the concentric circle motif, birds, animals, and human scenes, all relating to fertility, were devices of protection and assistance to aid the process of that regeneration. Vessels themselves thus became symbolic of the process, and it is therefore not surprising to find that just as Plank Figures have been shown to metamorphose into vessels, vessels metamorphose into birds.

Vessels in the shape of birds occur in Cypriot contexts as early as the Chalcolithic Period. A bird-shaped Red-on-White ware askos was discovered in a tomb at Souskiou-Vathykakas at Kouklia and, although the legs and tail of the bird have been restored, the ovoid body, long neck, and head with a pointed beak make the vessel unmistakably a bird. In reference to this vessel Karageorghis comments that the body is in the shape of an egg and cites Gimbutas’ comments that this symbolises the ‘universal creative force’.\textsuperscript{205}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[201] A.Caubet (1983) p.195
\item[202] ‘Mesopotamian Family Crypt’ \textit{Archaeology} 49:1 (1996) p.27
\item[203] E.Goring (1989) p.102f
\item[204] In support of this theory see M.Gimbutas (1991) fig.7-99, who illustrates an egg-shaped pot containing a skull from the 4th millennium Funnel-necked Beaker Culture of Old Europe and discusses the associations between eggs and re-birth.
\end{footnotes}
Chapter Three

The concept of the origins of the universe as an egg can be noted in the Harris Magical Papyrus of the New Kingdom period (1559-1085 B.C.) which refers to a world egg emerging from primeval waters. According to Orphic tradition Nyx (‘Night’) was the first to exist in the form of a huge black bird hovering over darkness. She laid an egg from which emerged Eros whilst Ouranos and Gaia were created from the two parts of the shell. Macrobius, in *Saturnalia* (VII. 16.691), notes that the egg was an object of reverence to those initiated in the rites of Father Liber as its spherical form was the image of the universe. A Pelasgian account of creation has Eurynome, the goddess of fertility, rising from Chaos, dividing the sea from the sky and dancing on the waves until she is raped by the great serpent Ophion. She then takes the form of a dove and lays an egg from which the universe issues. Another creation myth, from the Hieronyman and Rhapsodic Theogonies, refers to Chronos creating an egg from Aither (fr.70 Kern). From that egg came Protagonos (fr.60) who is four-eyed (fr.76), four-horned (fr.77), has golden wings (fr.78), many animal heads (fr.79,81), and both male and female sexual organs. In Attica, eggs were at all times placed in graves, according to J.Ferguson, and this statement is supported by scenes on Athenian vases which show that baskets of eggs were left on graves. A cup, dated to the 5th century B.C. and containing five hens’ eggs, was found in a tomb on Rhodes. A table of offerings to the dead depicted in a tomb at Paestum (2nd century B.C.) bears vessels, a pomegranate, branches of foliage, and two eggs.

It is possible that the beak-spouted jugs were so suggestive of a bird to the imagination of the Cypriot potter that it took only a little more ingenuity to turn the vessels into birds. However, given the fact that birds have been shown to be worthy of consideration as symbols of fecundity, it is also possible that the form of bird-shaped vessels is an intentional reference to the bird’s ability to reproduce. Through a magical process a lifeless-looking object, containing clear fluid, forms another bird in its interior and splits open to allow its escape. The egg is a vessel containing a bird.

207 W.Fox (1964) *The Mythology of All Races: Greek and Roman*, Vol.1 New York, p.4
211 A.Maiuri (1953) *Roman Painting* Geneva, p.21
which, in turn, contains an egg – a compelling metaphor for the cycles of birth, death, and rebirth.

An Early Bronze Age bird-shaped jug (Fig.109), from Limassol Tomb 83 (no.15),\(^{212}\) has a beaked spout with ‘eyes’, a rounded body, and a tail to render its identification as a bird specific. The upright neck and rounded body of another bird-shaped jug\(^{213}\) takes on the appearance of a baby bird asking its parent for food. This image is enhanced by the short tail it seems to use for balance and the button knobs that look like budding wings at the side of the body. This vessel with its overtly bird-like appendages seems to add credence to the possibility that the large Red Polished ware composite vessel, from Vounous Tomb 19 (no.67), mentioned previously in section 3.2 of this chapter, depicts a nest of baby birds all clamouring to be fed (see Fig.63). A more mature bird is represented by column-based askos\(^{214}\) in which the fully-representational head of the bird projects in front of the handle and neck of the vessel (Fig.110).

![Red Polished ware bird-shaped jug. From Limassol Tomb 83, no.15. District Museum, Limassol.](image1)

![Red Polished ware column-based askos. From Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi. Kunsthist Museum no.IV 4421.](image2)

Scholars have linked Cypriot bird-shaped askoi with those of other cultures, and E.Herscher illustrates a ‘torpedo-shaped’ askos from Lapithos Tomb P 429 C which she states is a ‘definitely Anatolian type.\(^{215}\) The ‘duck-shaped’ askos, dated to the Early Cypriot IIA, is a rare shape which is believed by scholars to be derived from

\(^{212}\) H.Bucholz & V.Karageorghis (1973) Cat. no.1503

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Aegean types and Stewart illustrates very similar vessels from Vati and Phylakopi as comparative evidence.\textsuperscript{216}

It may be relevant that Plank Figures transform into vessels in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages and vessels metamorphose into birds. Plank Figures also evolve into bird figures over a period of centuries and it would seem that all of these objects are inter-linked. Thus goddess figures share a common bond with pots and with birds. All might refer to fertility.

e. Humans (as opposed to Plank Figures)

It has been noted here previously that Plank Figures have a very different form and decoration from the more rounded human figures depicted modelled on vessels. A number of Bronze Age Cypriot vessels bear humans participating in various (often unidentifiable) activities. The most famous of these so-called ‘scenic vessels’ is the Vounous Bowl (see Fig.96) which seems to illustrate a scene from Bronze Age Cypriot life and has been interpreted as anything from a sanctuary scene to a male gossip session after a day’s work.

Dikaios, Stewart, Merrillees, J.Karageorghis, and V.Karageorghis concur that the scene depicted is that of a sanctuary with cult activity taking place. Frankel and Tamvaki, however, suggest that the scene is of a burial taking place inside a tomb, whilst Mogelonsky considers it to be a burial scene taking place outside a tomb. Morris views the composition as a village scene after a hard day’s work.\textsuperscript{217}

The bowl itself perhaps resembles a circular ‘sanctuary’ with a doorway let into the wall. Inside are enclosures for cattle with cows or bulls penned inside. One female figure stands near a cattle-pen and holds an infant. Many of the figures depicted in the ‘sanctuary’ are not given any gender characteristics, but the four large figures seated against the wall next to the shrine have their male genitalia depicted. In front of these figures six standing males form a circle. Another male figure is seated on the ‘throne’

\textsuperscript{215}E.Herscher (1975) p.53, fig.20
\textsuperscript{216}J.Stewart (1992) pl.III:7 (Copenhagen no.5769) & pl.III:10
\textsuperscript{217}See n.162 of this chapter for references
in front of the bucraia-topped poles of the shrine. Near the doorway on the outside of
the wall of the bowl is a figure which climbs up to peer over the edge to look in on the
scene.

Scholars have made efforts to interpret this figure and have arrived at
interpretations ranging from a touch of comic relief to a 'meaningful' representation of
unknown significance. Karageorghis comments that it is not a 'casual representation'
and that 'the coroplast surely meant to convey a specific idea.' There may be some
form of 'survival' of the idea behind this figure, as a terracotta shrine model of the
Archaic period (700-600 B.C.) bears a figure depicted on the outside, looking in
through a window at the activity taking place inside (Fig. 111). Perhaps the cult
required some form of 'interloper' viewing the mysteries as a ceremonial part of the
enactment of the rites.

Fig. 111 Terracotta shrine model. Provenance unknown.
Archaic period (700-600 BC). Cyprus Museum B220.

The presence of cattle, both real and as part of a shrine, suggests that this
ceremony was closely associated with these animals. It may be that some (probably
much altered) form of such a ceremony still existed during the historical period of
Greek culture as the similarity between the visual image presented by the Vounous
Bowl and the written record of one of the rites associated with Dionysus is worthy of
some comment. Dionysus took the form of a bull after being born from the union of

\[^{218}\text{V. Karageorghis (1991b) p.141}\]
\[^{219}\text{V. Tatton-Brown (1979) Cat. no.265}\]
Persephone and Zeus who manifested himself in snake form (Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Greeks* II:16, p.14P). Clement quotes 'a certain mythological poet':

\[ \text{Ta} \text{ú} \text{r} \text{o} \text{s} \ \text{d} \text{rá} \text{k} \text{o} \text{v} \text{t} \text{o} \text{s} \ \text{k} \text{a} \ \text{n} \text{a} \text{t} \text{í} \text{r} \text{o} \text{s} \ \text{d} \text{rá} \text{k} \text{o} \text{v} \text{o} \text{n}, \\
\text{èv} \ \text{ö} \text{r} \text{e} \text{i} \ \text{t} \text{o} \ \text{k} \text{r} \text{ú} \text{f} \text{i} \text{o} \text{n}, \ \text{B} \text{o} \text{u} \text{k} \text{ól} \text{o} \text{ł} \text{o} \text{s}, \ \text{t} \text{o} \ \text{k} \text{e} \text{n} \text{t} \text{r} \text{i} \text{o} \text{n}, \]

The bull is the father of the snake, the snake is the father of the bull;

On the mountains the Cowherd [bears] the mysterious goad...

Snakes appear between the reliefs of bucrania-topped poles in the interior of the Vounous Bowl, thus they are associated with cattle in this scene. It has been noted here previously that bulls, appearing with snakes, occur on a Red Polished ware bowl from Vounous Tomb 36 (no.10) (see Fig.90). Snakes are also part of the cult of Dionysus, and Maenads, the female followers of Dionysus, either handle snakes or wear them in their hair in scenes depicted on Attic vases.

The bovine character of Dionysus is suggested by the class of priests called 'cow-herds' who celebrated his mysteries.\(^{220}\) Whether or not there is some link between the Cypriot Bronze Age Vounous Bowl and the rites of Dionysus in Greece, the presence of cattle and snakes in both situations bears witness to the fact that these animals were considered to be of religious importance in the historical period, and thus it is possible that in the more distant past they bore similar connotations. The Vounous Bowl with its human and animal participants seems most likely to be a representation of a scene from Bronze Age Cypriot religious observance.

Human figures also take part in various forms of activity depicted on different types of vessels.\(^{221}\) As was noted previously in the present chapter, a jug with a scene

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\(^{220}\) A Cook (1914) p.441

\(^{221}\) D.Morris (1985:264) lists twenty examples of scenic vessels which he categorises into five groups. Only four of these groups are actually vessels: Group 1. Six examples of large Red Polished ware bowls with small modelled figures all around the outside of the rims; Group 2. One example of a large
of a human with deer may represent a deer-milking scene and the possibility that this milk was required for the re-born dead was discussed. The deposition of such a ‘meaningfully’ decorated vessel with the deceased might have significance outside the usual explanations of the reasoning behind such offerings. Morris suggests a more prosaic explanation for the placement of scenic vessels in tombs; this being that they were intended to ‘equip the dead with possessions that would make them feel more “at home” by providing them with familiar scenes from their past lives.’

Some of the ‘familiar scenes’ that Morris cites as making the dead feel at ease in their new surroundings, are the activities depicted on vessels which have been interpreted as bread-making and ploughing as depicted on the ‘Margi Bowl’. However, it may be as J.Karageorghis and T.Cullen suggest, that the scenes represented preparations for religious ceremonies connected with both the fertility of the crops and with human fertility. Cullen notes: ‘The representation of crops transformed into life-sustaining entities (grain, wine, bread) provides a suitable grave offering, a poignantly optimistic statement of fertility and changing status at the rite which itself bridges life and death.’ Considering that these vessels were funerary, and that funerary ritual is deemed to be ‘meaningful’, it is possible that these decorated vessels belong not only to the idea of human and crop fertility, but that vessels decorated with such themes echo the idea of the cycles of nature with the birth, growth, transmutation, and death of living things which then begin the cycle over again. Thus vessels decorated in such a manner may represent the concept of re-birth and regeneration, and it is the contention of this thesis that the Bronze Age Cypriots associated funerary vessels with the re-birth of the dead in an active role rather than merely as possessions or receptacles for provisions for the journey between worlds.

Red Polished ware jug with small modelled figures all around its shoulders; Group 3. One example of a modified Red Polished ware bowl with a flat bottom and scenic composition inside its walls; Group 4. Six examples of Red Polished ware jugs with groups of modelled figures protruding from their shoulders; (Group 5. Six examples of terracotta models).

222 D.Morris (1985) p.264
224 J.Karageorghis (1977) p.48
225 T.Cullen in I.Todd (1986a) p.154
f. **Vessels attached to vessels**

The importance of animals and humans modelled on pots is matched by miniature vessels of a number of different types that occur attached to larger vessels. One example already discussed in Chapter Two is the Logie Collection’s pyxis which has two miniature vessels in conjunction with one extant Plank Figure modelled on the shoulder. The association between Plank Figure and vessels is made explicit here, thus rendering figure, miniature vessels, and the larger vessel to which they are attached ‘meaningful’.

Miniature vessels attached at the shoulder of large jugs are not uncommon in the Early Bronze Age repertoire of ‘cult’ decoration. An example of a large Red Polished ware round-spouted jug from Margi/Kotchati has three cut-away spouted juglets attached to its shoulder.226 In addition it has a high looped ‘handle’ surmounted with a modelled bull and, although the juglets are fully supported by bridges between them and the parent neck, the ‘handle’ is not attached to the neck in any way thus rendering it susceptible to damage. The potential fragility of the ‘handle’ suggests that it was not a utilitarian addition to the pot but a decorative element.

Small, attached juglets are often accompanied by stemmed bowls, joined to the parent vessel at the shoulder. A beak-spouted, nipple-based, Red Polished ware jug from Kryshochous is decorated in this way, with a stemmed bowl attached on the shoulder at either side of the neck and a cut-away spouted vessel projecting at an angle on the front of the jug.227 In a similar disposition of motifs, a twin-necked Red Polished ware jug bears three cup-shaped bowls - one on its shoulder at each side of the handle and another on the front.228

That vessels have esoteric connotations is made even more apparent when they take the form of ‘ring vases’. It may be less of a random act than might be thought that a ring vase229 was found along with cattle bones inside one of the vessels discussed previously in the present chapter in reference to cattle and snakes. This particular bowl

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226 D.Morris (1985) fig.91
227 D.Monis (1985) fig.95
228 D.Monis (1985) fig.88
(from Vounous Tomb 36 no.10) has bucraania in relief with snakes appearing to issue from their mouths. The ring vase found inside this vessel stands on four legs and has three miniature bowls and a jug, similar to those occurring on the Logie Collection pyxis, attached to its upper surface (Fig. 112). The bowls might imply that they were intended to have some liquid or solid placed in them, but the jug, with a handle designed to lift and pour, is actually moulded onto the ring and can never be lifted from it. The implication of the whole ring is that it depicts objects of ritual importance to the cult and that it may never have been intended as a utilitarian object.

Fig. 112 Red Polished ware ring vase. From Vounous Tomb 36, no.12.

Another ring vase, from Lapithos Tomb 322 chamber D no.1, has three small hemispherical spouted bowls set on a ring standing on three feet.230 The ring is incised with horizontal lozenge motifs filled in with diagonal lines. A vertical zigzag motif is incised through the points where the lozenges meet.

A solid ring from Ayia Paraskevi231 bears four miniature conical bowls arranged symmetrically. The spaces between the bowls are decorated alternately with two opposed pairs of human figures and a bird - all fully modelled. Each pair of human figures seems to represent a male and a female. The bowls, birds, and paired human couples suggest that this vessel depicts images which bore a 'message' rather than being merely decorative, and that this 'message' may have referred to the fertility of humans and of animals.

229 P. Dikaios (1940) Vounous Tomb 36 no.12
230 H. Buchholtz & V. Karageorghis (1973) Cat. 1502
All of the ring vases mentioned above are set on legs, but not all ring vases are thus equipped. One such example, from Vounous Tomb 29 (no.33), consists of a ring that supports five conical bowls which are pierced to allow access to the ring below. 232

A number of the small attached vessels have holes in their bases leading through to the parent vessel and, if utility were of prime importance, any attempt to use them would result in a messy pouring, whilst the non-pierced versions would probably be impossible to pour from at all. From this lack of utility it would seem likely that the small attached vessels were, like the modelled animals and humans, decoration that was intended to proffer some 'meaning' in the context for which the vessels were manufactured. If the modelled animals, human couples, and scenes were intended to imply fertility, it can only be assumed that the vessels themselves belonged to that iconography.

The Cypriot examples of ring vases are local versions of what appears to be a widely-spread type from contexts as far apart as the Caucasus, Egypt and the Aegean. There is a remarkable similarity between the Cypriot ring vases and an example from Egypt that was excavated at Deir-el-Bahri (Fig.113). 233 Pinch notes that 'pottery rings and bowls decorated with miniature vases have been found in burials ranging in date from the late Middle Kingdom to the early 18th Dynasty. 234 'Kernos' type ring vessels supporting numerous spouts, little cups, or other objects occur in Caucasia, and an example in the Tehran Museum bears two bird figurines, a human figure, and three miniature pots.235 From the Near Eastern Khirbet Kerak culture of Beth Yerah comes a fragment of a ring-shaped object with bull-head protomes; the object has been dated to the Early Bronze Age I period. 236 It will be noted in Chapter Four that the Khirbet Kerak culture shares a number of similarities with that of the Early Cypriot Bronze Age.

232 P. Dikaios (1940) p.63, pl.XXXIII:a
233 G. Pinch (1993) p.169, fig.1.16
234 G. Pinch (1993) p.169
236 R. Amiran (1989) 'Re-examination of a cult-and-art object from Beth Yerah' in Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor Chicago, pp.31-33
The bird-and-vessel motif, like those attached to Cypriot vessels, occurs again on a fragment of a ring vessel from Megiddo level VI. It is of interest, but not necessarily of significance, that like the Bronze Age Cypriot culture the ceramic repertoire of Philistine culture boasts bird-shaped vessels and vessels placed on the rims of bowls.

An example of a ring vase from Crete reveals an association between the human figure and vessels as it bears three figures along with six pithoi forming a circle on the ring.

In summary it has been proposed that modelled motifs on Cypriot vessels are, like those in relief, images associated with fertility. This repertoire includes vessels modelled in miniature, and it is likely that these too belong within the same sphere of meaning.

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238 T. Dothan (1982) p.222, p.242f, fig.11
239 S. Xanthoudides (1905) p.17, fig.3
3.6 Vessels: as burial/grain containers and as symbols of regeneration

a. Pithoi

Pithoi (storage containers) have been used as burial receptacles by a wide-ranging diversity of cultures and, although the Bronze Age Cypriots more often buried their dead without containers in chamber tombs, the use of burial pithoi is recorded. The earliest of these is from the Chalcolithic period and is dated by Peltenburg to c.2500 B.C. The jar-burial at Mosphilia, Grave 4, contained the body of an infant and although there is no evidence for a pre-existing Cypriot tradition of pot burials, this practice was widespread in the Near East at sites such as Byblos, and in Western Anatolia.

It may be that pithoi were merely of a convenient size and shape to accommodate a corpse, but there is a possibility that the pithos as a grain receptacle was symbolic of the storage of seed awaiting regeneration and thus had similar connotations for the human body. The widespread use of pithoi as burial containers can be noted at locations such as the Cyclades, Crete, Yortan, Alishar Hüyük, Byblos, Aphrodisias, and Gezer.

The cycles of vegetation, inextricably linked with the sustenance of an agricultural society, seem to have been associated with human life and existence. Late evidence of this comes from Cicero (De Legibus II:25.63) who refers to grain being planted on graves in Attica. Corn is also associated with the dead in that Demeter, a goddess of grain, is the receiver of the dead who are called Διαδοχωτεις ‘Demeter’s people’ by Plutarch (De facie in orbe lunae 28).

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240 E.Peltenburg (1990) p.19
242 L.Goodison (1990) p.13
243 J.Mellaart (1966) p.48
246 L.Farnell (1907:37) lists titles from Greek cults which associate Demeter with grain.
Rites in honour of the deceased survive from the Neolithic period with the *kollyva*, boiled grain in honour of the dead, continuing in Cyprus into the modern period. According to J. Harrison, the festivities of the *Anthesteria* of the Classical period were associated with vegetation, fertility, and rebirth. This is suggested by the activities on the first day, the *πυθοίγωα*, during which the pithoi were opened for the temporary release of souls. This idea is exemplified in a scene depicted on a Lekythos, in which Hermes Psychopompos stands by a large storage vessel from which souls fly out.

The two-handled golden jar in which the bones of Achilles and Patroklos were mingled after their cremation is linked also with Dionysus as he had given the jar as a present to Achilles’ mother (*Odyssey* XXIV:71-77, *Iliad* XXII:91-92). This links the possibilities of rebirth associated with Dionysus to the potential rebirth of the intermixed remains of Achilleus and Patrokllos into the Underworld – perhaps even as one entity should Homer have known of the regenerative powers of pots.

### b. Ploughing

The idea of the rebirth of human dead may echo the observed regeneration of vegetation and seed-grain, and this may be the meaning underlying the model of a ploughing scene and similar scenes modelled on vases in Bronze Age Cypriot funerary contexts. Perhaps these have a deeper meaning than mere depictions of ‘everyday’ life, and are instead an evocation of the beliefs of an agricultural society in the regeneration of all that goes into the ground.

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247 M. Eliade (1961) p.175
248 F. Grunfeld (1985) p.31. Grunfeld notes that the *kollyva* consists of ‘a mound of moistened wheat ritually divided into quadrants, each mixed with another symbol of fertility, such as almonds, walnuts, sesame, figs, and, invariably, pomegranate seeds.’
249 J. Harrison (1900) ‘Pandora’s Box’ *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XX pp.94-114
250 A. Persson (1942) fig.3
251 The Titans tore Dionysus apart, boiled the pieces in a pan, and presented them to Apollo, who hid them away beside the Delphic tripod (Callimachus fr. 517/643 & Euphorion fr. 13P). Philodemus, citing Euphorion, says that the pieces were put together again by Rhea, and that Dionysus came back to life (*De piet.*, p.16 G, *Euphorion* fr. 36).
A Red Polished ware model of a ploughing scene comes from Vounous (Special series no. 1).  The activity takes place on top of a four-legged platform which is supported at its centre by a fifth leg. Two pairs of oxen, each followed by a human figure, pull a plough whose yoke rests on their shoulders. Two human figures to the left of the foremost ploughing group carry between them a trough-shaped object that may have contained the seed. Following behind is a quadruped which in turn is followed by another human figure. At Stone Age Sotira, in Cyprus, troughs were found along with grinders and querns suggesting that they were used for the storage of grain or for bread-making. Activities taking place around troughs occur also on Bronze Age Cypriot scenic vessels, and given the above evidence from Sotira it is likely that these had the same purpose.

The modelled ploughing scene depicts the activity of placing the seed-grain into the earth, and this activity may also convey the idea of new growth. In a funerary context such an image may refer to the burial of the dead and their rebirth as there is evidence from other cultures that ploughing was considered as more than just a workaday activity.

A Near Eastern cylinder-seal from Tell es Suleimeh of c.2400 B.C. bears a ploughing scene allied with a ritual scene, a circumstance which suggests that ploughing and religion were considered as sharing the same iconographical motivation.

In a Sumerian text, *Prosperity in the Palace*, Inanna’s genitals are likened to the land which will be ‘ploughed’ by Dumuzi:

“"The vulva it is . . . , (1.18)
It is fallow land, in the plain (1.22)
I, the maid, who will be its plougher”?
(1.26)
“Lady, the king will plough it for you,
Dumuzi, the king, will plough it for you.”
“Plough my vulva, my sweetheart.”

252 P.Dikaios (1940) p.127, pls IX:a,b; X:a
253 P.Dikaios and J.Stewart (1962) p.80f
254 J.Postgate (1992) p.168, fig.8:4

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The above quotation is an extremely graphic metaphor, but when its context as part of a ‘Sacred Marriage’ text is taken into account, the notion that the actual process of ploughing has sacred overtones is worth consideration.

It may be that the act of ploughing and the sowing of the seed is considered as a male symbolic role – thus the grain or the dead are placed in ‘mother earth’ for regeneration.

In Greek literary contexts ploughing appears to follow a sacred tradition and Hesiod links Demeter with ploughing and fertility, as does Homer, as both describe how she lay with Jason in a thrice-ploughed field (Theogony 969ff; Odyssey V:125ff). Plutarch notes that in the rituals of the cult of Demeter there is a sacred ploughing of the holy field at Eleusis (Coningalia praecepta 42).

c. Grain grinding

As an adjunct to the ploughing scene many of the Cypriot scenic vessels appear to depict the grinding of corn and, like ploughing, this motif seems to have religious connotations in a number of cultures. Such overtones seem to be implied in Neolithic Khirokitia in Cyprus where the dead were often ‘weighed down’ with querns which were placed on the chest or the head.256 If the intention were merely to keep the dead in their place, why not use a heavy rock? The fact that a grinding utensil was often used specifically suggests that some other meaning besides weight was intended. As is usual with prehistoric Cypriot evidence, it is necessary to look to other cultures to attempt to find some explanation for the association between the Khirokitia example and the vessels with scenes that may depict grain-grinding occurring in Bronze Age tombs.

255 J.Pritchard (1969)
256 P.Dikaios (1953) p.340. Heavy rocks were sometimes used, but the incidence of querns being used for this purpose seems unusually high if it is not ‘meaningful’ in some way. A link between Cypriot and Near Eastern practice might be inferred from the occurrence of a grinding stone found along with a necklace and red ochre in the burial of a young woman at Proto-Neolithic (c.9000-7000 B.C.) Shanidar in the Zagros mountains (J.Mellaart [1965] p.20).
Grain storage bins, grinding stones, and ovens are the most common furnishings of shrines of the ‘Great Goddess’ over a wide area, according to E. Gadon.\(^{257}\) This association between grain and goddess is demonstrated at Neolithic Çatal Hüyük where an enthroned figure of a ‘goddess’ was found in a grain bin.\(^{258}\)

The sacredness of grain and flour is exemplified in the *Hymn to Inanna* in which suppliants make loaves for her and offer ‘finely ground flour’ (l.156–7)\(^{259}\) which was used in a number of rituals and placed in small piles before the deities.\(^{260}\) Grinding cereal was women’s work in the ancient Near East and this is implied by a text (fragment d of the Ullikummi epic) in which Ea asks how offerings will be made to the gods if mankind is obliterated:

> “Shall it happen that the Weather-God, the hero king of Kummiya, will have to take the knife himself? Or shall it happen that Ishtar and Hebat will have to turn the handmill themselves?”\(^{261}\)

Later evidence from Greece suggests a similar sanctity is attached to grain and its associations. Hesiod in the *Works and Days* (l.597) refers to grain as ‘holy’ and Homer calls the threshing floor ‘sacred’ (*Iliad* V:499). The sanctity attached to the threshing floor may be inferred from biblical sources wherein this site was a place for mourning, as in Genesis (L:10); and also a place where altars were raised to the Lord (2 Samuel XXIV:18). David raised an altar to the Lord on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite (1 Chronicles XXI:22) and it was on this site that Solomon built his temple (2 Chronicles III:1). In the Ugaritic text relating to the Rephaim, threshing floors belong to El, god of the Ugaritic pantheon (col.II.9).\(^{262}\)

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\(^{257}\) E. Gadon (1989) *The Once and Future Goddess: A Symbol for our Time* San Francisco, p.150

\(^{258}\) J. Melliaart (1966) p.156, pl.IX

\(^{259}\) T. Jacobsen (1987) p.121

\(^{260}\) J. Black and A. Green (1992) *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* Austin, p.84


\(^{262}\) G. Driver (1956, 1971) *Canaanite Myths and Legends* Edinburgh
An association between grain and funerary ritual can be inferred from the five model granaries surmounting a clay chest in the Geometric period grave of an Athenian woman whose ashes were placed in an amphora accompanying the grave goods. From the above evidence gleaned from various locations and times it would seem that grinding or threshing grain is a utilitarian act with certain sacral overtones; thus the activity becomes even more hallowed when it is associated with offerings to deities, or when it is referred to in funerary contexts. Scenes such as ploughing and grain-grinding when found on objects offered in Cypriot graves can be plausibly linked to sacred activities as well as to references to the cycles of vegetation and its relationship with those of the human life and death experience. The tomb thus becomes the ploughed field in which the seed is laid in preparation for its regeneration.

d. Regeneration

It is possible that in Bronze Age Cypriot contexts the use of the burial pithos was discarded in favour of the chamber tomb which itself became the storage 'vessel'. When a tomb is viewed in plan it becomes apparent that the shape is most often like that of a rounded-base jug with the tomb's dromos as the neck (Fig. 114). Some of the jugs, bowls, 'cult' vessels and amphorae placed in tombs may be extensions of the idea of regeneration in the pithos/tomb rather than receptacles for food offerings or a funerary feast, although food remains are found in vessels in some cases. If a prosaic explanation for the presence of vessels in tombs must be found, the most likely possibility is that the vessels were for the use of the dead in the afterlife. The possibility that vessels were the pre-used possessions of the deceased seems unlikely as cooking pots with no signs of fire-blackening from previous use have been found among the grave goods. At Vounous bowls were found stacked inside others and, unless the participants of the funeral feast were of a tidy disposition, this suggests a different reason for their placement with the dead. However, in acknowledging the

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263 J. Ferguson (1989) p.124. These objects are also interpreted as rattles or whistles according to D. Kurtz & J. Boardman (1971) Greek Burial Customs London, p.63. It may be significant that this type of object is found primarily in women's graves.
264 Cf P. Dikaios (1940) p.30
265 E. Herscher (1975) p.47
266 There is a possibility that vessels were stacked when tombs were tidied to make way for a subsequent burial.
possibility of food or implements being left for the use of the dead, it is necessary to concede that the Bronze Age Cypriots believed in some form of life after the tomb.

Fig. 114 Plan of Vounous Tomb 155, Chamber.

e. Vessels as womb-symbols

How the dead came into this afterlife must then be considered and, given that apparently lifeless seed-grain is placed in the earth and regenerates, it is likely that some form of underground regeneration of the dead was envisaged. It may be that vessels signified the female component necessary for the process to take place. Instances of parts of human bodies found in vessels both in Cypriot contexts and in non-Cypriot locations are perhaps less suggestive of cannibalism than of some form of belief in regeneration through the intermediary vessel as surrogate ‘womb’. At Vounous Tomb 36, a large Red Polished ware bowl contained small animal-bones and a human arm.

The occurrence of human remains in bowls in Cypriot contexts might suggest that human sacrifice has taken place and although this seems to be a possibility at Khirokitia, there is little evidence to suggest that this practice was part of the Bronze Age Cypriot culture. At Khirokitia one of the tholoi contained the body of a woman, and a child, buried with her, was face down and in a position that suggested its arms had been bound behind its back. In another tholos a young woman had been buried in

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267 M.Gimbutas (1974:159) states emphatically that in Old Europe ‘A pithos was a womb as was the grave pit from which the child or adult could be born again.’

268 P.Dikaios (1940) p.73
the same position.\textsuperscript{269} In a Bronze Age warrior’s tomb (Tomb 5) at Lapithos bodies were placed face down, their hands tied behind their backs and limestone slabs placed upon them.\textsuperscript{270} There is a mythical tradition of human sacrifice in Cyprus told by Ovid (\textit{Metamorphoses} X.220ff) in which the horned \textit{Kerastai} sacrificed strangers to Zeus Xenios of Cyprus until Aphrodite changed them all into bullocks to punish them for their savagery. Burkert mentions the probable human sacrifice at Salamis in Cyprus where in the month of Aphrodisios a sacrificial victim was killed with a spear and then burnt in a ritual devoted to Diomedes and Aglauros.\textsuperscript{271} It is interesting to note that Aphrodite is a reference point in both rituals.

Instances of bowls containing human remains occur in areas outside Cyprus and R. Macalister notes ‘curious deposits of bones in jugs’ at Gezer. These include: the last thoracic vertebrae of an infant, the last great right toe joint of an adult, the cuboid of the right foot of an adult, and the metacarpel of a fourth finger.\textsuperscript{272} J. Oates illustrates bowls containing human skulls at Arpachiya, near Nineveh,\textsuperscript{273} whilst at Thermi, in Lesbos, a jug held the bones of an infant, and a cooking-cup contained the bones of a foetus.\textsuperscript{274} At a cemetery in Archanes, Crete, skulls were found in jars.\textsuperscript{275} The incidences of vessels containing parts or whole human bodies might indicate some belief that the vessel was an ‘agent’ through which regeneration took place and if this is the case, the container would be viewed as feminine.

As early as the Cypriot Neolithic period at Khirokitia bowls were offered to women more frequently than to men, and in most cases these vessels had been ceremonially broken\textsuperscript{276} (or ritually ‘killed’). The association between women and vessels, although noteworthy, is by itself not strong enough to support an argument in favour of vessels being considered as feminine. However, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age evidence is a little more pertinent to the argument as, it has been noted previously

\textsuperscript{269} P. Dikaios (1953) p.339f
\textsuperscript{270} T. Spiteris (1970) \textit{The Art of Cyprus} London, p. 16
\textsuperscript{271} W. Burkert (1992) \textit{The Orientalizing Revolution} Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, p. 98
\textsuperscript{272} R. Macalister (1911) p.123
\textsuperscript{273} J. Oates (1978) ‘Religion and ritual in sixth-millennium B.C. Mesopotamia’ \textit{World Archaeology} 10:2, pl. 5b
\textsuperscript{274} W. Lamb (1936) Cat.13,39; p.11,15
\textsuperscript{275} L. Goodison (1990) fig.95, p.118
in the present thesis, by the Chalcolithic period jugs had been humanised to some extent by the addition of a human face to the lip. It has already been noted in the previous chapter that during the Bronze Age Plank Figures metamorphosed into vessels, whilst vases have humanised attributes such as pierced ears, complete with earrings, attached to their necks. The anthropomorphisation of vessels might suggest their role as images of the feminine principle. N. David, J. Sterner, and K. Gavua maintain that, in modern ethnological contexts, ‘pots “are” persons and … concepts of the body are closely related to and partly determinative of decorative expression on pots …’. These authors hypothesise that ‘humans, recognising the fundamental similarity with regard to transformation … extended to pottery certain of the concepts regarding and treatments accorded to the person.’

The notion that vessels are an embodiment of female containment is widespread. S. Cook compares a jug with ‘two mammillary projections’ from Gezer with a similar type of vessel from Carthage which was used for the burial of infants. We have already seen that, in Theran contexts, some vessels had nipples, and nipples also occur on an anthropomorphised vessel from Anatolia, now in the Afyon Museum (Early Bronze Age I, late 4th–early 3rd millennium B.C.). In Egypt the goddess Taurt took vessel form. Apuleius, in The Golden Ass, calls a vessel of burnished gold, with a rounded bottom, a long spout, and a curving handle, a symbol of the mysteries of the goddess Isis and an ancient emblem of her godhead.

At Troy the ‘owl-faced’ vessels, complete with wings, were viewed by Frankfort as representations of Ishtar. Frankfort comments also that ‘we cannot be certain … but it seems worthwhile to refer to the possibility that the remains of the dead were placed within a mother-image to ensure rebirth.”

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275 P. Dikaios (1953) p.339
277 S. Cook (1908) The Religion of Ancient Palestine London, p.35
278 L. Goodison (1989) fig.76:e
279 H. Frankfort (1949) p.200
280 H. Frankfort (1949) p.194,n.3
An association between women’s reproductive organs and vessels seems to have been accepted by Hippocrates as ‘throughout the Hippocratic corpus and the works of much later, more sophisticated anatomists, the woman’s uterus is likened to an upside-down jar, furnished with two ears or handles.’

That humans were, like pots, formed from clay is suggested by the fact that Nintur, the Near Eastern goddess of birth-giving, is called both the ‘lady of the womb’ and the ‘lady potter’ who fashioned humankind from clay in The Story of Atrahasis.

According to many ancient creation accounts, for example Genesis Chapter 3, humankind was originally fashioned from clay, and thus the link between humans and clay vessels is very strong. The similarities between the shape of the uterus and that of vessels may not have escaped prehistoric cultures, and either by placing the corpse inside a vessel or by placing the dead in the earth like seed-grain and surrounding them with vessels, the living were evoking both the powers of the feminine and of vegetation to ensure some form of afterlife.

3.7 Fertility and regeneration linked with vessels

a. Near Eastern associations:

Because the Bronze Age Cypriot evidence is without literary elucidation it is necessary to look outside Cyprus for examples, literary and otherwise, which can be used to add weight to the argument that the Cypriot use of vessels might be associated with rebirth and regeneration.

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283 T. Jacobsen (1976) p.107

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A tomb of the seventh century B.C. at the Cypriot site of Mavrommatis, about one kilometre south of the village of Kouklia, contained a large bronze cauldron with a lid. At Salamis a similar vessel held the incinerated remains of a corpse and this may have also been the case in the Mavrommatis example, possibly echoing the placing of the bones of the dead into a cauldron and covering them with a double layer of fat, as is described in the Iliad (XXIII: 243).

Large vessels discovered at Amathus in Cyprus might feasibly be linked with the basins and cauldrons in Near Eastern temples. The Cypriot examples are from the Late Archaic period, but it may be that the concept was a survival of the life-generating properties of vessels in general; an idea which is also in harmony with Near Eastern influences in Cyprus. Karageorghis comments that it is possible that the two large (2.2m in diameter) limestone vessels from the top of the Acropolis at Amathus were associated with the cult of Aphrodite. One of the vessels has imitation arched handles carved into it, in whose recesses bulls are depicted. O.Keel notes that the size of the vessels is 'in keeping with the concept that the basins contained the holy waters of the primeval sea.'

The bulls depicted on the basin at Amathus occur in association with other large basins from different contexts. Perhaps the most famous of these is the bronze sea of Solomon mentioned in I Kings 7:25, II Kings 16:17, and II Chronicles 4:2-5. It is described as 'round all about' implying that it was bowl-shaped, and it was supported by twelve oxen, three facing outward at each of the four cardinal compass points. This 'sea' might equate with the great basin known as Apsû which was found in Babylonian temples. Apsû is also the primeval subterranean sweet-water ocean of Near Eastern belief, and a text states that it is purifying: 'that man with lustral water from the holy Apsû cleanse.' The rivers Tigris and Euphrates were envisaged as

\[\text{References:}
\begin{enumerate}
\item F. Maier & V. Karageorghis (1984) p.174f
\item V. Karageorghis (1982a) p.151
\item O. Keel (1978) The Symbolism of the Biblical World New York, fig.183
\item O. Keel (1978) fig.83
\end{enumerate}
originating from a vase or vases in the apsû and, in the Assûr recension of the Descent of Ishtar (Obv.27), Ereshkigal calls Ishtar ‘she who stirs up the apsû before Ea.’

Holy water was that which came from the apsû and was drawn from a laver called abzu (apsû).

The bulls which support the ‘sea of Solomon’, and those which occur on the Cypriot vessels from Amathus, are echoed in other temple cauldrons such as those depicted on an Assyrian relief from Khorsabad showing King Sargon II’s troops attacking the Urartian temple at Muşâşir. Outside the temple are two cauldrons mounted on stands which have feet like those of bulls. Examples of such objects come from tombs and one, from an Urartian tomb at Atintepe, looks very like those depicted on the Assyrian relief. The bull-imagery is further enhanced by the four bull-protomes evenly spaced around the rim of the vessel. The overall impression given is that the whole (cauldron with bull-protomes and tripod with bull-feet) is somehow representative of the total beast.

That these tomb and temple cauldrons were symbolic of the apsû might be supported by the Hebrew name kîyôr, which, in its Assyrian form kîruru, Albright notes is used in the inscriptions of Sargon II of Assyria as a word for ‘copper cauldron.’ The Sumerian form is kî-ûr, and means ‘foundation platform’ and ‘entrance to the underworld’, a circumstance that may indicate that the copper cauldron containing the apsû was itself symbolic of the underworld.

A metal cauldron bearing two rectangular plaques attached by rivets was discovered in Tomb 79 (no.203) at Salamis in Cyprus. Each of the plaques was decorated with a Hathoresque head with long hair bordering the face and curling onto

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291 W. Albright (1919) p.184
292 W. Albright (1919) p.185
293 S. Lloyd (1967) p.121, fig.130
294 S. Lloyd (1967) fig.125
295 W. Albright (1942) p.153
296 W. Albright (1942) p.154

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the shoulders in the style of Egyptian Hathor of the 2nd millennium B.C. Hathor’s association with the cow is attested in Egypt, and this link is strengthened in the case of the Cypriot cauldron as bovine protomes accompany the plaques as decorative motifs.\(^{297}\) It is worth noting that Hathor’s features and hairstyle were taken over in Near Eastern iconography by Astarte so it may be that Astarte is being depicted in this instance. Astarte’s presence on a vessel which may be associated with the fertilising waters of the \textit{apsû} and may also represent the underworld, is perhaps a fitting survival of Early Bronze Age vessels decorated with Plank Figures and bucrania.

The occurrence in tombs of vessels such as the cauldron from the Urartian tomb mentioned above, suggests that some symbolic meaning is attached to them. In the light of evidence of cauldrons being associated with the fertile sea, the \textit{apsû}, it is tempting to infer that these vessels were later developments of a concept that linked vessels with regeneration and fertility from a very early period in a number of cultures, including that of Cyprus.

\textbf{b. Greek associations}

The ability of vessels to regenerate that which is placed inside them is attested in myth and in art. Numerous Greek legends refer to cauldrons of regeneration;\(^{298}\) among them the story of Tantalus’ son, Pelops, who was boiled and renewed in a καθαρά λέβης (pure cauldron) after being cut up and served to the gods at a banquet (Pindar \textit{Olympian Odes} t.26). A number of the stories pertain to the activities of Medea who was responsible for boiling the attendants of Dionysus in order to make them young again (Aeschylus \textit{Trophoi} frag.50\(^{299}\)). Perhaps the most famous of these myths is that in which Medea regenerates a ram by cutting it up and placing it in a cauldron. The moment of the rebirth of the ram from Medea’s cauldron is depicted on an Athenian Red-Figure Calyx-Krater c.440-430 B.C. which is in the University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection.\(^{300}\) The myth is recorded by Ovid (\textit{Metamorphoses} VII:162ff), Diodorus Siculus (IV:52), and Apollodorus (\textit{Bibliotheca} 1.9.27). Medea

\(^{297}\) J.Karageorghis (1977) p.162
\(^{298}\) For the ‘cauldron of apotheosis’ see A.Cook (1925) Vol.II, p.210ff
\(^{299}\) A.Nauk (1889) \textit{Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta}
uses her cauldron and her witchery to restore Jason’s father, Aeson, in an account by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* VII: 251-93).\(^{301}\)

The presence of a scene such as Medea and her cauldron of rejuvenation on a funerary vessel is suggestive of a belief in some form of regeneration – possibly associated with the vessel on which the scene occurs. The same motivating idea may be behind the occurrence of specific vessels types placed on Attic graves of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Vessels of closed form, such as amphorae or pithoi, were placed on tombs above belly-handled or shoulder amphorae inside the graves of females, and open-form vessels, such as kraters, were placed above neck-handled amphorae on tombs of males.\(^{302}\) In the Geometric period metal cauldrons, usually of bronze, were used as ash urns. These remained in vogue until the Hellenistic period.\(^{303}\)

The possibility that vessels placed in graves are associated with the regeneration of the dead through their agency is not without some, albeit not explicit, support from at least one scholar. In commenting on the unusually-equipped oenochoe of the 8\(^{th}\) century B.C. which has crossed tubes spanning the interior of its body at right angles to each other, A. Fraser\(^ {304}\) hints at the possibility of vessels acting as agents. Fraser notes that a cross is sometimes considered as a symbol to avert the course of nature, citing the actions of Eileithyia, who sat for seven days with crossed legs and hands for the purpose of obstructing the birth of Herakles (Ovid *Metamorphoses* IX:281ff). The image depicted on the vessel is part of the arcane meaning of the whole as the Siamese twins, the Aktorione or the Molione, are depicted on the exterior of the vase, and Fraser notes that it is ‘something more than a fortuitous coincidence’ that one of the tubes actually pierces the bodies of the

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300 Inv. no. 178/94. Attributed to the Kleophon Painter.
301 The tripod-cauldron was used also as a tomb, and Dionysus was buried in the Delphic tripod as were the bones of Python (Hyginus *Fabulae* 140). For discussion on the tripod-cauldron as an instrument of rebirth see C. Uhsadel-Gülke (1972) ‘Knochen und Kessel’ *Betr. zur klass. Philologie* 43; M. Halm-Tisserant (1993) *Cannibalisme et Immortalité* Paris, Chapter II
302 D. Kurtz & J. Boardman (1971) pp.37,53,58
303 D. Kurtz & J. Boardman (1971) p.53
Molione. In Fraser’s opinion the oenochoe was an apotropaic device to prevent the repetition of joined twins in a family. To take that conclusion one step further is to suggest that the crossed tubes were there to foil the rebirth of joined twins as, as Fraser points out, it is possible that the pitcher was buried in a grave that held Siamese twins. If this is the case the apotropaic action of the crossed bands inside the vessel would prevent the emergence of the reborn.

Emergence from the earth is suggested by Plank Figures which appear to have been designed to be pushed into the earth rather than to stand unsupported. This possibility is sustained by the occurrence of miniature, modelled Plank Figures emerging from incised concentric circle motifs on vessels. In later, Greek, art the moment of emergence is depicted on Attic Red-Figure vases that bear scenes of Pandora, Ge, or Aphrodite coming forth from the ground with only the head or upper body being shown. There are examples dating from an earlier period which suggest that a similar emergence is taking place. D. Levi describes and illustrates a 7th century B.C. bronze mitra found at the temple of Aphrodite at Axos. The incised decoration on this artefact depicts a high tripod flanked by confronting lions, whilst above the tripod is a human bust whose forehead bears a fillet. The figure may be female as the hair is long and wavy, but a sword and a shield accompany her. Perched on the tripod’s handles, at either side, is a bird. Levi interprets the scene as a vision of Apollo above his tripod, but notes that M. Guarducci identifies the figure as Athena for the reason that the only suitable name for a divinity armed with a sword would be Athena. Another possible identification not posited by Levi or Guarducci is that the image could be that of Aphrodite who, in her Near Eastern manifestation as Ishtar, is associated with lions, birds, and the rosettes which alternate with more lions on the frieze below the main scene. Like Ishtar, Aphrodite is also a war goddess and this would account for her weapons. Aphrodite’s war-goddess aspect will be discussed in Chapter Five. Should the scene on the mitra depict Aphrodite, her body is shown half-emerged from the tripod-cauldron in a manner similar to the way she is depicted

305 A. Fraser (1940) p.462
306 A. Fraser (1940) p.462
308 M. Guarducci (1937) ‘Due aspetti di Atena nella religione cretese’ Riv. del. R. Istuto d’archeologia e storia dell’arte 6, pp.7ff, cited in D. Levi (1945b) p.294

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emerging from the ground in later Greek art, and perhaps as early as the Bronze Age in Cyprus where her head is depicted emerging from the shoulder of vessels. If, as has been suggested here previously, cauldrons are associated with the Near Eastern Underworld and the \textit{apsû}, this might be an image of Aphrodite-Ishtar emerging from the Underworld through the fertile waters of the \textit{apsû}. To some extent this would tally with Hesiod's account of the birth of Aphrodite from waters fertilised by the seed of Ouranos. So might the basins at the temple of Aphrodite on the acropolis of Amathus contain the \textit{apsû} from which Aphrodite might emerge.

The half-emerged bust of a human figure also occurs on a pithos lid from Knossos which, Levi informs us, was dated to the Early Orientalising period by Marinatos. However, Levi disagrees with this chronology and suggests that its style places it prior to the Geometric period.\textsuperscript{309} Like the mitra described above, the lid bears an image relevant to the question of emergence associated with a tripod-cauldron. In the scene depicted on this object (Fig. 115) a bird stands in the bowl of the cauldron whilst below it the head and shoulders of a human figure emerge from the ground. The figure emerging from the ground below the tripod would seem to belong to the tradition of the \textit{anhodos} motif which is associated with Ge, Pandora, or Aphrodite in Greek art. Beside the tripod stands a human figure and a bird; another bird perches on the figure's hand. The knob-handle of the pithos lid is in the form of a bucranion with a rosette on the forehead. Here are some of the fertility-associated motifs of Cypriot art – bucranion, birds, emerging figure, and vessel.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig115}
\caption{Pithos lid (detail) from Fortezza, Crete.}
\end{figure}
c. Late manifestations of the vessel of regeneration

It is possible that the ancient association between vessels and regeneration occurs in later ‘survivals’ of this concept. A cauldron is central to the Celtic work, *The Mabinogion*, the tales of which originate from the oral tradition of a culture that, in the view of the majority, surfaced in Bohemia in the early centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. Some, however, propose that the Celts were a distinct cultural group as early as 2000 B.C. In dealing with an ancient oral tradition it is difficult to pinpoint elements of the myths which may be extremely old or relatively new. However, *The Mabinogion*, written down in the earliest extant manuscript as part of the *White Book of Rhydderch* in 1325 A.D., contains references to a ‘cauldron of rebirth.’ This cauldron has the property of regenerating the dead if they are placed in it, with the only drawback being that they are voiceless from then on. The cauldron of rebirth may be depicted on the Gundstrup cauldron which has been variously dated as originating from the 2nd century B.C. to as late as the 7th century A.D. Among the scenes depicted in relief is one of a figure placing another, smaller, figure headfirst into a vessel. W. Rutherford considers this to be a portrayal of regeneration. That cauldrons were part of the Celtic ritual equipment is proved by the gift of their most ‘sacred’ kettle to Caesar by the Cimbri (Strabo VII:2.1 p.293).

The Christian rite of the blessing of the font on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost contains references to the belief that a vessel and water can effect a rebirth – this time in a spiritual rather than a corporeal sense:

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309 D. Levi (1945b) p.311
312 The notion of voicelessness after emergence from the vessel is comparable with the evils released from the *pithos* by Pandora to roam voiceless in the world according to Hesiod (*Works and Days* 1.104).
314 W. Rutherford (1978) *The Druids* Wellingborough

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Most of the above information regarding vessels as agents of rebirth has of necessity been taken from sources other than Cyprus. However, it seems likely that such a widespread and long-lasting association between vessels and regeneration might be applicable to the Bronze Age Cypriot experience, as the presence in Cypriot graves of vessels, decorated with motifs considered to refer to fertility, suggests that some form of rebirth of the dead was envisaged.

### 3.8 Chapter summary

In summary this chapter has been devoted to arguing that funerary vessels were considered by the Bronze Age Cypriots to be surrogate ‘wombs’ through whose agency the rebirth of the dead was effected. The categorisation and techniques of manufacture of Cypriot vessels was outlined. The relevance of women as potters associated with specially decorated funerary vessels was discussed. Incised motifs were described, and the possibility that they represent a form of symbolic ‘language’ was proposed. Motifs in relief were treated likewise and the historical associations between many of these and fertility was noted. Modelled motifs were discussed using the same criteria. The link between vessels themselves and the motifs decorating them was made clear – especially in reference to vessels with small vases added. The use of vessels for grain storage and as receptacles for the dead was considered as a link between death and rebirth, whilst the associations between vessels and female reproductive organs were used as evidence to support the theory that vessels were viewed as agents of rebirth. The cyclical nature of vegetation was offered as an
Chapter Three

explanation for a possible belief held by agrarian cultures that what is put into the ground is regenerated – thus the ploughing of the earth, the sowing of grain seed, and the grinding of grain is part of that cycle. Evidence from outside Cyprus was used to support the notion that a number of cultures saw vessels as being a source of regeneration and that Cypriot belief need not be an anomaly.
INTERCONNECTIONS I:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE SUGGESTING POSSIBLE EXTERNAL CONTACTS

Because much of the interpretative discussion in the present thesis, regarding Bronze Age Cypriot artefacts, has rested on possible links with Near Eastern influences, it is necessary to evaluate archaeological material that implies contact between prehistoric Cyprus and other locations in an effort to substantiate claims that cult practice was derived from Near Eastern sources. The contents of Chapter Four will attempt to provide links in material culture to support the possibility that Cyprus had influences from the Near East and the Aegean. Evidence indicating wide-ranging contacts would suggest that the Bronze Age Cypriots did not exist in isolation but were open to outside influences, both in material and in spiritual culture, thus rendering a Bronze Age Cypriot knowledge of the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar an admissible possibility. Although there are many parallels between artefacts of Bronze Age Cypriot culture and those of Anatolia and the Near East, no absolute connection can be established as in no case has the whole repertoire of an outside culture reappeared intact in Cypriot contexts. C.Gordon makes the comment that it would be an error ‘to insist that a similar feature in two parts of the world must be due to diffusion. Isolated details may prove little or nothing in any specific case, though cumulatively a thousand such details might prove much.’ It is the purpose of this chapter to offer a number of details that may, cumulatively, add up to evidence of contacts between Cyprus and its neighbours.

4.1 Archaeological evidence suggesting contact with the Near East

a. Neolithic and Chalcolithic links

There are numerous possible links between the material culture of the Near East and that of Cyprus. These range in date from the Neolithic period through to the Bronze Age and after. Dikaios compares the Neolithic Khirokitia culture of Cyprus with that of the pre-pottery Neolithic of Jericho2 (c.8500-7600 B.C.).3 The parallels occur in the beehive houses of Neolithic A, the manufacture and use of stone bowls, and the custom of burying the dead under the floors of houses.4 Dikaios points out similarities between the Cypriot Kalavassos A dwellings, which are underground or half-sunken, and those from Tell Abu Matar near Beersheba. Todd notes that at Kalavassos-Tenta the red-painted plaster floors are paralleled in early Neolithic contexts from south-central Anatolia as far south as southern Jordan.5

Certain shapes of vases from Kalavassos B, particularly the deep hole-mouth bowls with everted rim, the use of lug-handles, and the tubular spout high up below the rim have parallels with examples from Beersheba.6 It is notable that the Beersheba culture has been connected with the Ghassulian (4th millennium B.C.) by Perrot7 and a Ghassulian link with Cyprus has already been suggested in Chapter Three of the present thesis in reference to the metal ‘crowns’ from Nahal Mishmar.

Dikaios provides a table that sets out the phases from Neolithic 1A through the initial stage of Early Cypriote 1 with respective architecture, pottery and other artefacts, and probable foreign contacts.8 The contacts are listed from the earliest times with imported obsidian through connections with the Beersheba culture of

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2 P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.193. See also J.Mellaart (1978) p.52f, who suggests that the Khirokitia culture shares some similarities with the Natufian site of Ain Mallaha as well as Pre-pottery A Jericho.
3 Chronology according to P.Bahn (1992) p.408
5 I.Todd (1986b) p.17
7 Cited in P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.198 n.2
8 P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.204
southern Palestine, Khirbet Kerak connections, and links with Tarsus in Anatolia. Mellaart suggests that there may have been links between the Khirokitia culture and that inhabiting the Amuq region on the plain of Antioch, as a stone vase found in the Amuq A period levels of about 6000 B.C. is of Khirokitia type.9

Khirokitia has also been linked with the Near Eastern site of Arpachiyah. The tholoi at Khirokitia seem to reflect those from the Halaf levels (6th or 5th millennium B.C.)10 of Arpachiyah and Mallowan suggests that the similarity between the tholoi from both sites may have been directly linked culturally and chronologically.11 At Arpachiyah, bovine heads were painted on pottery and figures of doves were discovered by archaeologists. Both cattle and doves were motifs that have links with Bronze Age Cyprus. Dikaios notes the rectangular antechamber as being a feature in common between the tholoi at Arpachiyah of the Halaf period and those of Khirokitia.12 He offers other parallels between the two cultures in the form of a bead from Khirokitia, which is identical with examples from level IIb at Arpachiyah, and a short pin with a ring on top which compares with amulets from Arpachiyah. Tholoi occur also at Tepe Gawra of the Halaf period (and at the subsequent level), at Byblos in the Chalcolithic B level, and in central Anatolia. Dikaios concludes from this that 'the essential features of the Khirokitia type of habitation was fairly well known in the Near East.'13 Later in the present chapter the links between Crete and Cyprus will be discussed. Therefore it is appropriate at this point to mention that the tholos-type structure of Arpachiyah and Khirokitia appears c.2700 B.C. in the Messara, the southern plains of Crete. The discovery of a double axe amulet at Arpachiyah seems to have links with Minoan Crete where the symbol of the double axe had religious connotations.

A painted bowl from a ritual burial at Arpachiyah of the Halaf level (6th to 5th millennia B.C.)14 provides a link with Cypriot Bronze Age motifs in the form of the use

9 J. Mellaart (1978) p.53
10 M. Mallowan (1956) p.4
11 M. Mallowan (1956) p.5
12 P. Dikaios (1953) p.333
13 P. Dikaios (1953) p.339
of bucrania as decoration. Added to this is the depiction of some apparently ‘meaningful’ activity associated with the bucrania and perhaps with the burial itself. This painted image consists of an extremely large jar which has a figure depicted at either side. The figure on our right is standing on the shoulder of the jar whilst the figure on the left appears to be climbing into or out of it. Another motif occurring on the bowl is a snake, which appears in conjunction with the bucrania. This association between bucrania and snake provides a further link between Arpachiyah and Bronze Age Cyprus, as in both cultures these motifs are encountered in funerary imagery. It is difficult to reconcile the Cypriot Bronze Age culture with that of the Halaf levels of Arpachiyah as the chronology is mismatched. However, if a link between Neolithic Khirokitia and this site is a possibility, then it is also possible that further contact was made between the sites at a later date and that it was at this time that the religious motifs were transferred to Cyprus.

Neolithic contact with other Near Eastern sites is possible as the standing female figure, from a village near Sha ‘ar ha-Golan (Yarmukian Neolithic, 8th millennium B.C.) in the Jordan Valley, has been compared previously in the present thesis with a similar Cypriot example (see Fig. 12b,d Chapter Two). However, the figurine is not the only possible link between the cultures of Palestine and Cyprus. A flat ovoid pebble decorated with a deep incised groove with six fine incised lines emanating from it, from the above-mentioned Jordan Valley site, can be compared to Cypriot examples discussed by Karageorghis. Karageorghis argues that a pendant from Chalcolithic Kalavassos-Ayious is a depiction of a vulva. He cites a number of similar examples from Neolithic Erini and offers parallels from the Natufian culture of 10,000 B.C. and from the Yarmukian Neolithic. Stekelis is also of the opinion that a vulva is represented in the Yarmukian example. R. Braidwood and L. Braidwood illustrate a similar object, manufactured in baked clay, from the Plain of Antioch.

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18 M. Stekelis (1950-51) p.11f, pl.V:3
19 R. Braidwood & L. Braidwood (1960) fig.92:7
A baked-clay figure from Halafian period Chagar Bazar, in Khabur (Fig.116), has strong similarities with a figure from Late Neolithic Sotira in Cyprus (Fig.117). The Halafian figure was found along with clay figurines of seated women holding their breasts, heads of cattle, figures of birds, and decorated amulets.

Peltenburg notes that the aceramic Neolithic settlement of Kalavassos-Tente is linked with Asiatic practice by the use of figurative wall decoration. In the Near East wall paintings of the nature of the example surviving from Kalavassos-Tente have been interpreted as having some ritual meaning.

The two pre-Bronze Age sites of Kalavassos-Ayious and Philia-Drakos feature elaborate underground tunnels, chambers and portholes. These constructions have no known Cypriot parallels, but temples at the Near Eastern sites of Hazor and Tell Brak had networks of tunnels beneath them, which may be evidence of a link.

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20 J.Mellaart (1975) fig.101,4, 4th from left in top row
22 J.Mellaart (1975) fig.101
24 E.Peltenburg (1989) p.110
25 E.Peltenburg (1989) p.113
26 E.Peltenburg (1989) p.113
between the Cypriot and the Near Eastern cultures that used this type of underground structure.

External influences are implied by the use of stamp-seals in Cyprus, as the use of this type of seal was widespread throughout Anatolia and the Near East. Benson\textsuperscript{27} notes that sherds with stamp-seal impressions have been found at Troy, Mersin, Tarsus, Byblos, and Tell el Farah.

Stamp-seals bearing a motif consisting of criss-crossed lines occur in both Cyprus and the Near East. Braidwood and Braidwood illustrate three types of stone stamp-seals from Phase A (5500 B.C. +/- 500) on the Plain of Antioch.\textsuperscript{28} The first of the three types is a flat button-like variety with an irregularly shaped base; the second consists of a rectangular base below a pyramid; and the third has a long, tapering shank above a rectangular base.\textsuperscript{29} All three types have incised criss-crossed lines forming the stamp motif. A similar criss-crossed line motif occurs on a conical limestone stamp-seal from Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia in Cyprus. Peltenburg notes that the example from this site is the earliest securely dated seal from Cyprus, but other, poorly dated, examples are known from other sites, suggesting that the use of stamp-seals was the beginning of a new custom.

Goff illustrates a clay stamp-seal, with a spiral design, from the Pre-Hassunah levels at Jarmo (c.7\textsuperscript{th} millennium B.C.)\textsuperscript{30} (Fig.118) that can be compared with a very similar limestone example (Fig.119) from Cypriot Chalcolithic Lemba-Lakkous, Building 3.\textsuperscript{31} Like the Jarmo example, the motif on the Cypriot seal is a spiral, but it differs in that it is interrupted on one side by radial lines and bears an incised dotted circle. The chronologies do not match and whether such a comparison is persuasive is for the reader to decide. However, each piece of evidence of possible contact is accumulative and must be taken into consideration.

\textsuperscript{27} J. Benson (1956:60) 'Aegean and Near Eastern seal impressions from Cyprus' in S. Weinberg (ed) \textit{The Aegean and the Near East} New York, pp.59-77
\textsuperscript{28} R. Braidwood & L. Braidwood (1960) fig.37, chronology p.504
\textsuperscript{29} R. Braidwood & L. Braidwood (1960) p.63
\textsuperscript{30} B. Goff (1963) fig.52
\textsuperscript{31} V. Tatton-Brown (1979) Cat.37
b. The Ghassulian culture

In Chapter Three it was noted that there may be some stylistic associations between the motifs decorating the metal 'crowns' from the Near Eastern Ghassulian site of Nahal Mishmar (4th millennium B.C.) and those of Cypriot Bronze Age Red Polished ware. These motifs are not the only links that can be inferred from similarities between artefacts of the Ghassulian and Bronze Age Cypriot cultures, as two examples of Ghassulian pottery have interesting parallels with Cypriot types.\(^{32}\) One type is the cornet-shaped vessel (Fig. 120) which appeared at the end of the Ghassulian period. Mellaart suggests that its similarity in shape to a bull’s horn is associated with ceremonial functions and it may have been used for pouring libations.\(^{33}\) This shape of vessel can be compared with examples from Bronze Age Cyprus, although the chronologies are not compatible. However, as has been noted previously in the present thesis, vessel-shapes associated with ritual use may have survived for long periods of time, and in the Cypriot context, Tatton-Brown considers a similar cornet-like deep bowl from the Early Cypriot Bronze Age (Fig. 121) to be associated with funerary rites because of its soft fabric, impractical shape, and seemingly non-utilitarian opposing spouts.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{32}\) J.Mellaart (1966) p.24, fig.8

\(^{33}\) J.Mellaart (1966) p.27

\(^{34}\) V.Tatton-Brown (1979) p.27, Cat.45
Another Ghassulian vessel with a Cypriot parallel is the so-called ‘churn’ type, which seems to imitate skin containers. Amiran considers the use of this vessel to be 'enigmatic'. The large-sized variety was found most frequently at the Beersheba sites, with some being found at Ghassul and fragments have been found in the Umm Qatafa cave in the Judean desert. Amiran illustrates a ‘churn’, from Beter II-III (4th millennium B.C.) (Fig.122), which is decorated with painted red bands. This vessel can be favourably compared with a similar vessel from Cyprus (Fig.123) which has the same type of swelling neck, overall shape, and loop-holes as the Near Eastern ‘churn’. The swollen neck of the Ghassulian ‘churn’ also occurs on other types of Cypriot pots and can be seen on one of the Red Polished ware jugs in the Logie Collection (Cat. no 21). A religious function associated with ‘churns’ might be inferred from the figure of the ‘Churn Goddess’ from Gilat Negev (Fig.124). The pottery figurine bears a ‘churn’ on her head and she is depicted with explicit gender characteristics and an everted navel, a feature that might imply pregnancy. Epstein considers that this figure may be depicted as in the process of giving birth and it is seated on a distictively-shaped object that can be compared with the metal ‘crowns’ of Nahal Mishmar. The ‘churn’,

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Fig.120  Conoid-shaped vessel.  
From Ghassul.

Fig.121  Deep bowl with opposing spouts.  
Red Polished ware. From Phaneromeni T. 24B.  
Repaired and restored height 33.6cm.  
Kourion House Museum Ph/P34.

35 J.Mellaart (1966) p.25f, fig. 8  
36 R.Amiran (1970) p.33  
37 R.Amiran (1970) p.33  
38 R.Amiran (1970) pl.7:4  
39 C.Epstein (1982) p. 77f, fig.53
balanced on the head of the figure, has a hole in the bottom to allow access of liquids through to the hollow body.

Fig. 122 ‘Churn’ from Beter levels II-III.

Fig. 123 ‘Churn Goddess’. From Gilat Negev.

Fig. 124 ‘Churn Goddess’. From Gilat Negev.

A decorative motif of Ghassulian pottery is shared by Cypriot Bronze Age pottery. On Ghassulian vases this motif is described as rope-like clay bands applied to the wall of the vessel and the resulting ridge then decorated with finger indentations.\(^\text{40}\) This same motif is used as decoration on Cypriot vessels, such as the examples in the Logie Collection (Cat no’s 23,38) which have the ‘rope’ circling the neck and appearing to hang down beside the handle.

\(^\text{40}\) R. Amiran (1970) p.25
Another possible link between the Cypriot and Ghassulian cultures is the use of woven mats on which pots were placed during the formative process. Amiran illustrates mat impressions on vessel bases from Tellat Ghassul, and they have a parallel in a potsherd from Vounous Tomb 134 (sherd no.7). The Cypriot impression is from the wall, rather than the base, of a vessel and may have been made when the wet clay was pressed into a very finely-coiled basket. The type of weave resembles that of three possible types: Twined Weave, Plain Weave, or the Coiled Basket. It is the latter that is of particular interest as the Coiled Basket is known from the Badarian in Egypt (c.5000-4500 B.C.) and from the Ghassulian in Palestine. G.Crowfoot suggests that the Vounous sherd impression is most like the Coiled Basket weave.

The links with the Ghassulian culture might be quite strong as it has already been pointed out in this chapter that Cypriot Kalavassos A dwellings and vase-types from Kalavassos B have been associated with similar dwellings and pottery at the Ghassulian site of Beersheba by Dikaios.

c. Khirbet Kerak culture links

It may be that a new cultural group entering the Near East brought with it its pottery styles. Moreover, the material from excavations in the Amuq region of phase H and phase I (c.2800-2500 B.C.), in Palestine at Beth-Yerah IV (c.2400-2000 B.C.) and at Tell Shuna, suggests that cultural change went hand-in-hand with new pottery styles. This cultural change has been attributed to the Khirbet Kerak culture, which appears in northern Syria and northern Palestine apparently co-existing with a native population. P.Lapp notes that scholars have accepted the northern origin of the culture responsible for Khirbet Kerak ware for some time. Material evidence associated with this culture makes appearances all along the route to Palestine –
coming through central Syria to the Jordan valley, thus suggesting the migration of an eastern Anatolian group to Palestine in the Early Bronze III period.49

Todd encapsulates the debate on the dispersal of Khirbet Kerak ware by stating that essentially the connection is based on links between the dark burnished wares of Eastern Anatolia, Northwest Iran, and the Trans-Caucasian area, with the Red-Black Burnished ware of the Amuq Plain and that found in the Syro-Palestine region.50 Todd also mentions parallels seen by some authors in the circular architecture of Beth Yerah, Yanik Tepe, and the Trans-Caucasian region.51

The apparent south-westward movement of pottery types and techniques from Eastern Anatolia and beyond the Amuq Plain to Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan has been suggested as a Hurrian impetus by C.Burney and D.Lang.52 If Khirbet Kerak type wares in Cyprus do, indeed, reflect an influence from this Hurrian population, then it may be reasonable to speculate that Ishtar was known in Cyprus at an early period, as Hurrian myths related in Hittite texts53 prove that this goddess was known to the Hurrians.

At the site of Khirbet Kerak, pot-sherds which had bulls’ heads in relief were discovered,54 and the use of this motif equates with Bronze Age Cypriot practice. As is the case in Cyprus, there is no sign that the potter’s wheel was used to manufacture Khirbet Kerak ware and, like Cypriot examples, much of the pottery is covered in a highly polished orange-red slip.55 A technique that resulted in a black body below a red rim was utilised and Amiran comments that such a result was due to skilled technical knowledge and was not accidental. Amiran notes the likeness between this

49 P.Lapp (1970) p.120
51 I.Todd (1973) p.182
53 Fragment 16 describes Sauska, the Queen of Nineveh, preparing to seduce Hedammu (H.Hoffner [1990] Hittite Myths Atlanta, p.51). The Queen of Nineveh is a title of Ishtar, and the seduction motif is a feature of Ishtar’s aspect as the goddess of love or of sexuality.
54 J.Mellaart (1966) p.76
ware and the Red Polished ware of Cyprus and suggests that 'the Red-Polished Cypriot ware ... may prove to be a distant relative.' It may be significant that the omphalos-bases on Khirbet Kerak bowls also appear on bowls from Ambelikou in Cyprus.

From Early Bronze III level Beth Yerah (Khirbet el-Kerak) comes a fragmentary ring vessel with bovine heads attached (Fig. 125). This can be compared stylistically with ring vessels from Cyprus – especially the applied bovine protomes that reflect the decorative motifs on numerous Cypriot vessel-types.

Fig. 125 Fragmentary ring-shaped object. Clay.
From the Circles Building, Beth Yerah. Early Bronze III period.

One of the most widespread artefacts of the Khirbet Kerak Culture is the horseshoe-shaped ‘hearth’ or ‘andiron’. The Near Eastern versions have a parallel from Marki-Alonia in Cyprus and it is the occurrence of a specific artefact such as this that indicates definite links between Near Eastern and Cypriot cultures, although the extent of direct contact remains obscure. The andiron from Cyprus has been illustrated (see Fig. 61) and discussed previously in Chapter Two of the present thesis, thus the comments here will be confined to parallels from outside Cyprus.

55 J. Mellaart (1966) p. 76
56 R. Amiran (1970) p. 69
57 P. Dikaios & J. Stewart (1962) p. 200
58 R. Amiran (1989) Ch. 2. Amiran does not identify this object as part of a ring vase, but as a top-section of a cult stand. However, in view of the ubiquitous nature of ring vases, it might be safe to suggest that this fragment is from such an object, given that a cult stand application might seem more tenuous. The fact that the ring is not hollow is not a hindrance as solid ring objects occur in Cypriot contexts.
Amiran illustrates a horseshoe-shaped andiron and two fragments, all from Beth Yerah, and states that the 'horseshoe-shaped hearth or stand, ... with three knobs on the inner side and decorated with stylised human heads, is a very characteristic vessel.' Braidwood and Braidwood recovered hundreds of fragments of andirons from Phases H-I (2900-2300 B.C.) and from the Second Mixed Range of their excavations on the Plain of Antioch. These authors note that on the inner wall of the horseshoe-shaped hobs there were usually three protrusions of clay. Decoration was impressed or plastic with the front uprights and back sometimes bearing a representation of a face. The impressed decoration was occasionally white-filled.

Andirons connected with Khirbet Kerak ware have been found in the Amuq region, Palestine, north-eastern Anatolia, and the Caucasus. The andirons have been dated to the Early Bronze period in the Kura-Araxes Culture, to Amuq H (2800-2500 B.C.), and to Early Bronze III (c.2700-2400 B.C.) in Palestine and Tarsus. Other fragmentary examples have been found at Chalcolithic Alishar (c.3200-c.2800 B.C.) and at Late Bronze Age Kusura.

Khirbet Kerak type pottery, in the form of dark burnished jars with incised white-filled decoration like that on Cypriot Red Polished ware, has been found at Büyük Gülüçek, as well as at Alishar and Alaca. Early Trans-Caucasian pottery illustrated by Todd has affinities in decoration with Bronze Age Cypriot examples. A
black and red-brown ware vessel from Yaci bears grooved decoration around the exterior of the body in the form of multiple zigzags combined with concentric circle motifs. These designs are familiar from the Cypriot Red Polished ware repertoire.

The parallels between the black and red lustrous wares and the horseshoe-shaped andirons of both Khirbet Kerak and Cypriot origin are compelling. However, it must be noted that the typical shapes and the ribbed or fluted technique on pottery vessels of the Khirbet Kerak culture are absent from the Cypriot Bronze Age repertoire. This suggests selectivity in the movement of ideas between cultures and may indicate an eclectic assimilation of foreign ideas on the part of the Cypriots rather than a new culture.

d. Byblos

There are a number of artefacts that imply contact between Cyprus and Byblos in the third millennium B.C. These take the form of pottery wares and metal objects. Stewart states that the metal types of the Philia Culture ‘point unequivocally to Asiatic influence’ as the metal toggle-pin originated in the Early Dynastic III period in Mesopotamia. Stewart likens the pins with drilled apertures from Vasilia to the Early Dynastic III (c.2400 B.C.) prototypes from Mesopotamia and to some which were found at Byblos and Megiddo. Bronze toggle-pins, of a type occurring in numbers at Byblos, were found in Philia tombs (Tomb 1 and Tomb 4). One pin has no head and a flattened, perforated upper shank. Another pin has a conical head and a similar shank to that of the former, whilst a conical topped example has a parallel, illustrated by Mallowen in *Iraq* IX part 1, pl.XXXI:3, which is of Near Eastern provenance. Stewart found another two toggle-pins at Vounous A Tomb 84 and ascribed to them an Assyrian origin, suggesting that the earliest source of diffusion of this type was between 2700 and 2300 B.C.
Byblos also provides parallels for axes found at Vasilia, as does Soli, Early Bronze III Tarsus (c.2300-2100 B.C.),74 Troy II (c.2750-2300 B.C.),75 and Kusura.76 Poker-butt spears or daggers from Vasilia, like the toggle-pins, belong to a type that originated in Early Dynastic III in Mesopotamia and there are also parallels from Middle Bronze Age Tarsus and Cilicia.77

Contact between Byblos and Cyprus, and Byblos and Crete, has been proposed by K.Branigan who notes that a dagger found at Lapithos Tomb 18A, was an export from Byblos as it is paralleled by Byblos no.9164 and no.6569.78 Tomb 18B at Lapithos yielded a dagger to which Catling and Karageorghis attributed a Minoan origin,79 as the shape of the blade and the arrangement of the rivet holes are paralleled on Cretan daggers. However, Branigan tentatively suggests that the dagger from Tomb 18B was actually of Byblite origin, as crudely incised lines running down its length are not seen on Cretan daggers whereas examples with this feature have been found at Byblos and Ugarit.80

A deposit at Byblos, dated to somewhere between c.2260 B.C and 2000 B.C., consisted of one hundred and forty-three pottery objects which included items from Cyprus. O.Negbi divided the artefacts in the deposit into seven groups81: Group 1 contained Red Polished ware among which were animal-figures, horn-vessels, ring vases, and jugs. Group 2 consisted of Red or Black Polished and Burnished ware in the form of a jug and several composite-vessels. Group 3 contained Red, Black, and Grey Streak-burnished ware of types that had parallels at Tell Brak, Til-Barsib, and Tell Ta‘yinat of the Amuq Phase J (c.2000 B.C.).82 According to Negbi the best parallels have been found at Niveau II A3 at Ugarit and Layers 5U-2 at Tell Sukas. A

74 Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table II
75 Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table II
76 P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.276
77 P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) p.276
80 K.Branigan (1966) p.123
81 O.Negbi (1972) ‘Contacts between Byblos and Cyprus at the end of the third millennium B.C.’ Levant IV, pp.98-110
82 Chronology according to R.Braidwood and L.Braidwood (1960) p.523

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bottle from the Byblos deposit has parallels at Tarsus Early Bronze III, at Tell Ta’yinat (Amuq Phase J) and from Akkadian to Ur III assemblages at, among others, Tell Brak. Negbi’s Group 4 included a large variety of vessels related to Tarsus Early Bronze III, Amuq J, and Akkadian to Ur III levels at Tell Brak. Group 5 contained White-on-Black ware, with parallels from various Near Eastern and Anatolian sites, and included bird-vessels, a type of vessel known in Mesopotamia from the Protoliterate Period onwards. Negbi’s Group 7 contained composite ware which, although echoing Cypriot wares in shape, seems to have features consistent with Syrian wares.

Here, in one deposit, is a grouping of artefacts that brings together many objects bearing influences seen in Cypriot pottery, as well as Cypriot artefacts themselves. It is this deposit that gives credence to the proposal that Cyprus had many contacts, both with the Near East and with Anatolia, as the occurrence of Cypriot artefacts among such a diverse range of wares suggests that all these influences may have filtered through to Cyprus itself. A two-way movement of artefacts is suggested by the occurrence of the Byblite form of dagger in Cyprus and the Cypriot objects in Byblos. Given that a two-way movement of influence is likely, it is thus possible that ideas regarding religious belief also made their way to Cyprus and were manifested in the form of images of a goddess (Plank Figures) and vessels with esoteric properties.

Similar cult rituals between Mesopotamia and Cyprus might be inferred from the so-called ‘Offerings Tables’ from the two regions. A detail of a Mesopotamian cylinder-seal, illustrated by C. Schaeffer (Fig. 126), appears to depict a similar layout of ritual appurtenances to that on a table, depicted modelled in Red Polished ware, from Cyprus (Fig. 127). Both have a central juglet flanked by offerings in the form of what may be loaves in the Mesopotamian example, and bowls in the Cypriot model.

83 B. Goff (1963) fig. 325, illustrates a bird vase, standing on a column base, from the Small Temple 6 at Khafajah of the Jemdet Nasr period (late 4th millennium B.C.). Bird askoi on column bases are part of the Cypriot repertoire and the Cypriot type of non-utilitarian vessel with numerous spouts pointing in different directions might echo a seven-spouted pot from the Sin Temple 4 at Khafajah of the Jemdet Nasr period (fig. 322).
84 C. Schaeffer (1949) Ugaritica II Paris, fig. 12.
85 From Vounous Tomb 9, no. 63. P. Dikaios (1940) pl. XXXIII:b.
Ritual vessels such as two 'kernoi' from Near Eastern Bab-edh-Dhra, published by Amiran, have similarities with Cypriot ring vases. Of the two vessels published by Amiran, one has three cups standing on the ring and the other has four. Amiran dates the vessels to the Early Bronze I period (3200/3150-3000/2950 B.C.). The 'kernoi' are covered with a red burnished slip and decorated with a beaded 'rope' or 'necklace' motif. The cups are attached to the ring and each has a hole in the centre communicating with the ring. In manufacturing technique, style of decoration, and form, these 'kernoi' are similar to Early Bronze Age Cypriot examples and Amiran states: 'it is too tempting not to include here a photograph of a five-cups 'kernos' from Cyprus' although she refrains from actually claiming that it is a direct parallel.

e. The Vounous Jar

The so-called 'Vounous Jar' is irrefutable evidence of contact between Cyprus and the Near East. The jar, found in Tomb 164B (no.9), has a hand-made body whose form originated in the Ghassulian period. However, the neck is wheel-made and of Near Eastern Early Bronze Age design. Stewart (tentatively) suggests that there is a connection with Beisan (Beth Shan) Level XIII because of the shape of the rim and that it may be that 'the same general movement which brought Khirbet Kerak ware to Palestine introduced the changes in the Early Cypriot series which eventually led to

87 R.Amiran (1986) p.8
88 J.Stewart (1939a) p.163
Early Cypriote I. The suggestion that there is a Ghassulian and Khirbet Kerak connection with Cyprus is not contrary to the evidence of possible links to these cultures provided previously in the above paragraphs.

The Khirbet Kerak associations of the Vounous Jar are suggested by the type of jar found at Ai, as well as at Lachish (Tomb 1519) and at Jericho (Tomb F4). Amiran points out the links between the vessels found at these locations and the Vounous Jar and concludes that the Vounous Jar "has its roots in the ... EB IV ceramic culture of Canaan" (2400-2250 B.C.). The link between the Khirbet Kerak culture and Ai is provided by J. Calloway who notes that Khirbet Kerak pottery and associated artefacts occur at Ai in the Early Bronze III B stratum (EB III: 2700-2400 B.C.) and have parallels in both Beth Shan XII and XI.

It seems to be generally agreed that the Vounous Jar has Near Eastern connections and for C. Schaeffer the vessel had Syrian analogies which suggested to him that it may have been imported from Syria, and Ugarit in particular. Parallels dated to the Ur III period (c.2100 B.C.) at Tell Sweyhat, on the Euphrates River, have been noted by Peltenburg. Herscher considers that an amphora discovered at Lapithos Tomb 806A (no.36) copies the form and size of the Vounous Jar, adding that its round-pointed base is an adaptation of a foreign design.

f. Palestine

Karageorghis suggests that there were links between the Philia Culture and Palestine as the three to five metre long chamber tombs of the Philia Culture at Vasilia...
have parallels with tombs of the Middle Bronze Age (MB I: 2250-2000 B.C.)\textsuperscript{97} in Palestine.\textsuperscript{98} A continuance of this contact may explain the decorative scheme, on a black-topped bowl from Middle Cypriot Bronze Age Lapithos, in which incised concentric circles between horizontal lines seems to mimic the effect produced by the technique of bone inlay common in Palestine at the same time.\textsuperscript{99}

Further possible links between Cyprus and Palestine occur in the form of parallels between the so-called ‘mosque lamps’ of Cyprus and similar artefacts from Palestine of the Intermediate Early Bronze/Middle Bronze or Middle Bronze I periods.\textsuperscript{100} The Cypriot North Coast Culture used horn-lugs on bowls and these innovations have been paralleled at Maayan Barukh in Palestine, a cemetery of the Early Bronze/Middle Bronze period\textsuperscript{101} (EB IV: 2400-MB I: 2000 B.C.).\textsuperscript{102}

g. Kish

It was noted in Chapter Two that Plank Figures occur standing on Cypriot vessels and this was likened to the so-called ‘Goddess-handled jars’ from Kish. In outlining possible external precursors of the Cypriot Plank Figure type, Orphanides\textsuperscript{103} notes a plank-shaped figure of the fourth millennium B.C. found at Kish. The treatment of the nose, eyes, ears, and breasts of the figure closely recalls Orphanides’ type II:2 Plank Figure, exemplified by a terracotta figure from Alambra.\textsuperscript{104}

\textbf{4.2 Archaeological evidence suggesting contact with Anatolia.}

The earliest Cypriot evidence suggesting contact between Cyprus and Anatolia is in the form of blades, which were manufactured from obsidian probably originating

\begin{footnotesize}
\item \textsuperscript{97} Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table I
\item \textsuperscript{98} V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.30
\item \textsuperscript{99} E.Herscher (1975) p.56, fig.22
\item \textsuperscript{100} J.Hennessy (1973) ‘Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age’ in The Cypriot Bronze Age (Australian Studies in Archaeology I) p.4
\item \textsuperscript{101} J.Hennessy (1973) p.5
\item \textsuperscript{102} Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table I
\item \textsuperscript{103} A.Orphanides (1983)
\item \textsuperscript{104} Metropolitan Museum of Art no.74.51.1537. A.Orphanides (1983) pl.III, cat. no.4
\end{footnotesize}
at Çiftlik in Cilicia,\textsuperscript{105} as obsidian does not exist in the geological strata of Cyprus.\textsuperscript{106} The obsidian may have come via Mersin and Tarsus, as obsidian was used extensively at these locations c.6000 B.C. and was probably acquired from the Çiftlik region.\textsuperscript{107} Thirty-two obsidian blades were found at Kalavassos-Tenta, probably from the same source, Çiftlik, as the obsidian found at Khirokitia, Troulli, and Cape Andreas where thirteen pieces were found.\textsuperscript{108}

By c.2500 B.C. Cyprus provides evidence of contact with Anatolia by the apparent adoption by the Philia Culture of the western Anatolian style beaked jug and the loop handles which began to appear on their vessels.\textsuperscript{109} Another Cypriot adaptation from Anatolia is the plugging of the handle through the body of the jug – a feature which is also apparent on some of the jugs in the Logie Collection. The spindle-whorls of the Philia Culture are biconical in shape and these echo the Early Bronze II type from Anatolia.\textsuperscript{110} Anatolian links are also suggested by the presence of pithos burials and pottery decorated with knobs and ribs in relief occurring in Philia contexts.\textsuperscript{111}

Mention has been made previously in the present chapter of the origins of the horseshoe-shaped stands or ‘andirons’ such as the example from Marki-Alonia in Cyprus. Mellink notes that at Pular,\textsuperscript{112} levels I to V yielded portable fire-screens of horseshoe shape and at level II a large fixed hearth of horseshoe shape had the features of a ‘female idol’ in relief on the raised central part.\textsuperscript{113} The eleven levels at this site date from the Chalcolithic period into the Early Bronze Age (4750-2800 B.C.).\textsuperscript{114}

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{105} J.Mellaart (1975) p.130
\textsuperscript{106} V.Karageorghis (1962a) Treasures in the Cyprus Museum Nicosia, p.1
\textsuperscript{107} M.Mellink (1991) p.167
\textsuperscript{108} I.Todd (1986) p.15f
\textsuperscript{109} M.Mellink (1991) p.172
\textsuperscript{110} M.Mellink (1991) p.173
\textsuperscript{111} E.Peltenburg (1990) p.19
\textsuperscript{112} Pular is north-east of the village of Sakyol and 24km south-west of Çemşığezık on the Elmah plain in Asia Minor (M.Mellink [1969a] p.209)
\textsuperscript{113} M.Mellink (1969a) p.209
\textsuperscript{114} Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table II
\end{flushright}
From levels I and II (c.5435-5250 B.C.) at Haçilar, in Anatolia, comes a painted pottery vessel\textsuperscript{115} which might be considered as having stylistic links with the considerably later Cypriot Early Bronze Age, had the chronologies not been so far apart. The vessel has loop handles which emerge from the centre of concentric circle motifs in a similar way to those on some Cypriot vessels. The likeness is compounded by the figure of an upright horned creature depicted on the side of the pot (Fig. 128). This motif can be compared with vertical homed creatures depicted on the Red Polished ware cult vessel from Vounous Tomb 91 (no.14)\textsuperscript{116} (Fig. 129) and the jug from Tomb 161A (no.16).\textsuperscript{117} If the concentric circle motif and the horned humanoid figure were images of a religious nature, it is just possible that they survived long enough to be introduced into the repertoire of ritual motif on Cypriot Bronze Age pots.

\textbf{a. Tarsus}

Evidence seems to indicate links between the Philia Culture of Cyprus and Anatolian sites such as Tarsus. Peltenburg points out that not only are there parallels in the pottery repertoires of Cyprus and Tarsus, but metal tools, spiral rings and incised spindle-whorls all have counterparts at each location.\textsuperscript{118} Flat trays with circular mat impressions on the underside and an exterior decorated with randomly-pricked

\textsuperscript{115} J. Mellaart (1978) fig. 96
\textsuperscript{116} E. Stewart & J. Stewart (1950) pls LXXIX:c,d; LXXX:a,b
\textsuperscript{117} J. Stewart (1988) pl.IV:3

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perforations occurred at Sotira-Kaminoudhia in Cyprus and, exactly parallel, is a tray from the deepest level of Early Bronze I at Tarsus.\textsuperscript{119} It may have been the Philia Culture that introduced incised decoration on vessels, as Peltenburg notes that although there were ‘a few sherds of punctured and incised ware at Erimi and Mylouthkia, (incision) did not play a role earlier in Cyprus’.\textsuperscript{120} However, links between the Cypriot Chalcolithic and the Philia culture are suggested by Chalcolithic styles of pottery and a typically Chalcolithic picrolite cruciform figure which was found on the floor of Room 1 at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. This Chalcolithic influence is also seen in the continued use of bottle-shaped pits for Philia culture burials.\textsuperscript{121}

Some definite link between Cyprus and Gozlu Kule, Tarsus, might be inferred from the discovery of two kinds of Cypriot pottery that have been found at Tarsus. Red-On-White ware, in the form of a fragmentary small jar and two fragments,\textsuperscript{122} and Red and Black Streaked ware, in the form of many sherds, were discovered. However, no complete vessels are extant.\textsuperscript{123} Both types of ware are from the Early Bronze II levels at Tarsus, with the latter ware being from later in the general period than the Red-On-White ware.

Mellink provides a table of approximate comparative chronologies of Tarsus and Cyprus\textsuperscript{124}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>TARSUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.3800-3500 B.C.</td>
<td>Early Chalcolithic</td>
<td>Final Late Chalcolithic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.3500-2800 B.C.</td>
<td>Middle Chalcolithic</td>
<td>Early Bronze I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.2800-2300 B.C.</td>
<td>Late Chalcolithic</td>
<td>Early Bronze II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.2400-2000 B.C.</td>
<td>Transitional Philia stage</td>
<td>Early bronze IIA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{TABLE 4} Approximate comparative chronologies of Tarsus and Cyprus

\textsuperscript{118} E.Peltenburg (1982) p.96
\textsuperscript{120} E.Peltenburg (1982) p.97
\textsuperscript{121} S.Swiny (1986) p.32
\textsuperscript{122} M.Mellink (1991) p.170

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Connections between Tarsus and other sites might also bring those areas into the sphere of influence surrounding Cyprus. At Gozlu Kule, Tarsus, connections with Yortan and Troy are apparent in the beaked jugs with bosses, like those found at Yortan, and the occurrence of red-cross bowls similar to those found at Troy. Goldman illustrates a Black Burnished ware cup, from the sounding pit (Early Bronze Age II), which bears white-filled incised decoration of a type seen consistently in Cypriot Bronze Age contexts. The Black Burnished White-Filled wares have the concentric circle as a decorative motif and this, too, is paralleled in Cyprus. Also within the sphere of influence of Tarsus was the Amuq region, as Tarsus had trading links with Amuq and with northern Syria as far as the Euphrates. Interestingly, Garstang and Goldman remark that the incised pottery from Cilicia can be paralleled with sherds from Amuq phase H, some Copper Age sherds from Alishar (c.3200 B.C.) and with the Early Bronze Age incised pottery of Cyprus.

b. Yortan

In the previous paragraph it was noted that Yortan can be considered to be within the sphere of influence of Cyprus and similarities between Yortan and Bronze Age Cyprus are mentioned by Stewart, who illustrates animal-shaped vessels from Yortan and Akhissar comparing them with similar Cypriot vessels. Links between Yortan and Troy are suggested by vases with faces in relief and upright 'wings', which were discovered in Early Bronze Age level graves at Yortan and can be compared with similar vessels from Troy. So too can a three-legged juglet with a cut-away mouth be paralleled with examples from level IV Troy (2200-2100 B.C.) (Fig. 130) and

123 M.Mellink (1991) p.171
124 M.Mellink (1991) p.168f
125 H.Goldman (1940) ‘Excavations at Gozlu Kule, Tarsus, 1938’ American Journal of Archaeology XLIV pp.60-86
126 H.Goldman (1940) fig.23
127 H.Goldman (1956) p.111
129 Chronology after Mellaart (1966) Table I
131 J.Stewart (1992) pl.VI: no.3 (Yortan) Istanbul no.3432; no.5 (Yortan) Istanbul no.3431; no.7 (Yortan) Istanbul no.3430; (Akhissar) Ashmolean no.1910.696 cf no.6 (Cyprus) Sèvres no.10689.4a and no.9 (Ayia Paraskevi) Karlsruhe no.B.2621
132 S.Lloyd (1967) p.4
133 Chronology after Mellaart (1966) Table I

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from Cyprus (Fig. 131).\textsuperscript{135} An artefact from Yortan (Fig. 132),\textsuperscript{136} which is particularly reminiscent of Cypriot examples, is a triple vessel with a basket handle and decorated with an incised multiple zigzag, a motif which is common on Bronze Age Cypriot Red Polished ware. The style of triple pot is also found at Late Chalcolithic Mersin (levels XIV-XIII before 2900 B.C.) and at Tarsus.\textsuperscript{137} The links between Yortan, Troy, Mersin, and Tarsus, and the similarities between artefacts from these sites and those of Cyprus suggests that there was some interconnection among the regions, whether directly in some cases, or through an intermediary is not known.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{fig130}
\caption{Three-legged jug from level IV, Troy.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{fig131}
\caption{Black Polished ware juglet. From Ayia Paraskevi. British Museum no.C.70.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{fig132}
\caption{Composite vessel. From an Early Bronze Age grave at Yortan.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{134} C.Blegen (1964) fig.26, jug from level IV at Troy
\textsuperscript{135} J.Stewart (1988) pl.XXVI:8
\textsuperscript{136} S.Lloyd (1967) pl.4
\textsuperscript{137} J.Garstang (1953) p.193, fig.123:16
c. Troy

Schliemann's most ancient 'First Settlement' (level I: 3200–2800 B.C.)\textsuperscript{138} at Troy contained mostly lustrous black pottery, but some was lustrous red. The incised ornamentation on these vessels is filled with white chalk in the same manner as Bronze Age Cypriot Red Polished and Black Polished ware. The vessels from Troy are occasionally anthropomorphised with the addition of eyes, eyebrows, and noses incised on the rim.\textsuperscript{139} Vases are sometimes further anthropomorphised by the addition of ears attached on the neck at the sides.\textsuperscript{140} An example of an anthropomorphised vessel, discussed previously in the present thesis, has crossed chest bands and a swastika motif incised on a boss which represents either the navel or the genitals. The notion that the swastika is associated with female fertility is supported by the occurrence of a swastika decoration on the pubic triangle of a female figurine from Troy IIg.\textsuperscript{141} The long side-locks and multiple neck-bands on the figure may indicate that an Ishtar-like goddess is depicted. The swastika motif is not unknown in Cyprus, as it occurs on a 'cult' vessel from Vounous Tomb 160A (no.13) and a jug from Tomb 160B (no.4).\textsuperscript{142} The presence of the swastika on these vessels is not placed in such a way as to indicate a link between female genitalia and the motif, as is apparent on the Trojan example. Thus the possible 'meaning' of the motif is not made explicit on the Cypriot examples.

Like those found at Cypriot sites, whorls made of terracotta were found at Troy from Schliemann's earliest level I (3000–2500 B.C.).\textsuperscript{143} The incision decorating these whorls is filled with white material in the same manner as whorls from Bronze Age Cypriot sites.

From Yortan and Troy come the 'torpedo-shaped' askoi (mentioned previously in the present thesis) and these are paralleled at Cyprus. Stewart notes that the torpedo-shaped askos with three feet is similar to examples from Troy II to V, but seems closer to examples from Yortan and Akhissar.\textsuperscript{144} Herscher notes that Cypriot

\textsuperscript{138} Chronology after J. Mellaart (1966) Table I
\textsuperscript{139} H. Schliemann (1884) p.30, fig.1,2
\textsuperscript{140} H. Schliemann (1884) figs 100,101
\textsuperscript{141} P. Ucko (1977) fig.183
\textsuperscript{142} E. Stewart & J. Stewart (1950) pls LXXXII:a,b; LV:d
\textsuperscript{143} C. Blegen (1964) fig.9
\textsuperscript{144} P. Dikaios & J. Stewart (1962) p.278

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examples of torpedo-shaped askoi are of a ‘definitely Anatolian type’, but adds that the column base is not usually a feature on Anatolian and Trojan examples. However, the column base can be seen on an example of a bird-shaped vase from Susa II (c.2700 B.C.) and the combination of the Anatolian torpedo-shaped body with the Near Eastern column base might suggest an eclectic mixture of the two types. It is perhaps of interest that the level at Susa dated to the 25th century B.C. by de Mecquenem, contained vases with a human bust indicated on the handles, in a style known from Kish. This type of attachment has been discussed previously in the present thesis in reference to Cypriot Plank Figures attached to vessels.

A link between Cyprus and Troy might be inferred from the presence of a bowl with a red cross on its exterior, found at Vounous Tomb 154 (no.12) (Fig.133b). Blegen illustrates similar bowls, which have a red cross painted on both the interior and the exterior, from level V at Troy (1900-1800 B.C.) (Fig.133a). However, Troy may not be the only possible source for the style of this artefact as Red Cross bowls occur throughout Anatolia and as far south as Jericho near the end of the third millennium B.C. It may be that the type came to Troy later than it appeared in Cyprus.

Fig.133a Red Cross bowl from Troy.  
Fig.133b Red Cross bowl. From Vounous Tomb 154, no.12. Early Bronze Age.

145 E.Herscher (1975) p.53  
146 H.Frankfort (1924)  
147 R.de Mecquenem (1931)  
148 R.de Mecquenem (1931) p.335  
149 E.Stewart & J.Stewart (1950)  
150 C.Blegen (1964) p.174 & pl.37  
151 J.Hennessy (1973) p.8
d. Kusura

Red Cross bowls were also discovered at Kusura in Anatolia, a site that was first occupied in the Chalcolithic period (end of the 4th millennium B.C.),\(^{152}\) and by c.2000 B.C. these distinctive bowls had appeared. The interior is usually reserved with a red cross and the exterior painted red, but sometimes a red cross appears on both the interior and the exterior of the bowl.\(^{153}\)

During Lamb’s ‘period A’ at Kusura decoration on pottery vessels was uncommon, but when it did occur it was rendered in white paint or by incisions filled with white. Often the incisions took the form of multiple zigzags,\(^{154}\) in the style that occurs in Bronze Age Cyprus. ‘Period B’ at Kusura has vessels which can be likened to Cypriot examples in form and decoration (Fig. 134), although by this period white filling was rarely used.\(^{155}\) The Cypriot example (Fig. 135) has different handles from those on the Kusura vessel, but there is a remarkable similarity in both shape and decoration.

![Fig. 134 Vessel with incised decoration. From Kusura, period B.](image1)

![Fig. 135 Red Polished ware vessel from Cyprus. Cyprus Museum no.1963/IV-20/10.](image2)

\(^{152}\) W.Lamb (1936a:4) ‘Excavations at Kusura near Afyoun Karahisar’ Archaeologia LXXXVI pp.1-64

\(^{153}\) W.Lamb (1936a) p.17

\(^{154}\) W.Lamb (1936a) p.15

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e. Mersin

Links between Cypriot Bronze Age pottery styles and those of Chalcolithic Mersin in Cilicia might be suggested by the presence of vessels with incised decoration

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and winged handles being found at both locations. However, it must be pointed out that the winged vessels of Black-burnished ware (Fig. 136) with white-filled incision from Mersin come from level XVI, which has been dated as 5000-4200 B.C. by Mellaart.\textsuperscript{156} This date does not coincide with the chronology given for the Red Polished ware Early Bronze Age examples of similar vessels from Cyprus, such as the tulip bowl (Fig. 137) from Vounous Tomb 87A (no.6).\textsuperscript{157}

![Fig. 136 Vessel of Black-burnished ware with white-filled incision. From Mersin level XVI (500-4200 B.C.)](image1)

![Fig. 137 Red Polished ware Tulip Bowl. From Vounous Tomb 87A, no.6.](image2)

f. Karataş

An interesting link between Cyprus and Karataş, in Lycia, is a multiple-spouted red polished ware\textsuperscript{158} jug (Fig. 138) which was found near the shoulder of Tomb 273 in Circle B at Karataş.\textsuperscript{159} The multiplicity of the spouts echoes Cypriot ‘cult’ vessels. From Karataş comes a large storage-jar with a flat base and four small handles on the upper shoulder. According to Swiny, this vessel is of a similar shape to Bronze Age Cypriot examples.\textsuperscript{160} Found at Karataş, in Tomb 366, was a three-legged vessel in black polished ware with incised decoration consisting of swastikas, chevrons, and zigzags. Mellink notes that ‘such tripod vessels are rare at Karataş in contrast to the

\textsuperscript{152} W.Lamb (1936a) p.16f
\textsuperscript{156} J.Mellaart (1975) p.128
\textsuperscript{157} P.Dikaios & J.Stewart (1962) Fig.CXXXII:18
\textsuperscript{159} M.Mellink (1969a) pl.73:fig.10
\textsuperscript{160} S.Swiny (1986) p.36f
repertoire from the Yortan cemeteries. Although most of the polished pottery from Bronze Age Cypriot sites is red, there are some black examples and the swastika, chevron and zigzag motifs are found also in the Cypriot pottery repertoire. During the Cypriot Philia period toggle-pins are comparable to examples from Early Bronze II Karataş (3200-2800 B.C.) and Tarsus, whilst Philia daggers or knives resemble examples from Karataş.

Fig.138 Red ware triple-spouted pitcher. From T.273, Circle B, Karataş.

g. Other sites

From Kanlıgeçit North, in western Anatolia, comes a pitcher which, besides possessing two necks, has other notable affinities with Cypriot versions in that not only is the chevron-type motif incised into the surface, but it is filled with white to add emphasis (Fig.139). The pitcher was found in an Early Bronze II-III (3000-2800 B.C.) megaron at this site.

161 M.Mellink (1969b) p.322
162 J.Mellaart (1966) Table 1
163 M.Mellink (1969a) p.173
165 Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table I
Bronze daggers of Cypriot type were found at Alaca Huyuk, in Tomb T (Royal Tombs 2550-2200 B.C.).\textsuperscript{167} This type of dagger has a curved tang and a defined midrib, like those found in Early Cypriot tombs at Vounous.\textsuperscript{168} The only difference between the Alaca Huyuk daggers and those from Cyprus is the occurrence of slits in the blade in the former which do not occur in the latter. The pierced-blade variety of dagger has also been found at Troy, levels II-V (c.2800-1900 B.C.),\textsuperscript{169} at Tarsus in a hoard of Early Bronze III date,\textsuperscript{170} and in an Early Cycladic tomb on Amorgos.\textsuperscript{171}

4.3 Archaeological evidence suggesting contact with Crete, the Cyclades, and other locations

a. Crete

Compelling evidence of some form of contact between Cyprus and Minoan Crete comes in the form of a bridge-spouted vessel of Minoan manufacture and design

\textsuperscript{167} Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table II
\textsuperscript{168} E. & J.Stewart (1950) pl.CII-CV
\textsuperscript{169} Chronology after J.Mellaart (1966) Table II
\textsuperscript{171} M.Mellink (1956) p.48, fig.2e
which was found in Tomb 806A\textsuperscript{172} (no.16) at Lapithos.\textsuperscript{173} Grace informs us that this type of jar occurs from the Early Minoan to the Late Minoan periods, but she finds that the most similar vessel to the Cypriot example is from the Knossos Kouloura House no.3, which contained a Middle Minoan IA deposit (c.2000 B.C.\textsuperscript{174}). However, Grace adds that this type of bridge-spouted vessel was common throughout the Aegean and that examples have been found at Athens, Troy, and the Argive Heraion.\textsuperscript{175} Grace concludes that the Cypriot Minoan bridge-spouted vase is evidently very close to the line between Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan I, which would date it close to 2000 B.C. The bridge-spouted jar resembles jars of the Upper East Well Group at Knossos according to S.Andreou. This places the jar, found in Cyprus, in the Early Minoan III or Middle Minoan IA period.\textsuperscript{176}

Chamber B of Tomb 806A at Lapithos also contained a flat bowl (no.8) with a trough spout, flattened base, and painted pattern, which Grace considers has parallels with Pyrgos in Crete.\textsuperscript{177} She notes that the multiple semi-circle motif is found at Pyrgos, and also in the Messara culture which also supplies comparative shallow trough-spouted bowls and bull-shaped vases.\textsuperscript{178} Both vessel-forms are included among the Bronze Age Cypriot repertoire. Grace comments that at Pyrgos and in the Messara, the cultures seem to be non-Minoan.\textsuperscript{179} Another interconnection may be the occurrence of small legs on which vessels from Pyrgos stand,\textsuperscript{180} a feature that occurs in both Anatolian and Cypriot contexts. Another Cretan link might be the mottled surfaces on bowls from Lapithos, an effect that Herscher likens to the decorative effect seen on Cretan Vasiliki ware.\textsuperscript{181}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[172] Formerly known as Lapithos (Pennsylvania) 6A of Early Cyprus III date (E.Herscher [1975] p.44).
\item[173] Y.Grace (1940) p.24ff, fig.18
\item[174] Chronology after P.Bahn (ed.) (1992) p.327
\item[175] Y.Grace (1940) p.26
\item[177] Y.Grace (1940) p.15, fig.9
\item[178] Y.Grace (1940) p.16, n.1
\item[179] Y.Grace (1940) p.40, n.1
\item[180] Y.Grace (1940) p.16, n.1
\item[181] E.Herscher (1975) p.53
\end{footnotes}
Material proof of two-way contact between Crete and Cyprus occurs in the form of a Red Polished ware amphora, of the Early Cypriot III period, which was found in the South-east Kamares area Dove Pit, the Middle Minoan I Monolithic Pillar Basement, at Knossos. The vessel is fragmentary, but two joining neck-fragments include both handles and a relief disc placed off-centre on the neck\(^\text{182}\) (Fig. 140). This type of boss can be found on the Logie Collection’s Dipper Amphora (Cat.no.37) and is a feature common on Cypriot Red Polished ware vessels. Catling and MacGillivray identify the Cretan find as belonging to the same repertoire as vessels from the Early and Middle Cypriot cemeteries at Vounous and Lapithos, commenting that ‘the Red Polished amphora at Knossos is the first clear indication of reciprocal activity between Crete and Cyprus at the turn of the third millennia.’\(^\text{183}\)

![Fig. 140 Reconstruction of an Early Cypriot III vase. From Knossos.](image)

The ‘Dove Pit’ in which the Cypriot vase was found also contained a polychromatic vase in the form of a bird and it is for this that the pit was named.\(^\text{184}\) This vessel has the column base noted previously on both Cypriot bird vessels and an example from Susa. A.Evans identifies the bird as a dove, Inanna-Ishtar’s bird. Evans implies that Inanna-Ishtar may have been known in Crete around 2000 B.C. as a haematite Babylonian cylinder seal bearing an image of Ishtar was found in an ossuary at Patanos.\(^\text{185}\)

\(^{183}\) H.Catling & J.MacGillivray (1983) p.6. The ‘turn of the third millennia’ undoubtedly referring to the transition from the third to the second millennia.
\(^{184}\) A.Evans (1921) *The Palace of Minos* Vol.1, London, fig.107
\(^{185}\) A.Evans (1921) p.198, fig.146
As in Near Eastern, Anatolian, and Cypriot contexts, multiple-bodied vessels have been found in Crete. An example of a multiple-bodied vessel was found in a test trench to the north of Knossos in 1908. Wilson notes that there is enough of the fragmentary vessel extant to suggest that it was a triple-bodied jug. The exterior surface is yellow-coloured slip with orange-brown paint decorating each chamber in two upright triangles on a horizontal band. One chamber has two star-motifs, whilst the bottom of each chamber is decorated with a cross. Wilson considers the vessel to be from the Early Minoan IIA period, basing this conclusion on the surface treatment and the decorative motifs employed. The context of other Multiple-bodied jugs from Crete, such as two from the Pyrgos Cave and another from Koumasa, are burials and Wilson suggests that these vessels may have been used in burial rituals. In the light of such a statement it is significant that the multiple-bodied vessels from Bronze Age Cyprus have been termed ‘cult vessels’ and come from funerary contexts. Perhaps the use of this type of vessel in burials can be considered a link between Early Bronze Age Cyprus and Early Minoan IIA Crete.

Minoan-Cypriot contacts have been reviewed by Catling and Karageorghis and these include the Cypriot Red Polished ware amphora fragments from Knossos, the Minoan bridge-spouted jar from Lapithos Tomb 6A, and a Middle Minoan IB/Middle Minoan IIA Kamares ware cup from Karmi-Palealonna Tomb IIB. Minoan metal objects in Cyprus consist of bronze daggers from Vounous Tombs 19 (no.89) and 143 (no.32), of the Early Cypriot-Middle Cypriot periods, and from Lapithos Tombs 322a (no.54) and 313c-d (no.31) dating to the Middle Cypriot I period. Also from Lapithos Tomb 322a (no.35) comes a razor. The early imports from Crete to Cyprus were found in close proximity in three cemeteries in the north of the island. The sites where Minoan artefacts were found were rich in copper/bronze objects, and it may be the Cypriot copper that attracted Cretan interest in Cyprus at the turn of the third millennium. However, the rich finds of metal objects at Lapithos suggests that the site

188 H.Catling & V. Karageorghis (1960) p.110f
was a manufacturing rather than a mining site, as the nearest copper deposits were at Skouriotissa, 30-50 kilometres away.

*Tholoi* of the type found at Khirokitia in Cyprus might be reflected in the circular tombs of Mesara in Crete. The Cretan examples, in turn, have been likened to those of the Halaf culture at Arpachiyah in Syria, which shares the sacred horns, double axe, and sacred birds with the Minoan culture. 189 At Koumasa in Crete, the *tholoi* contained artefacts such as vessels in the form of a bird, and a ring vase 190 - both forms known from Bronze Age Cyprus.

b. **Cyclades**

The Halaf culture seems to provide a link between the Cyclades, Crete, and Cyprus, as the Neolithic Saliagos culture, which S. Hood suggests was the earliest human occupation of the Cyclades, 191 has parallels with the Halaf culture. Hood notes that there seem to be affinities between the pottery decoration of Saliagos and that of Halaf, noting particularly the concentric circle motif shared by both cultures. However, Hood considers that the Saliagos versions of this motif seem closer in style to those of the earliest painted ware of Sotira and Philia at Cyprus. 192 The concentric lozenge motif occurs at Saliagos and has parallels in Bronze Age Cyprus and Early Chalcolithic Mersin. 193

Another interesting parallel between the Cyclades and Bronze Age Cyprus is the multiple-bodied vessel; a form taken by a pottery vessel, from the Cycladic Keros-Syros Culture (c.2700-2300 B.C.), 194 which consists of four small joined aryballoi (Fig.141) 195 and is comparable with a similar basket-handled vessel (Fig.142) from Vounous Tomb 72A (no.64). Although the Cypriot version is larger than the Cycladic example, both have incised decoration and share a similar form.

190 K. Branigan (1970) p.133, fig.27
192 S. Hood (1984) p.27
193 S. Hood (1970) p.27
194 Chronology after P. Bahn (1992) p.251
195 C. Doumas (1983) pl.169
So-called ‘Duck askoi’ have been found at Phylakopi (on Melos in the Cyclades) and Stewart compares them with examples from Lapithos Tombs P429C (no.25) and 314B (no.27). He also provides other comparative Duck askoi from Vati, Lakri, and Vathy. The proto-duck-vases from Kastri on Syros are probably the earliest in the Aegean, according to Catling and MacGillivray, and a possible common origin for Cypriot and Cycladic duck vases is suggested by the occurrence of pottery of Anatolian type with the Kastri examples.

Peltenburg suggests a possible link between Chalcolithic Cypriot figures such as the ‘Lemba Lady’ and Cycladic figurines, particularly those of the Grotta-Pelos culture (3300-2700 B.C.). He bases his speculation on the occurrence in both repertoires of ‘tilted heads, elongated necks, attenuated bodies, and the absence of exaggerated sexual detail.’ Peltenburg admits, however, that these similarities are ‘superficial’, although he maintains that some examples of Cypriot cruciform figures recall the Louros type of Cycladic figurine. The main point Peltenburg makes is that the Chalcolithic cruciform figurines of Cyprus seem to bear a greater resemblance to Western models than to examples from the Asiatic mainland.

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196 J.Stewart (1992) pl.III:7 Vati (Copenhagen no.5769); pl.III:8 Lakri (Copenhagen no.12500); pl.III:9,10 Phylakopi; pl.III:11 Cave at Vathy, Calymnos.
198 E.Peltenburg (1977b) ‘Chalcolithic figurine from Lemba, Cyprus’ Antiquity 51, pp.140-143
199 E.Peltenburg (1977b) p.141
Peltenburg notes that the end of the Early Cycladic II period in the Aegean (c.2500-2200 B.C.)\textsuperscript{200} might have been due to Anatolian incursions. Changes included the abandonment of marble statuary, new Anatolian pottery forms, new metal types, and the appearance of pithos burials. Peltenburg concludes that the similarity between the changes in the Cyclades and those in Cyprus is a coincidence that is not merely fortuitous.\textsuperscript{201}

c. Other sites

One hundred and twelve kilometres from Melos is the island of Kythera. It is a similar distance from Crete and sixteen kilometres from the southern Peloponnese. Among Early Helladic (c.3000-2000 B.C.)\textsuperscript{202} sherds, found at Kastraki on this island, is a fine red ware which is slipped, burnished and incised with decoration filled with white paste.\textsuperscript{203} The ware and technique of decoration has parallels in the Early Bronze Age Cypriot Red Polished ware.

T. Burton-Brown notes that red polished wares are a widely distributed category of pottery that can be found at the beginning of the Middle Helladic (c.2000-1500 B.C.)\textsuperscript{204} and Middle Minoan (c.2000-1500 B.C.)\textsuperscript{205} periods in the Aegean islands, as well as in Syria and northern Persia. He states that red polished wares can also be found in Egypt, particularly at Kahun.\textsuperscript{206} The possibility of a link between Egypt and Cyprus was not ignored by Myres who found parallels between the ring vessels of Cyprus, found in the earliest Bronze Age tombs, and similar forms among the Libyan red-ware from Ballas and Naqada.\textsuperscript{207} A painted pottery vessel from Naqada I, c.4000-3500 B.C., has chevron motifs and modelled bulls placed on the rim, in similar style to those found in the Cypriot repertoire (Fig. 143). Gjerstad notes that although Egyptian pottery was not imported to Cyprus, spherical paste beads were,\textsuperscript{208} a circumstance

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{200} Chronology after R. Higgins (1977) Minoan and Mycenaean Art London, p. 13
\item \textsuperscript{201} E. Peltenburg (1990) p. 19
\item \textsuperscript{202} Chronology after P. Bahn (1992) p. 208
\item \textsuperscript{203} J. Coldstream & G. Huxley (1970) 'Kythera: the change from Early Helladic to Early Minoan' in R. Crossland & A. Birchall (eds) Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean London p. 4
\item \textsuperscript{204} Chronology after P. Bahn (1992) p. 208
\item \textsuperscript{205} Chronology after R. Higgins (1977) p. 13
\item \textsuperscript{206} T. Burton-Brown (1959) p. 39
\item \textsuperscript{207} J. Myres (1897: 143) 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1894' Journal of Hellenic Studies XVIII pp. 134-173
\item \textsuperscript{208} E. Gjerstad (1926) p. 305
\end{itemize}
suggesting some form of contact between the two lands during the Early Bronze Age. The Cypriot Black-topped bowls mentioned previously in this chapter, in reference to possible Cretan parallels, can also be compared, in one particular instance (Lapithos Tomb 803A no.10), with Nubian C-Group bowls.\footnote{E.Herscher (1975) p.53}

Fig.143 Painted pottery vessel with two bulls on the rim. From Egypt, pre-dynastic period Naqada I, c.4000-3500 B.C.

4.4 Chapter summary

The above chapter has attempted to explore the material evidence connecting Cyprus with its neighbours. It is through surviving artefacts that some inferences can be drawn regarding contact. The possibility of contacts between Cyprus and its environs supports the main thrust of the present thesis which argues for both material and cultural associations between Cyprus and other locations – particularly Near Eastern and Anatolian sites where Inanna-Ishtar may have been known.

Evidence was presented in this chapter in support of contacts between Near Eastern cultures from the Neolithic period onward. This evidence takes the form of similarities between building styles and stone pottery. Khirokitia and Kalavassos in Cyprus are sites that have apparent parallels with Jericho and Beersheba. The Beersheba site has been linked with both the Ghassulian and Khirbet Kerak cultures at
different times - both relevant to the Cypriot experience. Khirokitia was also linked with the Halafian levels of Arpachiyah in the use of *tholoi* at both sites. From Arpachiyah also came bovine and snake motifs, used in funerary imagery in a similar manner to their use in Cyprus. The Halaf culture was again associated with Cyprus in the parallel figurines from Chagar Bazar and from Sotira.

Stamp-seals and their motifs were discussed and parallels between Cypriot and Near Eastern models were mentioned.

The Ghassulian and Khirbet Kerak material cultures seem particularly akin to the Cypriot and the cornet-shaped vessel, the ‘churn’, and rope-motif decoration are shared by both Ghassulian and Cypriot cultures. Similarly, the Khirbet Kerak culture boasts the use of bucrania as decoration and also the technically-sophisticated red and black ware – both features observed in Cypriot contexts.

The horseshoe-shaped ‘andiron’ is an explicitly definitive object and has been found at numerous Khirbet Kerak sites, as well as in Marki-Alonia in Cyprus.

Byblos provides evidence of links with Cyprus in the form of toggle-pins, axes, and daggers, as well as a deposit containing specifically Cypriot artefacts among objects from other Near Eastern sites.

The ‘Vounous Jar’, an atypical Cypriot artefact more closely aligned with Near Eastern models, was described and discussed in reference to the speculations of a number of scholars.

The Jordan Valley provides an early link with Cyprus in the form of a figurine similar to a Cypriot example. A flat ovoid stone, incised with lines and coming from the same site, has parallels in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Near East. Sites in Palestine were mentioned in which parallels to the chamber tombs of the Philia Culture seemed significant. Bronze Age ‘mosque lamps’ and the use of horn-lugs on bowls appear to have been influenced by Palestinian models.
Contact between Cyprus and Anatolia is suggested by artefacts from a number of different sites. The Neolithic trade in obsidian, the adoption of the beaked jug and loop handles by the Philia Culture and, later, Bronze Age artefacts all point to interaction.

Incised decoration might have been an influence from Tarsus, but the pottery is not the only link as metal tools, spiral rings, and incised spindle-whorls are paralleled. In addition, fragments of Cypriot Red-On-White ware and Red and black streaked ware were found at Tarsus.

Yortan, Troy, and Mersin provide parallels with the material culture of Cyprus and there is evidence of interconnections among all of these sites. At Kusura, like Troy, Red Cross bowls occur, paralleling an example from Vounous. The wing-handled vessels from Mersin appear to be closely associated in style with examples from Cyprus.

Multiple-spouted vessels from Cyprus seem to have counterparts in Karataş and also from this site come toggle-pins and knives that resemble those associated with the Philia Culture.

Crete, the Cyclades, and other locations were discussed. Crete supplies evidence of contact with Cyprus in the form of a fragmentary Early Cypriot III Red Polished ware amphora that was discovered at Knossos. The two-way nature of this contact is suggested by the occurrence of a Minoan bridge-spouted vessel that was found in Cyprus.

Possible links between Egypt and Cyprus were suggested by Myres, as he noted parallels between Cypriot ring vessels and similar red-ware from Ballas and Naquada. Paste beads from Egypt were also discovered in Cyprus.

The discussion in the above chapter is about material evidence suggesting contact between Cyprus and outside locations. There is no Cypriot literary
documentation of the Early Bronze Age period to outline cultural beliefs as exists in the Near East. However, this does not preclude the possibility that Near Eastern ideas infiltrated Cyprus via immigrants and visitors and the artefacts prove that contact did occur. The stories and legends of Inanna-Ishtar may have come with this contact. Later this goddess, in the form of Astarte, would arrive with Phoenician colonists and may have melded with an earlier Cypriot version to become Wanassa (The Lady) in the Cypro-Archaic period and thence the Greek Aphrodite.
TABLE 5  Approximate comparison of chronological periods mentioned in Chapter Four: Cyprus, the Near East, Anatolia, and the Aegean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE B.C.</th>
<th>CYPRUS</th>
<th>PALESTINE</th>
<th>SYRIA</th>
<th>MESOPOTAMIA</th>
<th>TROY</th>
<th>ALISHAR</th>
<th>TARSUS</th>
<th>ALACA HOYUK</th>
<th>KARATAŞ</th>
<th>CRETE</th>
<th>CYCLADES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8100+</td>
<td>Proto-Neolithic</td>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>Pre-pottery Neolithic</td>
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<tr>
<td>7000+ - 6000</td>
<td>Aceramic Neolithic I</td>
<td>Yarmukian Neolithic</td>
<td>Amuq A</td>
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<tr>
<td>6000 - 4500</td>
<td>Lachish</td>
<td>Plain of Antioch Phase A</td>
<td>Chagar Bazar Arpachiyah Halaf period</td>
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<tr>
<td>4500 - 3500</td>
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<tr>
<td>3900 - 2300</td>
<td>Chalcolithic</td>
<td>Beersheba</td>
<td>Early Bronze</td>
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<td>Ghanimian</td>
<td>Early Bronze I</td>
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<td>Edomite</td>
<td>Early Bronze II</td>
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<td>Khirbet Kerak EB III</td>
<td>Late Chalcolithic</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2300 - 2075 | Early Bronze I | Khirbet Kerak Amuq II-V | Troy I | | | | | | | | Grotta Pelos Culture
| | | Early Bronze IV | | | | | | | | Early Minoan
| 2075 - 2000 | Early Bronze II | Middle Bronze I | Amuq J | | | | | | | | Keros-Syros Culture
| | | Early Bronze III | Troy III | Troy IV | Early Bronze III |
| 2000 - 1900 | Early Bronze III | | | | | | | | | | Middle Minoan
| 1900 - 1800 | Middle Bronze I | | | | | | | | | |
Map 4  Near Eastern, Anatolian, and Cretan sites mentioned in Chapter Four
Map 5  Cypriot sites mentioned in Chapter Four
INTERCONNECTIONS II: CULT, MYTH, AND RELIGION

In this chapter we will discuss the continuous links between deities and the belief in the rebirth of the dead into the Underworld. Because the Greek Aphrodite of the literary period is a likely link with the Cypriot past, it is necessary to evaluate her roles in Greek cult, myth, and religion in an effort to place Bronze Age Cypriot Plank Figures and other artefacts into some sort of context. It is in the aspect of fertility and regeneration that Aphrodite can be traced back to Bronze Age Cyprus, and to the funerary rituals of this period. Without any literary evidence from Early Bronze Age Cyprus, it is difficult to identify any specific motive behind the deposition of pots and other artefacts with the dead. However, if the line of descent of a deity of regeneration began with the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar and occurred again in the Cypro-Greek Aphrodite, it is likely that the points in between followed the same pattern. So too the idea of regeneration associated with funerary vessels and the myths that have come down to us through Greek literature, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Cyprus has been the focal point throughout the present thesis. Here was the home of Aphrodite and it was here that this goddess had her great cult site of Paphos. Aphrodite’s homeland is also the location for her amorous associations with the young Adonis, who is most likely a Grecised version of the Sumerian Dumuzi (Akkadian Tammuz). Dumuzi-Tammuz can be shown to be a deity associated with plants and the fertility of the land, and his sojourn in the Underworld for half of the year coincides with sterility in the land. Thus might Adonis’ time spent with Persephone in the Underworld reflect the seed-corn held in storage under the earth, whilst the reappearance of the new grain echoes Adonis’ resurrection and rebirth.
5.1 Vegetation rites and rebirth

In the process of tracing the Greek Aphrodite’s genealogy back through Cyprus to the Near East, it is necessary to review the idea of death and regeneration in Greek and earlier myth or cult. Death and regeneration have been shown, in the foregoing chapters of the present thesis, to be likely associations of the vessels placed in graves. The occurrence of the demonstrably religious Plank Figures as additions to vessels places, within the same sphere of relevance, the receptacles on which they are affixed. The use of vessels for storing grain or water was also discussed as an adjunct to the concept of vessels as containers from which regeneration occurs. Vegetation rites linked with a masculine factor in the form of some type of vegetation, which is personified and acts as consort to female deities such as Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite, may be indicators of the regenerative powers of these goddesses.

a. Dumuzi-Tammuz

Jacobsen ascribes four different aspects to Dumuzi-Tammuz: a power in the sap that rises in trees and plants; a power in the date palm and its fruits; a power in grain; and a power in milk.¹ In ancient Near Eastern texts Dumuzi is written of as the consort of Inanna-Ishtar. Sometimes he is described as a bull as in the Prosperity in the Palace text:

‘I Inanna am ... the queen of heaven,
   The gala chants there (his) song,
   The singer brings (his) ... hymn,
   The bridegroom [rejoices] by my side,
   The wild bull Dumuzi [rejoices] by my side.’

(col. ii, 1.5-9)²

¹ T. Jacobsen (1970) Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.73f

²
Dumuzi-Tammuz is also a shepherd:\(^3\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘When for the wild bull, for the lord, I have bathed,} \\
\text{When for the shepherd Dumuzi, I shall have bathed, …}^{3} \\
\text{(From the Blessing of Shulgi)}^{4}
\end{align*}
\]

In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the hero refers to the fate of Ishtar’s lover of her youth, Tammuz, for whom she ordained ‘wailing year after year.’\(^5\) The fate of Dumuzi-Tammuz is established in another text, *The Descent of Inanna*, in which it is made clear that Inanna offers Dumuzi as a substitute for herself to Erishkigal, the queen of the Underworld:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{She fastened on him the eye of death,} \\
\text{Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,} \\
\text{Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt, …}^{6}
\end{align*}
\]

Inanna then turns him over to the devils who bind, beat, torture, and carry him off to the Underworld. Dumuzi is supposed to stay in the Underworld but his sister Geshtinanna offers to take his place for six months of each year. Thus Dumuzi-Tammuz ascends to the upper world for six months of each year and must return to the Underworld for the remaining six.\(^7\)

The position of Dumuzi-Tammuz in the Underworld and his association with vegetation are made clear in the following passage:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Shepherd, lord, Tammuz, husband of Ishtar!} \\
\text{Prince of the underworld, inhabitant of the shepherd’s house.} \\
\text{Tamarisk that has not drunk water from the furrow,}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^2\) J.Pritchard (ed.) (1969a) p.642f
\(^3\) Perhaps more in terms of ‘leader’ rather than an actual sheep-herder.
\(^4\) S.Kramer (1969) p.63
\(^7\) S.Kramer (1969) p.121
whose head on the steppe has not produced flower!
Sapling that has not been planted by its watercourse,
shoot whose roots have been cut off!
Root that has not drunk water from a runnel!
He goes, he withdraws to the bosom of the earth.
He hastens, satiated with life – his sun went down to the
land of the dead …
How long shall fruiting be delayed?
How long shall the appearing of green be hindered?8

Dumuzi-Tammuz's six month's sojourn in the Underworld seems to reflect his
status as a vegetation deity who lies under the ground in storage from harvest until the
spring sowing. He comes up from the earth and is cut down, threshed and winnowed,
and again becomes seed-grain to be stored until the following year. The notion of
sheaves of grain might be inferred from a late Babylonian Calendar of Special
Instructions which declares that the month of Tammuz was one in which Tammuz was
‘bound and died.’ Thus wailing or lamentation was required.9

That Dumuzi-Tammuz is resurrected is suggested by a difficult fragmentary
passage that has been translated as:

On the day on which Tammuz rises up,
when the flute of lapis lazuli and the ring of cornelian
rise up with him
when male and female mourners rise up with him,
may the dead also rise up and inhale the incense.10

---

8 K.Tallqvist (ed) (1953) Babyloniska Hymner och Böner Helsingfors, No.87, pp.138f, cited in
H.Ringgren (1973) p.65
9 S.Langdon (1935) Babylonian Menologies and Semitic Calendars London, p.121-2, cited in
R.Barnett (1957) p.139. It may be that the wailing for Dumuzi-Tammuz was not for his death, but
rather for the fear that he (as the vines, vegetables, and grains) will not return because of drought.
This is suggested by CT XV:26. 1-14 in T.Jacobson (1970) Toward the Image of Tammuz Cambridge,
Mass., pp.41f

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The mourning for Tammuz was recorded by Ezekiel (VIII:14) who states:

Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.

The longevity of tales relating to the manner of death of Tammuz can be inferred from the comparison of a Ugaritic text, dating to the 15th and early 14th centuries B.C., with a 10th century A.D. tale. The Ras Shamra texts began coming to light in 1929, thus had no modern influence on the 10th century A.D. account. The Ugaritic text, *The Epic of Baal*, recounts the death of Mot at the hands of the goddess Anat:

```
... She seized
Mot son of El,
ripped him open with a sword,
winnowed him in a sieve,
burnt him in the fire,
ground him with two mill-stones,
sowed him in a field;
verily the birds ate the pieces of him ...
```

II-ii 30-36

In comparison it is worth quoting Ibn-an-Nadim, an Arabic writer of c.987 A.D. He describes the month of Tammuz stating:

```
The women bewail him because his master
slew him so cruelly, ground his bones in a mill,
and scattered them to the wind.13
```

10 Seemingly disconnected fragments at the end of the Akkadian version of *The Descent of Ishtar* (H.Ringgren [1973] p.64).
11 Mot is not the same deity as Tammuz. However, the manner of annihilating a deity seems to be a long-lived motif.
12 G.Driver (1951,1956) p.111
The two themes seem to reflect the action of threshing and winnowing grain. Thus it may be that they were both based on the death of a god of grain. The diet followed by the 10th century A.D. mourners of Tammuz was nothing that had been ground in a mill and they had to partake of 'steeped wheat, sweet vetches, dates, raisins, and the like.' The Hebrew calendar notes that in the Babylonian month of Tammuz (June-July) fasts were held, and these probably relate to the death of Tammuz.

As we have seen, the manner of Mot's death in the *Epic of Baal* is reminiscent of the reaping and grinding of grain. In another Ugaritic text Mot is likened to a vine:

Mot the Prince sits
In his hand the sceptre of bereavement,
In his hand the sceptre of widowhood.
The vine pruners prune him,
The vine binders bind him,
They fell his vintage like a vine.

(23[52]8-11)

In this text it is possible to see the image of binding that we have already noted was associated with Tammuz in a Late Babylonian Calendar of Special Instructions.

It is possible that in the Near East there was a ritual of mourning associated with the sowing of grain as it was like a burial:

Who sow in tears, a reaping time of joy enjoy they shall.
That man who, bearing precious seed, in going forth doth mourn,
He doubtless, bringing back his sheaves rejoiceing shall return.

(Psalm CXXVI: 5-7)

---

14 J. Frazer (1890, 1981) p.283
15 N. Robertson (1982)
b. The Sacred Marriage rite and fertility

Kramer suggests that originally Dumuzi was one of the memorable leaders of Uruk, c.3000 B.C., who took part in the annual Sacred Marriage rite. However, that the Sacred Marriage may have existed before Dumuzi’s time is suggested by an epic story about Uruk’s heroic ruler Ennerkar, who reigned two generations before Dumuzi. The fact that it was Dumuzi who became Inanna-Ishtar’s consort for many generations is an enigma. Kramer suggests that some time around 2500 B.C. a Sumerian ruler celebrated the Sacred Marriage rite as a reincarnation of Dumuzi – a concept very much in keeping with Dumuzi’s role as a dying and resurrected vegetation god. Two of the five compositions mentioning the Sacred Marriage rite, referred to by Kramer, involve known rulers: Shulgi of Ur and Iddin-Dagan of Isin. The rite of the latter informs us that the ceremony took place on the eve of New Year’s day.

The Sacred Marriage between the representative of the goddess Inanna-Ishtar and the king was intended to ensure the fertility of the land for the following year, and it may be that the Near Eastern Sacred Marriage to ensure fertility was known in Bronze Age Cyprus. In the Near East, besides the texts providing evidence of the Sacred Marriage, there are clay plaques on which the event may be depicted (Fig.144), and these can be compared with the pyxis lid from Vounous Tomb 37 (no.84), illustrated previously in Chapter Three (see Fig.93).

![Baked clay model of a couple in bed](image)

Fig.144 Baked clay model of a couple in bed. Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian period.

17 S.Kramer (1969) p.57
18 S.Kramer (1969) p.78f
Karageorghis notes that the figures on the pyxis lid are humans rather than Plank Figures and thus it may be that a human couple is acting out the roles of the goddess and her consort. In Fig.93, the figure on our right is defined as female by the punctures representing the genitals, and she wears a necklace consisting of three concentric semicircular lines interrupted by depressions. This seems to echo the elaborate necklaces worn by Plank Figures and it may represent the goddess’s necklace worn during the Sacred Marriage rite to establish the link between the priestess and the goddess.

It seems relevant at this time to mention the relief of Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.), which bears an image possibly depicting an aspect of the New Year’s festival. Assurbanipal lies on a couch under a grape-arbour, and seated on a chair beside him is a woman. Placed in a prominent position and, hanging from the curved headboard of the couch, is a multi-strand necklace of a type worn by Cypriot Plank figures. This particular type of necklace may have been an important piece of ritual equipment associated with the ‘Sacred Marriage’.

The importance of the necklace to Plank Figures was discussed at length in Chapter Two, and to this information must be added the Near Eastern discovery that implies that a necklace was given to the priestess who enacted the role of the goddess in the Sacred Marriage rite. At the site of Inanna’s temple at Uruk excavators found a necklace of semi-precious stones, one of which was inscribed with: ‘Kubatum, the lukur-priestess of Shu Sin’. Lukur is a Sumerian word designating a devotee of Inanna who played the role of the goddess in the Sacred Marriage rite, according to Kramer. It may be that this particular necklace was worn by the priestess Kubatum during a Sacred Marriage ceremony, which is why it was thus inscribed and remained in the temple of Inanna.

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19 Illustrated in P. McGovern (1998:34) ‘Wine’s Prehistory’ Archaeology 51:4, pp.32-34. This couch also has relevance to the discussion regarding the ‘Woman at the Window’ motif infra.
20 S. Kramer (1969) p.93
21 S. Kramer (1969) p.93
The couple appearing on the Cypriot pyxis lid, which was placed in a funerary context, may be suggestive of the fertility aspect of the Sacred Marriage relating to rebirth. This notion would be even more significant in the light of Inanna-Ishtar’s role as a goddess who could descend into, and return from, the Underworld.

c. Adonis

J. Frazer notes that the Near Eastern Tammuz and the Greek Adonis are equated by a number of classical authors. The fact that Adonis is ultimately of Semitic (Phoenician) origin is confirmed by his name, which is derived from the Semitic Adon ‘lord’. Tammuz’s role as a deity of short-lived vegetation is suggested by the Babylonian lament, referred to previously in this chapter, in which he is described as a *Tamarisk that has not drunk water from the furrow, / whose head on the steppe has not produced flower!* So too is Adonis’ short life symbolised by plants that have no access to water and which are allowed to die after a short period of flourishing. These are the so-called ‘Gardens of Adonis’ which were planted by Greek women during the period of mourning for Adonis.

The ‘Gardens of Adonis’ consisted of plants such as wheat, barley, fennel, and lettuce that appear to have been sown in a number of different types of receptacle, although broken pots seem to have been a favoured choice. It is possible that broken pots have Underworld associations as Pausanias’ description of Polygnotos’ c.458 B.C. fresco of the Underworld refers to women bringing water in broken vessels to pour into a half-sunk pithos (Pausanias X:31.9f). An explanation for the use of vessels may also lie in funerary ritual as it has been argued in the present thesis that vessels in that context are associated with rebirth. Thus the birth and death of Adonis, taking place in a vessel, may reflect the cyclical associations of death and renewal through the agency of the pot.

The Adonaia were rites in a summer festival (Plato *Phaedrus* 276B) and the pots of plants were carried up ladders onto the rooftops, a ritual that is depicted on an

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23 N. Persson (1942) p.115, considers that the broken pots used for the Gardens of Adonis refer to the broken seal of death signifying reawakening life.
Attic squat lekythos from the circle of the Meidias Painter. The use of ladders to reach the rooftops to perform the rites of Adonis is echoed in Near Eastern rituals involving offerings to the gods. Texts show that offerings of incense were made to Inanna-Ishtar on roofs or wall-tops (Hymn to Inanna 143), whilst in the Assyrian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh (III,ii.7-9) an incense offering is made to Shamash on the roof of the house. In Greek practice women, also on rooftops, waited for the dying Adonis (Aristophanes Lysistrata 387-396) as the young sprouting seeds died in the Gardens of Adonis. Another festival of Adonis appears to have been held in spring and included a boar sacrifice. In Cyprus the boar sacrifice seems to have been held on a date corresponding to April 2nd of the Roman calendar (John of Lydia De mensibus IV:65).

Adonis was mourned in Greece in many different ways, and that a form of Sacred Marriage seems to have been enacted at Alexandria can be inferred from Theocritus Idylls (XV). The association between Adonis, Aphrodite, and vegetation is suggested by the images of the two deities, recumbent on couches and surrounded by fruit and plants growing in pots. On one day the marriage of the pair was celebrated, but on the next women mourners carried the image of Adonis to the sea-shore and threw it into the water (Plutarch Alcibiades XVIII). On the following day Adonis was resurrected. The placing of an image of the god on a couch/bier also seems to have been part of the mourning rites for Tammuz as a tessera from Palmyra depicts Tammuz on his bier and is inscribed with his name.

Another association between the Near Eastern Dumuzi-Tammuz and Greek Adonis is the significance of lettuce. M.Detienne considers that the ‘Gardens of Adonis’ symbolise the sterility of the young god, cut down before his maturity. In Classical times lettuce seems to have meant sterility and the gardens themselves were symbols of that barrenness - as a Greek proverb suggests: ‘You are more sterile than...”

24 Karlsruhe, Badisches Landemuseum inv. no. B39
25 T.Jacobsen (1987) p.120
26 J.Pritchard (1969a) p.81
27 Jeremiah mentions burning incense to all the hosts of heaven on the roofs of houses (XXIX:33) and to Baal (XXXII:29) whilst Isaiah seems to warn against the tending of miniature gardens (XVII:10-11)

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the gardens of Adonis'. However, sterility does not seem to be the innuendo behind the remark by Alciphron, who states of one type of lettuce: *they say Aphrodite loves these* (Letters of Courtesans XIII: frag. 6,17). The myths of Adonis include many references to lettuce, and Adonis is said to have died among these plants after he was mortally wounded by a boar (Eustathios Comm. in Iliadem, 1283.61-31). However, the fact that Adonis was reborn might suggest that the lettuce plant was not so much a symbol of sterility and death, but rather hinted at fertility and rebirth.

In Sumerian texts lettuce seems to represent abundance and fecundity. Inanna’s devotee chants about her special hairdo in preparation for her probable Sacred Marriage with the king Shu-Sin:

Lettuce is my hair by the water planted,
*Gakkul*-lettuce is my hair by the water planted,
Combed [?] smooth are its tangled coils [?],
My nurse has heaped [?] them high.
She has piled thick its small locks,
She puts to right my ‘allure’,
The ‘allure’ – my hair that is lettuce, the fairest of plants.

... For him who is the honey of my eyes, who is the lettuce of my heart,
May the day of life come forth, for my Shu-Sin.

Lettuce is also associated with the male lover:

He has sprouted, he has burgeoned, he is lettuce well watered,
My well-stocked garden of the ... steppe, my ‘favourite of his mother’.

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29 Cited in M. Detienne (1977) p.102
30 A. Benner & F. Fobes (1949) *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus* Loeb Classical Library
31 S. Kramer (1969) p.95
Chapter Five

My grain luxuriating in the furrow – he is lettuce well watered,
My apple tree that bears fruit up to its crown – he is lettuce
well watered.\(^{32}\)

The Persephone myth has obvious links with the Dumuzi-Tammuz story as Persephone wishes to keep Adonis in the Underworld and not give him back to Aphrodite. Burkert notes a stunning allusion to the Sumerian links with Adonis that occurs in a magical text of late antiquity. Besides Adonis, and among other gods of the Underworld, there is a reference to ‘Persephone Ereshkigal’ (\textit{Papyri Graecae Magicae} no.4,339).\(^{33}\) Ereshkigal is the queen of the Underworld in the Sumerian \textit{Descent of Inanna}, and it seems that Persephone has been equated with her. Zeus decides that Persephone shall have Adonis for one third of the year and Aphrodite for one third. The remaining third is to be Adonis’ choice. Hyginus gives a slightly different version of the judgement as Kalliope makes the decision and assigns six months of the year to each goddess \((\textit{Poetica Astronomica} II:7)\). Adonis’ annual six-month sojourn in the Underworld equates with that of Dumuzi-Tammuz. This period of time spent in the Underworld links both gods with vegetation and with grain.

Adonis is linked with grain by a number of classical authors. A commentator on Theocritus says that Adonis stays under the earth when the wheat is sown and then comes to the surface (Scholiast on Theocritus 3.48). The Orphic \textit{Hymn for Adonis} (56) calls Adonis the god who disappears and comes back again in the course of the seasons, and who makes the plants grow. Both Ammianus (XIX:11) and Porphyry \textit{(Mythica and Mystica} frag. 385F\(^{34}\)) affirm that Adonis was the symbol of ripened and cut grain.

The idea of plants and grain seems to be encapsulated in versions of the genealogy of Adonis. In Ovid \textit{(Metamorphoses} X:435) and Hyginus \textit{(Fabulae} LVIII) the name ‘Kenchreis’ is given to the wife of the Assyrian king, Kinyras, the father of

\(^{32}\) S.Kramer (1981) \textit{History Begins at Sumer} Philadelphia, p.319
\(^{33}\) W.Burkert (1979) \textit{Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual} Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, p.110
\(^{34}\) A.Smith (ed.) (1993) \textit{Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta} Stuttgart

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Adonis. Robertson points out that the name Kenchreis, Κένχρης, is derived from the word κένχρος ‘millet’.  
Adonis’ mother, Myrrha, was the daughter of Kenchreis and was turned into a tree before the birth of Adonis, adding further impetus to the association between Adonis and plants. Furthermore, another version of Adonis’ parentage, this time from Hesiod (in Apollodorus Bibliotheca III: 14.4.1), gives his father as Phoenix. ‘Phoenix’ can be interpreted in many ways; as a proper name, a reference to Phoenician associations, purple dye from the murex sea-limpet, a fabulous bird, or the date palm. If Phoenix, father of Adonis, were an anthropomorphised date palm, again the associations between Adonis and vegetation would be apparent. Moreover, if the reference to phoenix were relating to the bird that destroyed itself and was reborn, associations between Adonis and rebirth would be established.

There is much disagreement among classical authors as to the parentage of Adonis, but for most the king Kinyras, whether he be Cypriot or Assyrian, is the main contender as father. Some interesting analogies can be made between the Greek Adonis and the Phoenician Tammuz. Tammuz was the son of Kothar-wa-Khasis, the craftsman god of the Ugaritic pantheon. This Kothar is probably the same as Chousar whom Philo of Byblos identifies as the Greek Hephaistos (Eusebius Praeparatio Evangelica I: 10.11). Even before the Ugaritic texts were discovered G. Hoffmann had seen that there seemed to be a link between Philo’s Chousar and Kinyras. Pliny (Natural History VII.195) gives information regarding Kinyras that can be closely linked with Ugaritic Kothar. According to Pliny, Kinyras invented tiles and copper-mining on Cyprus. In Ugaritic texts, Kothar is the divine architect who builds a palace for Baal (UT 51: VI). Even closer analogies can be seen in the suggestion by Pliny that Kinyras invented the tongs, crowbar, hammer, and anvil; tools which compare

35 N. Robertson (1982) p.351
36 Like Adonis, the Sumerian Dumuzi probably had a tree as his mother, as one text suggests that his mother was a cedar (T. Jacobson 1976) p.69f)
37 The major literary sources for Adonis are: Ovid Metamorphoses X:300-559, 708-739; Apollodorus Bibliotheca III.14.5; Lucian De Dea Syria VI, dial. deorum XI:1
38 It has been a commonly held belief that Philo’s commentary on the Phoenician religions was suspect, but as W. Burkert (1987:21) ‘Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels’ in J. Bremer (ed.) Interpretations of Greek Mythology London & Sydney, pp 10-40) concedes: “Hittite and Ugaritic texts have restored the respectability of an account of Phoenician mythology that survives in an elaboration of imperial date, by Herennius Philon of Byblos.”
favourably with Kothar whose workmanship in the Ugaritic *Epic of Baal* is described thus:

and the tongs are in the hands of Khasis
(that) he may smelt silver, purify(?)
gold, smelt silver
up to then thousands (of pieces),
smelt ore and...
beaten work(?) for a god of twice the thousand (shekels)
beaten work(?) for a god, hollow work(?) of silver
overlaid with plating(?) of gold...

(II.i.23-30)41

If Adonis is Kinyras' son and Tammuz is the son of Kothar, and if Kinyras and Kothar are the same, where does the Greek Hephaistos, husband of Aphrodite, fit in? Based on the above information, Hephaistos, Kinyras, and Kothar are one and the same. Hephaistos definitely has Phoenician associations as he made bowls of silver and gold for the Phoenician king in Homer's *Odyssey*:

I will give you a fashioned mixing bowl. It is of silver, all but the edges, and these are fashioned in gold. This is the work of Hephaistos. The hero Phaidimos, the Sidonians' king, gave it to me, when his house took me in and sheltered me there, on my way home.

(XV:115-119)42

This description is very close to the Ugaritic text quoted previously. At line 29 of the Ugaritic text, Driver has chosen to translate beaten 'work(?)' but notes that Cassuto translates this as 'vessel'.43

40 C. Gordon (1965) *Ugaritic Textbook* Rome  
41 G. Driver (1956,1971) p.93  
42 Translated by R. Lattimore New York, (1965)
If Tammuz is the son of Kothar and Adonis is the son of Cypriot or Assyrian Kinyras, there might be some motivation behind the Orphic *Hymn for Adonis* that identifies Adonis as Aphrodite's son. According to the manuscript that purports to be a Syriac translation of a sermon by the early Christian Melito of Sardis, Kothar was married to a Queen of Cyprus, Balthi, who was worshipped in Byblos. Balthi is probably referring to Baalat, the Lady of Byblos, who may have been an alter ego of Inanna-Ishtar-Aphrodite. Their son was Tammuz, therefore Aphrodite could conceivably be Adonis' mother. The manuscript has Greek mythology tied up with a story that could be an ancient Phoenician myth, as Balthi is said to have been married to Hephaistos and committed adultery with Ares – thus she is identified with Aphrodite. Ares came to Mount Lebanon and killed Tammuz whilst the latter was out hunting wild boar. The usual story is that Adonis was killed by a boar, and this either takes place on Mt. Lebanon (Lycophron *Alexandra* 831-33) or in Cyprus (Propertius II:13.53-56; Ovid *Metamorphoses* X:710-739).

In Sumerian/Akkadian myth Dumuzi-Tammuz is associated with Inanna-Ishtar. This goddess in the form of Phoenician Aštarte, the 'Syrian Goddess' who had a sanctuary at Byblos (Lucian *De Dea Syria* VI) where the rites of Adonis were celebrated. Strabo notes that the city of Byblos was sacred to Adonis, and that the nearby river Nahr 'ibrahîm, was once called "Ἀδόνις" (Strabo XVI:2.19). This river was reputed to run red with Adonis' blood on the annual occasion of his death (Lucian *De Dea Syria* VIII). At Byblos the dying god is called either Adonis (Strabo XVI:2.18, 755; Lucian *De Dea Syria* VI-IX; Cyril of Alexandria *Comm. in Isaiam* II:3; schol. Lycophron 831), or Tammuz (Melito).46

Byblos is the city ruled over by Kinyras (Eustathius *Comm. in Dion. Per.* 912), a king who also was said to have ruled over Cyprus (Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* III:14.3). The Byblite Kinyras supposedly set up a sanctuary of Aštarte on

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43 G.Driver (1956, 1971) p.93 n.6
44 See infra Qudshu-Anat-Aštarte in this chapter for examples
45 Cited in J.Brown (1965) p.198, with references
46 In W.Cureton *Spicilegium Syriacum* pp.43-44
47 Geographi Graeci Minores, ed. C.Müller ii.376
Mt. Lebanon (De Dea Syria IX) and this may have been the sanctuary that Constantine destroyed, according to Eusebius (Vita Constantini III:55).

The Cypriot connection with king Kinyras is also significant, as the rites of Adonis coupled with Aphrodite were observed at Amathus in Cyprus according to Pausanias (IX:41.2f). It was at this sanctuary that a necklace of gold set with green stones was located and Pausanias noted that it was commonly held to be the necklace of Harmonia (the daughter of Aphrodite).48 This famous necklace had, like the κεονος of Aphrodite, the power to endow its wearer with irresistible attraction and was originally made by Hephaistos for Zeus as a love-gift to Cadmus’ sister Europa (Apollodorus Bibliotheca III:4.2). It is possible that Harmonia’s necklace was a remnant in literature of the necklace worn at the ‘Sacred Marriage’, as discussed previously in this chapter. Kinyras was a priest of Aphrodite according to Pindar (Pyth. II:13-17) and he was also the father of Adonis by his own daughter Myrrha in Ovid’s account (Metamorphoses X:298ff). It is significant that Classical authors were aware that Aphrodite was the equivalent of Astarte (Cicero De natura deorum III:23.59; John the Lydian De mensibus IV:44). Thus the Bybite Kinyras, Astarte, and Tammuz were the equivalents of the Cypriot Kinyras, Aphrodite, and Adonis.

The Phoenician/Cypriot associations of Adonis are further established by the name ‘Adonis’, which in Phoenician is adon49 ‘lord’, a title that may have been given to all the male members of the families of the Phoenician rulers of Cyprus. Aristotle notes that in Cyprus the sons and brothers of the kings were called ‘lords’ (UNCTE),50 whilst a bilingual Greek/Phoenician inscription found at Idalion equates wanax and adon.51

The information in the above section seems to suggest close links between Byblos and Cyprus. It has been shown in Chapter Four that material remains point to links between the two areas from the Early Bronze Age period and this, combined with

48 Other shrines which claimed to have the necklace of Harmonia were Delphi (Pausanias VIII: 24,10) and Delos (Inscriptiones Graecae XI 2, 161B 42)
49 Possibly adin (ii)
50 Cited in J.Frazer (1914) p.49 n.7
the evidence of myth, provides a persuasive argument in favour of a knowledge of the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar having infiltrated Cyprus at an early date. The present thesis argues that the Phoenician Aštarte was recognised by the Phoenician colonists as being the same as the Early Bronze Age Cypriot goddess who, very likely, was derived from the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar. This Sumerian/Akkadian Phoenician/Cypriot goddess subsequently became the Greek Aphrodite.

5.2 The Genealogy of Aphrodite: the transmission into ancient Greece of Near Eastern myth and ritual

Much of what might, at first glance, be taken for purely Greek religious and mythical thought relating to a number of Greek deities can be linked with Near Eastern myth and ritual. No definite associations can be positively proved, but similarities between Near Eastern and Greek religious practice can lead to speculation as to the origins of some Greek deities, myths, and rituals.

One of the most obvious links is that between the great Near Eastern goddess Inanna-Ishtar and her Greek alter ego Aphrodite. The Greeks themselves acknowledged that Aphrodite was of non-Greek origin, having been born from the foam and making landfall on Cyprus. The multiple genders or roles attributed to Inanna-Ishtar, and the resulting duality or multiplicity of the anthropomorphic figurines associated with her, as discussed in Chapter Two, have echoes in later Greek religious expression.

Multiplicity is one of the puzzling aspects of the Bronze Age Cypriot Plank Figures that occur in double or even triple-headed manifestations. It was proposed in Chapter Two that this was an attempt to render the multiple-role or gender aspects of the goddess and this multiplicity can also be noted on figures from Greek sites.

51 Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum I. no.89
Dual figures extend beyond the Bronze Age period and can be observed in later contexts. It is notable that these figures exist into the literate period and can be attested as belonging to the world of religious observances. Thus it may be safe to extrapolate retrospectively and suggest that the later images are the continuation of much earlier manifestations of a goddess or goddesses who had multiple roles or perhaps dual gender.

T. Hadzisteliou Price comments that multiple figures, depicted either in relief, as statuettes, or as statues, have traditionally been interpreted as representing Demeter and Kore or the Nymphs. The concept of duality or multiplicity had early beginnings, as doubled or duplicated female figures were found at Neolithic Catal Hüyük (see Fig. 14) and have been interpreted as being endowed with religious meaning. We have already discussed the Bronze Age Cypriot double and triple-headed Plank Figures in Chapter Two, but suffice it to note that these, too, appear to have had religious motivation. 52

Camiran and Tanagra statuettes show two heads emerging from one body (Fig. 145) in much the same way as Plank Figures are rendered in Bronze Age Cyprus. Demeter and Kore may account for the two-headed varieties as inscriptions from Rhodes refer to ‘Damateres’. 53 However, duplication or triplication was also a method of showing the different aspects of one goddess and this is noted by Pausanias who refers to three statues of Aphrodite in the same temple, representing Aphrodite Ourania, Pandemos, and Averter (IX: 16.3). The multiplicity of roles accorded to the Near Eastern Inanna·Ishtar is echoed in the varied roles assigned to Aphrodite. Plutarch gives the interpretations of Aphrodite’s titles as: Ourania for pure love free of the lusts of the body; Pandemos for copulation; and Averter for turning the human race away from wicked desires and unholy actions.

52 Pausanias informs us that during the classical period in Greece three cult statues of Eileithyia were venerated by the Athenians (1.17.5); whilst in Homer this goddess was referred to both in the singular (Odyssey XIX 188) and in the plural (Iliad XI 270). This singular/plural denomination is also the case in references to Eileithyia in inscriptions from Delos (T. Hadzisteliou Price [1971:53] 91, pp. 48-69).

Aphrodite's genealogy varies according to different authors. For Hesiod she is the offspring of a mingling of Ouranos' severed genitals with the sea (*Theogony* 188-206), whilst for Homer she is the daughter of Zeus (*Iliad* III:374; *Odyssey* VIII:308, 320) and Dione (*Iliad* V:370-71). Himerios, quoted by Photius (*Bibliotheca* 243), suggests that the Earth was pregnant as a result of the deeds of the Sky, and a goddess was born with gentle waves surrounding her birth (see also Nonnus *Dionysiaca* XIII:456-460). In an Orphic hymn Aphrodite is the daughter of Thetis (*Orphic Hymn* XXII:1-8) whilst Bion calls her the daughter of Zeus and the sea (*Apospasmata* XIV:1-2). For Euripides Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus (*Theseus* 388.5). Plato considers that there were two Aphrodites. The earlier one, Ourania, was without a mother and was the daughter of the sky; the later Aphrodite was Pandemos, daughter of Zeus and Dione (*Symposium* 180d). Four Aphrodites were accounted for by John the Lydian. One was born from the Sky and the Day; another from foam; yet another from Zeus and Dione; whilst the final Aphrodite, the goddess of Syria and Cyprus, was called Astarte (*De mensibus* IV:64).

Aphrodite's birth from Ouranos, according to Hesiod, and her associations with Syria, Cyprus, and the Phoenician goddess Astarte, according to John the Lydian,

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54 It may be significant that Dione is given by Homer as Aphrodite's mother as this goddess was, according to Philo of Byblos' Sanchuniathon, also called Baaltis, and was given Byblos by her
seem to suggest that Aphrodite was originally an oriental deity. It may be that this oriental goddess’ functions as a love/sex goddess echoed those of a Mycenaean deity, one of the many versions of *Potnia*, whose name appears in the Linear B texts (whilst the name *Aphrodite* does not). J. van Leuven considers a version of *Potnia* to be a precursor of Aphrodite, and notes that some early Aegean cult places, such as Kato Syme, are thought to have been associated with Aphrodite from the Middle Minoan II period onwards. One of the many Mycenaean ‘Potnias’ may have had a similar personality to that of the Oriental goddess and was assimilated with the goddess Astarte on Cyprus to become *Wanassa*, and thence was given the name Aphrodite. Aphrodite’s main claim to fame is her love-goddess persona. In this capacity she is also a marriage goddess, and a deity of sexual aspect which also included her association with sacred prostitution.

**a. Love and marriage goddess**

The Greek Aphrodite is best known for her ability to inspire love – in humans and in animals alike. The Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* sums up this aspect of Aphrodite’s persona:

Μούσα μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρῶσου Ἀφροδίτης,
Κύπριδος, ἢτε θεοίστιν ἐκί γυνὴν ἤμερον Ὑπερε
καὶ τ’ ἐδαμάσσατο φύλα καταθνητῶν ἄνθρώπων
οἰκείος τε διπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,
ἡμέν δ’ ἔτεκμος πολλὰ τρέφει ἤδ’ ὅσα πάντος:
πάσιν δ’ ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐνστεφάνου Κυθερείς.

(*Hymn to Aphrodite* V:1-6)

Muse, tell me the deeds of golden Aphrodite the Cyprian, who stirs up sweet passion in the gods and subdues the tribes of mortal men and birds that fly in the air and all the many creatures that the dry land rears, and all that the sea: all these love the deeds of rich-crowned Cytherea.\(^{56}\)

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\(^{55}\) J. van Leuven (1979:127) ‘Mycenaean goddesses called *Potnia*’ *Kadmos* 18, pp.112-129

\(^{56}\) Translated by H. Evelyn-White. *Loeb Classical Library*, 1920

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Aphrodite has the ability to make men fall in love with her, as in the above hymn in which she causes Anchises to be seized with love when she approaches him in the guise of a mortal woman (84-106). However, in this particular episode, Zeus has caused Aphrodite herself to fall in love with the mortal Anchises in retribution for her meddling in the love affairs of mortals (47-52).

According to Servius, the Ephesians gave Aphrodite the title ‘Automata’ as she was the source of spontaneous love (Servius on Virgil Aeneid 720). However, of all beings there were three goddesses, Athene, Artemis, and Hestia, who were unable to be lured into falling in love by the wiles of Aphrodite (Homeric Hymn V:7-22).

In her capacity as a love goddess, Aphrodite’s sphere also encompasses marriage. Plutarch notes an Aphrodite ὠρμα at Delphi (Ambitorius XXIII:769a), whilst second century A.D. inscriptions referring to sanctuaries of Aphrodite Pandemos and Νυμφή (the bride) occur on the south-west slope of the Acropolis. Pausanias also refers to an Aphrodite Νομφία (II:32.7). In Sparta there was an Aphrodite of the bridal chamber, Θαλάμων (Hesychius. s.v. ἄνασσα, Ἄφροδίτη), whilst Artemidorus believed that Aphrodite Ourania was especially associated with marriage (Oneirocriticon II:37). Stobaeus expounds on Aphrodite presiding over the ‘lawful intercourse’ of men and women (67.20), and Mark the Deacon associates Aphrodite with marriage when he reports that in the Palestinian Gaza of his day a statue of Aphrodite gave answers in dreams to those who wished to marry. Pausanias (II:34.11) informs us of a shrine of Aphrodite in Hermione at which all virgin girls and widowed women who meant to go with a man had to sacrifice before marriage.

Aphrodite’s marriage to Adonis, which took place at Alexandria, suggests that she was involved in a rite of ‘Sacred Marriage’, as was Inanna-Ishtar with Dumuzi-Tammuz. It is only Dumuzi-Tammuz whom Inanna-Ishtar actually marries, but she has many lovers and these are enumerated in the Epic of Gilgamesh (Tablet VI:42-78). In

57 IG ii2, 5149

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these lines Gilgamesh cites Ishtar's former lovers, many of whom she turned into
animals so that she could hunt them down after she had tired of them: Tammuz, a lion;
a stallion; the keeper of the herd; and Ishullanu, her father's gardener. Ishtar attempts
to add Gilgamesh to this list but he spurns her advances.

In Greek literature Aphrodite is married more often than her Near Eastern
counterpart, but she was not a faithful wife. In the Iliad Aphrodite is the wife of Ares,
whilst in the Odyssey she is married to Hephaistos, on whom she cheats with Ares
(VIII:266-271). It is to be expected that a goddess of love and sex would have many
lovers and Aphrodite's included Anchises, Ares, Adonis, Kinyras (the king of Cyprus)
(Clement of Alexandria Protrept. II:33 p.29), and Pygmalion.

It may be that a 'Sacred Marriage' was behind the story of Pygmalion, the king
of Cyprus who fell in love with an image he had sculpted - probably depicting
Aphrodite (Arnobius Adversus Nationes VI:22; Ovid Metamorphoses X:243-297;
Clement of Alexandria Protrept. IV:51 P). It is significant that it is on the day of
Venus' (Aphrodite) festival, the holiest festival in Cyprus, that the statue, sculpted by
Pygmalion, is given life by the goddess. To add to the confusion, yet still maintaining
the Cypriot connection, Hesychius gives the name Πυγμαίον as a Cypriot synonym
for Adonis (Hesychius s.v. ὁ Ἀδωνὶς παρὰ κυρήφοις). That Pygmalion was a
Phoenician name is attested by Josephus who writes that Dido fled from her brother
Pygmalion, king of Tyre (Contra Apionem 1:18).59 In addition to this evidence is an
inscription which tells us that, at the time of Alexander the Great, there was a king of
Kition and Idalion named Pumiayathon.60 Pygmalion was also the name of the king who
founded Paphos and his daughter, Metharme, married Kinyras according to
Apollodorus (Bibliotheica III:14,3) and Eustathios (ad Iliadem XI:827-830).61 It is
significant that Pygmalion is associated with Astarte in an inscription on the 'Douîmès

59 Also Timaios (frag.23 Muller Frag. histior. graec. I, 197)
60 References cited by L.Frazer (1914) p.50 n.2
61 For a discussion on Pygmalion see H.Müller (1988) 'Pygmaion, Pygmalion und Pumaijaton. Aus
der Geschichte einer mythischen Gestalt' Orientalia (new series) 57, pp.192-205
Pendant' from Carthage, as this is another link between this name and Aphrodite’s alter ego.\(^\text{62}\)

**b. Prostitute**

As we have seen here previously, Inanna-Ishtar was a goddess with a sexual aspect alongside her numerous other personae. This role of the goddess seems to re-occur in Aphrodite and can be argued to have been a facet known to Hesiod. Hesiod’s use of the words φιλομεμέδεα and φιλομεμεδέα in the *Theogony* raises questions as to his intentions regarding their literal meanings. Was Hesiod merely enjoying a play on words when he used them as epithets of Aphrodite, or was he aware of an ancient Near Eastern tradition which specifically referred to a love-goddess with epithets focusing on her sexual practices? The present discussion intends to offer evidence to support the theory that Hesiod (probably through the intermediary of Cyprus) was aware of a number of epithets of the Near Eastern goddess Inanna-Ishtar- Astarte which referred to her sexual activities, but that either from ignorance or from choice he used one of them in reference to Aphrodite’s birth from the severed genitals of Ouranos, instead of applying it to the sexual aspect of her love-goddess persona. Hesiod also used other epithets to describe his Aphrodite, and these will be noted as evidence of his recycling of ancient Near Eastern cult ritual focusing on a love-goddess and sacred prostitution.

In the past some scholars have been so discomforted by the lines in Hesiod’s *Theogony* which contain the reference to Aphrodite’s birth from the severed genitals of Ouranos, that they have sought to prove them to be later additions to the original text. In 1926, F. Jacoby\(^\text{63}\) proposed that lines 188-206 were early interpolations, a proposal that was rejected, in part, by U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff who, nevertheless, agreed that lines 201-206 should be excised.\(^\text{64}\) P. Friedlander (1931), in his review of Jacoby’s

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\(^{63}\) F. Jacoby (1926) ‘Hesiodstudien zu Theogonie’ *Hermes* 61, pp.157-191

\(^{64}\) U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1956) *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I, Basel, p.93f, n.3
Hesiodi Carmina 1: Theogonia, also rejected Jacoby’s view. W. Sale (1961) suggests that lines 188-206 should not be considered interpolations, but that line 196 should. Sale notes that Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’s defence of the presence of lines 188-200 was supported by the assertion that Aphrodite cannot be absent from a Theogony; however, it is more compelling that in line 16 Hesiod himself signals his intention to sing of Aphrodite.

Some of the disquiet caused by lines 188-200 might be attributable to line 200 and the difficulty associated with the interpretation of φιλομμηνήγ (l.200) which seems to have caused as much discussion among scholars as the question of Hesiod’s authorship of lines 188-206. D. Boedeker (1974) considers that Hesiod’s etymology deriving φιλομμηνήγ from μήδεα, because Aphrodite was born in the ‘testicles’ of Ouranos, is ‘patently false’ and that the epithet is derived from the verb μετιάσω/μετίσω meaning ‘smile’. P. Friedrich states that the translation of φιλομμηδέα as ‘member-loving’ is one that has been ‘almost universally rejected by classicists and Indo-Europeanists as “patently false”’, yet he adds that the translation ‘seems cogent in terms of Aphrodite’s historical connections with Ishtar’.

There can be no doubt that Hesiod intended the reader to link φιλομμηδέα with the birth of Aphrodite from the severed genitals of Ouranos, and the association with ‘member’ is therefore stronger than any translation referring to ‘smile’.

As early as c.190 A.D. Clement of Alexandria, in his Exhortation to the Greeks (II), appeared to accept readily both Hesiod’s etymology and the link between φιλομμηδέα and testicles:

\[ \text{ἡ μὲν οὖν "ἀφρογενής" τε καὶ "κυκρογενής," ἡ Κινύρα φίλη (τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν "φιλομμηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαύσην," μηδέων ἐκείνην τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ, τῶν λάγων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κύμια βεβιασμένων).} \]

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66 W. Sale (1961)
67 D. Boedeker (1974) Aphrodite’s Entry into Greek Epic, Mnemosyne, supplement 32, Leiden, p.23 & n.1

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There is, then, both the ‘foam-born’ the ‘Cyprus-born’ goddess, the darling of Cinyras. I mean Aphrodite, who received the name ‘Philomèdes because she was born from the medea’, those lustful members that were cut off from Uranos and after the separation did violence to the wave.\footnote{Translated by G.Butterworth, Loeb Classical Library, 1953, p.33}

\(\phi \iota \lambda \omega \)- is usually interpreted as meaning ‘loving’ and it is from this translation that either ‘smile-loving’ or ‘member-loving’ is derived. ‘Member-loving’ appears never to imply an overtly erotic connotation in any translation of Hesiod except that of Clement of Alexandria who attempts to highlight Aphrodite’s lascivious aspects. However, Boedeker points out that the epithet ‘smile-loving’ in Homeric contexts is often associated with the seductive aspect of Aphrodite and is especially notable in the fifth Homeric \textit{Hymn To Aphrodite} (56, 65, 155). If, therefore, ‘smile-loving’ is a euphemism for an erotic interpretation of ‘member-loving’, we are approaching the essence of the connection between Hesiod’s Aphrodite and the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar that the present discussion is attempting to elucidate.\footnote{P.Friedrich (1978:204) comments: ‘the double-entendre also illustrates the operation of verbal taboo, since the epithet in question could always be taken as ‘smile-loving’.}

Prostitution might be the underlying theme in the interpretation of φιλομηδέα if one takes into account epithets of Ishtar which seem to be closely associated with the Hesiodic epithet for Aphrodite. As has been shown here previously, the epithet φιλομηδής in the Hesiodic context can be interpreted as ‘member-loving.’ This translation might be applicable to the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar who, in hymns, bears the epithets \textit{harimtu} ‘prostitute’ and \textit{harimtu ṛa‘imtu} ‘loving prostitute’ in Akkadian, whilst in the Sumerian version of a bilingual text she is ‘the prostitute who knows (her) man’.\footnote{J.Bottéro (1987) (see \textit{supra} Ch.2, n.120).}
Additional evidence for Inanna-Ishtar’s interest in male genitalia can be noted in some of the me given to Inanna-Ishtar by Enki which include:

He gave me the art of love-making
He gave me the art of kissing the phallus
He gave me the art of prostitution

The theme presented here concentrates on the familiarity of Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite with male genitals - whether by birth from them, or by prostitution. In addition to this, Hesiod’s epithets of Aphrodite, ἐλικωβλέφαρον ‘quick-glancing’, φιλομυηδής and φιλομυηδής all seem to have erotic overtones if their possible Near Eastern origins are taken into account, and so too can the epithet ἔνστεφανος be viewed in the same light. Not only does Ishtar’s alter ego Kili sit at windows waiting for clients, but she wears a ‘crown’ which suggests that the headwear was associated with this occupation, and there is some evidence that the wearing of an article of adornment around the forehead was a badge of the prostitute. Herodotus comments

74 The astute reader will notice that the ivory ‘woman at the window’ from Nimrud (Fig.2) wears no headband. However, she does wear a necklace and one Hymn to Inanna is specific regarding this piece of jewellery:

you, my lady, dress like one of no repute
in a single garment,
the beads (the sign) of a harlot
you put around your neck

Hosca (II:2) seems to suggest that a necklace is a badge of the idolatrous ‘harlot’ when he states:
let her (Gomer) therefore put away her whoredoms out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts
However, in depictions of the ‘woman at the window’ from Khorsabad and Arslan-Tash, the figure wears a jewelled head-dress (N.Robertson [1982] ) and on some ivories, the head-dress is tied with a cord (cf. Herodotus 1.199.2) e.g. C.Suter (1992:fig.4g) ‘Die Frau am Fenster in der orientalischen Elfenbein-Schnitzkunst des frühen 1 Jahrtausends v Chr.’ Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg 29, pp.7-28
on this in his much-quoted description of the sacred prostitutes at the temple of Mylitta at Babylon, a goddess whom Herodotus equates with Aphrodite. The women at this Babylonian temple came to offer themselves once to a stranger before marriage (1.199). Herodotus saw fit to note that these women wore an identifying badge of their status as sacred prostitutes in the form of a στέφανος θυσίας, a ‘crown consisting of a cord’. Herodotus records that the ritual of sacred prostitution also occurred in Cyprus, thus the Cypriot goddess is implicated in this practice. Sacred prostitution is described by St. Augustine in *The City of God* (IV:10), and again in the apocryphal *Letter of Jeremiah* (43) wherein the symbolic importance of the headgear is stressed by noting that it was broken after the act. In the Old Testament Jeremiah implies a link between prostitution and an identifying badge worn around the forehead when he states to Judah: ‘Thou hadst a whore’s forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed’ (III:3). The *tiara* is linked with the hierodule and perhaps fertility in a hymn by Enheduanna in which Inanna is referred to as:

Heirodule of An, much bejeweled,
Who loves the life-giving tiara, fit for the priesthood

It is worth noting that the ‘sacred prostitution’ aspect of the cult of Aphrodite is attested to at Corinth by Strabo who gives information regarding regular temple prostitution (Strabo VIII:6.20). Aphrodite herself is given the appellation Ἑταίρα by Athenaeus (XIII:571), who mentions her title also as being Πόρνη at Abydos (XIII:572).

A link between the Near Eastern Ishtar, the Cypriot Astarte-Aphrodite, and Hesiod’s Aphrodite can also be argued on the basis of another, Hesiodic, epithet of Aphrodite: ἐλλεύξαραν ‘quick-glancing’ (1.16). It is not so much Hesiod’s

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75 ‘The women also with cords about them sit in the ways burning bran for incense; but if any of them drawn by some that pass by, lie with them, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not though worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.’ Cited in L.Farnell (1911) p.270
76 S.Kramer (1979) p.87
77 In Pindar’s eulogy for Xenophon of Corinth it is stated that Xenophon vowed to devote one hundred courtesans to the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth should he succeed in competition for the Olympic crown (Frag.122 [87]). The apocryphal *Testament of Judah* (12,1) notes that it was: ‘a custom of the Amorites to let [their women] who wish to marry, seven days to act the harlot at the gate’.
rendering in Greek of the epithet, but the fact that this (erotic) sidelong glance can also be written in Greek as \( \alpha \)\( \kappa \alpha \kappa \kappa \omega \tau o\nu o\sigma \)\( \alpha \) - \( \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \'\alpha \kappa \omega \) carrying the meanings 'looking sideways at with glances of love',\(^{78} \) 'look carelessly at', and also 'to lean forward and peep out of a door, window etc'. The link between Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite becomes apparent as Inanna-Ishtar in her role as prostitute is depicted in both literature and in art as soliciting for clients from a window - hence the overtones of erotic invitation implied by the words \( \epsilon \lambda \iota \kappa \o\beta \lambda \epsilon \phi \alpha \rho o\nu \) and \( \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \kappa \omega \tau o\nu o\sigma \alpha \):

O Inanna, you are bent on going into your (usual) window
(namely, to solicit) for a lover.\(^{80} \)

Had Hesiod been aware that one of the interpretations of \( \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \kappa \omega \tau o\nu o\sigma \alpha \) refers to a 'Woman at the Window' he could not have included it as an epithet in his *Theogony* as there is no context into which it would fit. However, the alternative meaning as expressed by \( \epsilon \lambda \iota \kappa \o\beta \lambda \epsilon \phi \alpha \rho o\nu \), is much more general and can be applied in any context.

Plutarch (*Amatorius* XX:766C-D) relates what is probably an aetiological myth explaining the appearance of a statue of 'Aphrodite *Parakyptousa*' in Cyprus. Plutarch's version of the story is set in Golgoi,\(^{81} \) and relates the story of a young woman who stood at her window and watched, without pity, the funeral cortège of a young man who had committed suicide because of her. Aphrodite was so angered by the young woman's lack of compassion that she turned her to stone. The actual statue of the woman whom Aphrodite turned to stone was housed in a temple of 'Aphrodite *Parakyptousa*', or 'Venus Prospiciens' in Salamis, according to Ovid (*Metamorphoses* XIV:760/1). Ovid, in a similar story to that of Plutarch, tells how Aphrodite condemned the Propoetides of Amathus first to prostitution then to be turned into stone for denying her divinity (*Metamorphoses* X:221,238ff).\(^{82} \) This myth adds the

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\(^{78}\) For an exhaustive discussion of *Aphrodite Πορακκώπτουσα* see W. Fauth (1966) *Aphrodite Parakyptousa* Göttingen

\(^{79}\) R. Barnett (1957) p.149

\(^{80}\) T. Jacobsen (1976) p.140

\(^{81}\) Golgoi has been identified with Old Paphos (Kouklia) by Neubauer (1877) *Comm. Phil. In hon. Th. Mommseni*, p.673-693; or *Athienou* by G. Hill (1972) p.67

\(^{82}\) Another version (*Antoninus Liberalis Metamorphoses* 39, citing Hermesianax Leontium) names the pitiless young woman as Arsinoe, daughter of the Nicocreon king of Salamis (ob. 310 B.C.) and her lover as the Phoenician, Arceophon.
dimension of prostitution to Plutarch’s tale of the consequences of incurring Aphrodite’s wrath, and a combination of the myths results in links between prostitution and the ‘Woman at the Window’ in Cyprus. Aristophanes uses the term παρακόπτωνσα in reference to women of loose morals in his Pax (982) and Thesmophoriazusae (797); a circumstance which suggests that there was some accepted link between the act of peeping out of windows and a lack of sexual discretion. Barnett notes that the cult of Aphrodite Parakoptousa was probably identical with that of the goddess Kilili (a form of Ishtar), which was known in Babylon from Sumerian times onwards, as her epithet is Ab-ba-šu-šu in Sumerian ‘Kilili of the window’ and muširtum ša apati or ša apata ušarra in Assyrian, meaning ‘the leaning woman of the window’ and ‘the one who leans out of the window’. Kilili has been previously noted in this discussion for her etymological association with the Akkadian word for ‘crown’ and this creates a link between the act of sitting in a window to attract clients and the wearing of some form of badge on the forehead to signal availability. Hence a possible link between Hesiod’s ἐντεφέροντος (l.1008) and Aphrodite as a prostitute is established.

The antiquity of the motif of the ‘Woman at the Window’ is attested to as early as the twelfth century B.C. in Cyprus in the form of a bronze stand, from Enkomi, which bears on each of its four sides the heads of two women gazing from a window (Fig.146). In Assyrian and Phoenician art of a later date than the bronze stand from Enkomi, the ‘Woman at the Window motif’ is common on ivories and examples have been found at Nimrud (Fig.147), Arslan-Tash, Samaria, Khorsabad, and Sultan Tepe.

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83 R.Barnett (1957) p.150. Kilili is also known as tēlītu ‘the accomplished’ — an epithet of harlots. This epithet is related to Ishtar in the text l-ua ap-ti bi-ti it-ta-šab te-li-tum ‘ištar which W.Fauth (1966) translates as: ‘ins Fenster des Hauses setzt sich die kluge Ištar’, p.417
85 It is notable that Cypriot Salamis, where Ovid’s Venus Prospectans is located, is the direct successor of Bronze Age Enkomi, thus the bronze stand and the aetiological myths may reflect the same cult. The bronze stand is three centuries earlier than the accepted date for Phoenician influence in Cyprus, suggesting that the motif must have come to Cyprus considerably earlier than c900 B.C. N.Robertson (1982)
It is worth noting that an example of a rectangular gold plaque with repoussé decoration, from the Cypro-Geometric III period (850-750 B.C.), from Palaepaphos-Skales, Tomb 79:1, Cyprus, bears a depiction of a rectangular double-framed window which contains an image of Astarte who seems to look down upon the chariot scene in the lower register. Other plaques depict a 'goddess with uplifted arms' in the same type of window frame, suggesting that both the head of Astarte and the 'goddess with uplifted arms' are the same deity. These plaques appear to belong to a series which, when joined together, form a tiara. V. Karageorghis notes that the images on the plaques are particularly associated with Astarte and that several of the figures depicted wear low tiarae, suggesting perhaps that 'this crown was worn in connection with a ceremony in honour of Astarte'. These golden plaques may depict the myth of the 'Woman at the Window', and here we have this motif associated with a crown and also decisively linked with Astarte.
There appear to be a number of connections between Hesiod’s Aphrodite and the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar and some of the more cogent comparanda will now be provided. It is these connections which support the theory proposed in the present thesis that Hesiod was well aware of the epithets of a love-goddess who was already in existence in Near Eastern myth, and that his Aphrodite’s epithets were taken over from that goddess. Hesiod’s Aphrodite is the daughter of a sky-god and this is one aspect in which she resembles Ishtar who, in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, is the daughter of the sky-god Anu. In a Hittite myth, *Kingship in Heaven*, Kumarbi bites off and swallows Anu’s genitals and, despite the fact that these are severed from Anu, his seed continues to be generative. Kumarbi appears to equate with Hesiod’s Chronos who castrated Ouranos and who, like Anu, was a sky-god. There are no extant texts telling us that Ishtar was the offspring of the castrated genitals of Anu, yet the circumstance of deities rising from Anu’s seed, still generative after the genitals have been severed, remains a parallel with Hesiod’s version.

Hesiod’s description of Aphrodite in *Theogony* has direct associations with a hymn to Inanna-Ishtar in that Hesiod writes:

\[
\text{ἐκ δὲ ἔβη σίδοιν καλὴ θεός, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίη}
\]

\[
\text{ποσσίν ὀπὸ ραδίνοσίν ἀέξετο·}
\]

1.194-5

and came forth an awful and lovely goddess
and grass grew up about her lovely feet

This can be compared favourably with a quote from a hymn to Ishtar:

I step onto the heavens, and the rain
rains down,
I step onto the earth, and grass and herbs
sprout up

_Aholah and Aholibah sacrificed their children to idols, and then they painted their eyes and decked themselves with ornaments before committing 'whoredoms'. See also Jeremiah IV:30._

90 J.Pritchard (1969a) p.84
91 P.Walcott (1966) *Hesiod and the Near East* Cardiff, p.2
92 Translated by H.Evelyn-White (1952) Loeb Classical Library, p.93

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Inanna-Ishtar-Ashtoroth is also Mal'kat Haššamayim, ‘Queen of Heaven’ (Jeremiah VII:18) and, although Hesiod does not call Aphrodite by the title ‘Ourania’, she is the daughter of Ouranos and, elsewhere in Greek literature, she is Aphrodite Ourania. Another alter-ego of Ishtar is ‘Kilili’ (nominative ‘Kililu’), which in Akkadian means ‘crown’, ‘garland’, or ‘fillet’; and it is significant that Hesiod’s Aphrodite is ἐνυπέφαγενς ‘richly-crowned’ (1008). It is a possibility that the crown worn by Inanna-Ishtar and by Aphrodite is a reference to the activities of these goddesses in association with prostitution.

c. Hermaphrodite and transvestite goddess

Inanna-Ishtar is to be considered as both male and female, and in a prayer of lamentation she is addressed as ‘my god and my goddess’. Astarte is noted as being of dual gender by L.Farnell, who comments on a Phoenician inscription referring to a ‘King Astarte’. There is evidence from Cyprus to suggest that there was a dual gender Aphrodite worshipped on that island, and Macrobius attests to a Venus Barbata (Saturnalia III:8). This would appear to link her with the dual gender Inanna-Ishtar-Astarte. Macrobius applauds Virgil’s depth of knowledge regarding the dual gender of Aphrodite, as in the Aeneid (II:632) Virgil actually referred to the ‘god’s’ guidance rather than that of the ‘goddess’ when referring to Aphrodite. However, it may be that

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93 G.Reisner (1896) no.56 Rev.49-52, cited in T.Jacobsen (1976) p.136. It is interesting to note that this is the same hymn that gives the reference to Inanna as prostitute, used here to support the theory that Hesiod knew of this goddess and that she was the prototype of his Aphrodite.

94 Vocalised (against the Masoretes’ pointing) to mean ‘Queen’ in accordance with the translation of LXX at XLIV 17, 19, and 25 (ιυ Βασιλισσα τω ουρανω) and in disregard of the implausible translation at VII:18 (ιυ ουρανω τοι ουρανω). See Geserius, Hardwirterbuch, 17th ed., s.v. מלכת (*malkékat) In a lament (tablet BM 96679 I.6) Inanna refers to herself as ‘the queen of heaven’ whilst in a self-laudatory chant she proclaims: ‘I, the Queen of Heaven am I!’ quoted in S.Kramer (1979) p.92

95 Eg. Pausanias I.14.7, VII.26.7, VI.25.2, Herodotus I.105; Lucian De Dea Syria 33

96 R.Barnett (1957) p.150

97 There is a possibility that Hesiod was aware of the richness of crowns in the ancient Near East if one compares his description of Pandora’s crown (Theogony 1.578-384) with a Sumerian example from Ur (c.2500 B.C.) now in the Philadelphia University Museum. Hesiod’s crown was of gold and ‘On it was much curious work, wonderful to see, for of the many creatures which the land and sea rear up, he put most upon it, wonderful things, like living beings with voices: and great beauty shone from it.’ The crown from Ur is adorned with miniature golden fruit trees, plants, and tiny animals of different kinds.

98 J.Pritchard (1955) p.384

99 L.Farnell (1896) p.628

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Macrobius misunderstood Virgil’s application of the Greek usage of the male gender when referring to either gods or goddesses. This does not alter the fact that Macrobius believed that Aphrodite was of dual gender, and he may have been basing his observations on more evidence than he provides. Macrobius also notes here that in a poem of Calvus, according to Aterianus, ‘Venus the powerful god’ was mentioned.

Ishtar appears to have the ability to actually change men into women. N.Na’Aman cites a text (AT 1, 1920) in defence of statements that Ishtar can bring about this gender reversal: *May Ishtar deliver him into the hands of those who pursue him; May Ishtar . . . impress feminine parts into his male parts.*\(^{100}\) Again, in the *Era Epic* (IV 55-56), Ishtar is given responsibility for turning men into women: * . . . the male prostitutes and sodomites, whom Ishtar, in order to make the people reverent, had turned from men into women.*\(^{101}\) A relief plaque, from Tell Khafaje (Iraq), bears an image of a bearded figure wearing a garment covering the left shoulder in the feminine style of the period, which may depict a cross-dressed follower of Ishtar.\(^{102}\) The goddess Ishtar was herself transvestite and was often depicted wearing her garment covering her right shoulder in male fashion. An example of this can be seen in a relief of Anubanini from the sculptured rock at Zohar, in the Zagros mountain region to the east of Diyala (Fig. 148).\(^{103}\) Other examples of Ishtar’s transvestism and that of her followers have been already noted in Chapter Two.

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102 G.Driver & J.Miles (1939:69) ‘The *SAL-ZIKRUM* ‘WOMAN-MAN’ IN Old Babylonian texts’ *Iraq* VI, pp.66-70
103 J.Pritchard (1954) fig.524
Transvestism also seems to have been an aspect of Cypriot worship, as Macrobius (Saturnalia III:8) notes that in Cyprus the two genders exchanged dress in the worship of the dual gender Aphroditos, or the bearded Venus. A festival in Greece may echo the Near Eastern practice of transvestism as Plutarch notes that at Argos there was a feast known as the 'Υβριστικά at which women wore men’s clothes and men wore women’s (Plutarch De Mul. Virt. IV:p.245f).

Elsewhere, Aphrodite was perceived as having dual gender. John the Lydian informs us that the Pamphylians once worshipped a bearded Aphrodite (De mensibus. IV:p.89). Like Ishtar, Aphrodite was able to effect a gender swap. According to legend, Theseus was sacrificing a female goat to Aphrodite when it was suddenly transformed into a male (Plutarch Theseus 18). Herodotus also refers to this ability when he notes that Aphrodite was able to make the Scythians effeminate as a punishment for pillaging the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ascalon (1:103f). Herodotus’ comments have a remarkable similarity with the quote from the Near Eastern Era Epic quoted above in reference to Ishtar’s gender-swapping abilities.

That cross-dressing was a feature of idolatrous religions is implied in the Old Testament as wearing the clothes of the opposite gender is expressly forbidden:

The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment: for all that
do are an abomination unto the Lord thy God.

(Deuteronomy XXII:5)

As we have seen, Macrobius notes the dual gender Aphrodite in Cyprus, and it is possible that as early as the Bronze Age in Cyprus there were representations of a bearded goddess who wore clothing covering her right shoulder in the fashion of Inanna-Ishtar. From a Middle Bronze Age context at Ayia Paraskevi comes a White Painted ware terracotta figure with a beard and small breasts (Fig. 149).\textsuperscript{104} This figure is of unidentifiable gender but has pierced ears such as those found on (female) Red Polished ware Plank Figures. The possibility that this figure is female, or hermaphrodite, is supported by the appearance of a garment draped over the right shoulder in the same manner as the attire depicted on a number of Red Polished ware Plank Figures which have breasts signifying that they are female (see Fig. 43 Chapter Two).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{fig149.png}
\caption{White painted ware figurine. Middle Bronze Age. From Ayia Paraskevi.}
\end{figure}

Another bearded female figure may exist in the example from Ayia Paraskevi Tomb 6 (no. 47) (Middle to Late Cypriot) which is described as having a broadly triangular head with pinched-out facial features. The breasts are formed in relief, as are the eyes. The nostrils, mouth, fingers, navel, pubes, and toes are all rendered by

\textsuperscript{104} V. Tatton-Brown (1979) Cat. 72, p. 33, & pl. 72
incision. The hands are placed under the breasts in a pose often associated with Astarte. The figure is naked and the pubic triangle is indicated by incision. Dark grey paint covers the hair, eyebrows, pupils, the sides of the face, and the chin as if representing a beard. Around the neck is a triple-banded necklace, the lower two bands of which are painted red. The backs of the shoulders are also painted this colour. Another figurine from the same tomb (no.46) is decorated with grey and red paint in a similar manner to the former, and her body is naked as is indicated by the incised pubic triangle and vulva. She wears a necklace and an arm-bracelet, and has her arms bent to below her breasts. Her hair is dressed with side-locks in relief in the style that, as we have noted here previously, is associated with that of Inanna-Ishtar.106

Later in the present chapter reference will be made to a plaque, from Perachora near Corinth, which depicts the birth of Aphrodite from the genitals of Ouranos. The figure on this object is depicted with a beard and this is relevant to the present discussion (see Fig. 162).

d. War goddess

The association of Aphrodite with Ares, the god of war, is illustrated by Pausanias' description of an altar of Ares in Arkadia which had two statues of Aphrodite in the temple: one of white stone and 'the more ancient one' wooden (VI:37.12). This, and Aphrodite's role as the wife of Ares in the Iliad, may be a remnant of her bellicose ancestor Inanna-Ishtar:

Lordly queen of the awesome me, garbed in fear, who rides
the great me,
Inanna, you who have perfected the a-ankara weapon, who are
covered in its blood,
Who storm about in great battles, who step on shields...107

107 S.Kramer (1979) p.76
There is enough evidence to suggest that, like Inanna-Ištar, Aphrodite was involved in the arts of war on her own account. According to Pausanias, there was an ‘ancient’ temple at Sparta which contained a cult-statue of an armed Aphrodite (III:15.10 & 11). This cannot have been entirely attributable to the Spartan love of war, as Pausanias also notes an armed Aphrodite at Acrocorinth (II:5.1). That this form of the goddess was not an innovation of Pausanias’ time is borne out by the armed wooden idol in the ‘most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Greece’, that of Aphrodite Ourania on the island of Kythera (III:23.1).

It is possible that Inanna-Ištar’s warlike persona was melded with that of a Mycenaean war-goddess. It may be that one of the Mycenaean ‘Potniaí’ merged with the Cypriot descendant of Inanna-Ištar, Wannasa, discussed here previously. Proof of a Mycenaean war-goddess exists in the form of a small, rectangular, painted plaque discovered in a Late Bronze Age shrine at Mycenae in 1886. At the centre of the scene on the plaque is a female figure, mostly covered by a figure-eight shield and carrying a sword in her hand. A small Cretan-style altar at her left indicates that she is a goddess. Also from Mycenae comes a fresco fragment which bears the depiction of the upper part of a female figure, wearing a warrior’s boar’s tusk helmet, and carrying in her arms a baby griffin.

From the Aegean comes a very early example of an armed female figure in the form of an intaglio on a seal of red carnelian (Fig.150). This seal was found in the basement room of the ‘stepped portico’ of the palace at Knossos and has been dated to the Late Minoan IA period. The woman depicted on the seal brandishes a sword in her right hand whilst in her left she carries an angular object reminiscent of a grass-scythe. Rehak considers this war-goddess to be one aspect of Potnia and her later

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109 For a discussion of statues of an armed Aphrodite see O.Broner (1930) “The “Armed Aphrodite” on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua” University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 1:2, pp.65-84
110 P.Rehak (1984) fig.4
112 Rehak notes that the object held in the left hand of the goddess has been interpreted as an aspergillum or ritual sprinkler by A.Evans (1921-35) Vol.II, p.793, whilst Rehak considers it to look more like the small whip held by a soldier on a LM IA steatite cup from Ayia Triadha (p.543).
emergence as Athena may be just one of the fragments of her persona. In addition, the
warlike aspect of one of the ‘Potnias’ may have found a resonance in the Cypriot
goddess, descended from Inanna-Ishtar to become part of the character of the Greek
Aphrodite.

A warlike Aphrodite may have been known in Cyprus as in this place there was
an Aphrodite ΕΥΖΗΕΙΩΣ and it may be that this title referred to ‘the goddess of the
spear’.114 A statue of the Roman period from Nea Paphos in Cyprus gives evidence of
an armed Aphrodite (Fig. 151). The headless remains of this statue show us the
goddess, naked save for a diagonal band across her torso and an armband. In her
raised right hand she holds the haft of a sword or a blade.115

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114 L. Farnell (1896) p. 653
115 From the ‘House of Theseus’, Nea Paphos. Nea Paphos Museum. Illustrated and discussed in
Kunst* Stockholm pl. 12-15
If Aphrodite did not have abilities associated with battle it would be unlikely that the Locri Epizephyrii would have consecrated their daughters to the temple-cult of Aphrodite to win her support in a war (Athenaeus XII:516A). At Mylasa, Aphrodite was Στρατεία, the ‘goddess who goes with the army’ according to an inscription of the second century B.C.,\(^{116}\) whilst Plutarch mentions that Aphrodite was called ἀνδροφόνος ‘slayer of men’ at Pharsalus (Moralia 768A).\(^{117}\)

The possibility of a warlike, helmeted Aphrodite occurring on Corinthian coins as early as the sixth century B.C. is explored by P.Blomberg\(^{118}\) who suggests that the goddess depicted on the coins is not Athena, as has been hitherto supposed, but Aphrodite. The figure on the coins wears a necklace and has her hair gathered in a knot – both motifs associated with Aphrodite. Aphrodite Ourania was the patron goddess and protectress of Corinth (Euripides Frag. [Strabo VIII:6.21]) and it might seem that her image would have been apt on coins of that place.

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\(^{116}\) CIG 2693f

\(^{117}\) Επε γὰρ τὸ ιερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνος καλοῦσιν

\(^{118}\) P.Blomberg (1996) On Corinthian Iconography: The bridleed winged horse and the helmeted female head in the sixth century B.C. Uppsala
e. Funerary and rebirth goddess

There has already been lengthy discussion here regarding the idea of death and rebirth. That Aphrodite is a goddess involved in these two spheres is borne out by Pausanias’ description of the image of Aphrodite at Cape Kolias in Attica, which is accompanied by the Genetyllides (Underworld birth goddesses) (I:1.5). Aphrodite herself may have been invoked under the name Genetyllis, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Aristophanes Nob. 52 Schol.). Aphrodite’s role as a goddess capable of restoring vitality is suggested by her rejuvenation of Phaon the ferryman (Plato Phaon; Antiphanes Phaon; Servius ad Aeneidem III:271). This goddess’ abilities as a goddess of rejuvenation or rebirth link her with Medea whom we have already seen is capable of restoring life using herbs, incantations, and a cauldron. It may be for well-founded reasons that Medea is said to have instigated the cult of Aphrodite at Corinth (Schol. on Pindar Olympian Odes XIII:32b; Plutarch de malignitate Herodotii 871B).119

Plutarch, who was a Delphic high-priest (Plutarch Moralia 389c), informs us that at Delphi there was an ‘Aphrodite on the tomb’ whose image acted as a mediator between the dead and those making libations (Act. Rom. XXIII). Farnell comments that at Argos the same cult as that at Delphi is given the title Τῶν θεῶν τοιούτων in reference to the ‘goddess of the graves’.120 It is significant that images of Astarte occur carved on a Phoenician sarcophagus from Amathus in Cyprus. The end of the sarcophagus is decorated with four image of this goddess; she is holding her breasts and is naked save for elaborate necklaces.121 The occurrence of Astarte on this coffin serves to emphasise the link between the funerary aspect of the goddess, and her role as a deity of fertility inherent in her image as a naked, necklace-wearing, breast-holding, sacred prostitute.122

119 Hesiod sees Medea as a goddess as she was the daughter of Aectes, son of Helios, and Iphya, the daughter of Ocean (Theogony 958-962). D.Boeckler (1997) views her as being assimilated to Aphrodite: ‘Becoming Medea: assimilation in Euripides’ in J.Clauss & S.Johnston (eds) Medea: Essays on Medea in myth, literature, philosophy and art Princeton, p.140
120 L.Farnell (1896) p.652
121 J.Karageorghis (1977) pl.33b. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1365
122 It is of interest that the opposite end of the Amathus sarcophagus is decorated with four images of a dancing Bes figure. Bes was the Egyptian deity responsible for the protection of the new-born child.
The idea of the tomb as temple is not a completely unsupported possibility. As we have already seen the ‘Woman at the Window’ motif is associated with Inanna-Ishar in her role as sacred prostitute, and also with Aphrodite Paralrplylousa in Cyprus. It is therefore perhaps significant that the form of the window in which these goddesses sit, with its multiple-stepped architrave, is echoed in objects found in Cypriot graves, and even the tomb-entrance itself as far back as the Early Bronze Age.

The religious connotations of the stepped-frame seem to be implied by a limestone votive stele, showing a female figure within a stepped-frame niche, from Kouklia in Cyprus. Maier and Karageorghis note that a ‘goddess with uplifted arms’, identified as Astarte, also appears within a stepped frame on stone larnakes of the seventh century B.C. The link between the goddess Astarte and funerary imagery is here again apparent. The association between stepped frame and temple occurs in Near Eastern contexts where, Barnett comments, the use of triple recessing around a door goes back to a decorative feature of the most ancient temples in Babylonia.

An empty window frame of the ‘Woman at the Window’ type was discovered in a built tomb near Kourion and, according to Dikaios, may have been placed above a doorway into an inner chamber. This specific style of window, usually associated with the ‘Woman at the Window’ but placed in funerary contexts, suggests a link between the tomb and the window. Even without the presence of the woman, the symbolism is implied. In addition, chthonic and rebirth associations might be inferred from the presence of a figure with raised arms, flanked by snakes, which is carved on the lower portion of the frame.

It seems fitting that each end of the sarcophagus is decorated with deities associated with fertility, rebirth, and the protection of the newly-born.

123 F.Maier & V.Karageorghis (1984) fig.178 & p.187
125 R.Barnett (1957) p.99
126 P.Dikaios (1940) pl.XLIII.c & p.122 n.5. Barnett (1957) also illustrates another figure-less, stepped-framed window from ‘Kikilia’ (Kouklia?), Cyprus, fig.56.
Chapter Five

Tomb 84 at Cellarka, Cyprus, was dated by the seventh century pottery it contained and is another example of the use of stepped-framing associated with funerary contexts. The *stomion* of this tomb had stepped moulding on three sides, surmounted by a crescent in relief. It is known, from Cypriot coins depicting the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, that the crescent is one of Aphrodite’s symbols, and it is tempting to infer that the stepped frame, seen in conjunction with a known motif of Aphrodite, is associated more closely with this goddess than has hitherto been supposed. It is particularly relevant to the present thesis that the endurance of the crescent as a significant motif is noted by Karageorghis who states: ‘The crescent motif also appears on large Red Polished jugs from Lapithos; its use as a religious symbol is clearly attested in later periods in Cyprus and may be continuous.’

The use of the stepped frame goes back to the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus, and is emphatically associated with funerary imagery as it occurs carved on the façades of two tombs (Tombs 114 and 116) at Vounous. The occurrence of the stepped frame on tomb-entrances of the Early Bronze Age encourages the speculation that Near Eastern religious architectural imagery associated with Inanna-Ishtar was known in Cyprus at this time.

To summarise; the line of reasoning regarding Aphrodite’s role as a goddess with funerary and rebirth associations stems from her love and fertility aspects as Aphrodite *Parakypitousa* in Cyprus. Her role as the sacred prostitute who, like Inanna-Ishtar, waits at her stepped-frame window for clients, is linked to the idea of the ‘Sacred Marriage’ and temple prostitution. In transferring the sacred tavern/temple to the tomb, Inanna-Ishtar-Aphrodite’s link with fertility after death is established. It is for this reason that the Cypriot Plank Figures, as images of this goddess, also occur in funerary contexts.

127 V. Karageorghis (1969) *Salamis in Cyprus* London, fig. 71
128 V. Karageorghis (1970a) *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis II* Nicosia, p. 126; fig. LXXI; pl. CLXII
f. Bird goddess

Aphrodite’s fertility aspect is often expressed by her association with birds. Birds appear to have been associated with goddesses from as early as the Minoan period in Greece, and with Inanna-Ishtar from a much earlier period in the Near East. In the Near Eastern text, the Exaltation of Inanna, the goddess is associated with a bird by simile: *O my lady, (propelled) on your own wings you peck away (at the land)* (126).\(^{130}\) In another text: *Ishtar flew like a bird across the ... and found the / Storm-god ...* \(^{131}\)

During the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus, modelled images of birds were often shown perching around the rims or on the bodies of vessels. They were also frequently present in scenic representations that seem to have special meaning within the funerary ritual of ancient Cyprus. This has been discussed fully in Chapter Three.

In Middle-Late Bronze Age Cyprus, figurines of goddesses are a composite of bird and human female. A particularly bird-like example is illustrated by T.Spiteris.\(^{132}\) The face is significantly narrow and beaked, with huge double-pierced ears contrasting with the bird-like features and round eyes (Fig.152). The hands, folded across the abdomen, have been rendered more like feathered wings than as human hands. It has been shown here previously (Chapter Two) that these bird-headed figures are descendants of the Early Bronze Age Plank Figures, therefore it may be safe to assume that the goddess depicted by Plank Figures had bird associations. It is a possibility that an even earlier winged deity is depicted by some of the cruciform picrolite figurines of the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus as the outstretched arms on some are divided into shapes that might indicate feathers (Fig.153).\(^{133}\)

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\(^{129}\) J.Stewart (1939b) 461-463  
\(^{130}\) In N.Walls (1992) p.43  
\(^{131}\) In J.Pritchard (1969a) p.83  
\(^{132}\) T.Spiteris (1970) 58  
\(^{133}\) Figurine from Souskiou-Vathyrkakas. H.3.9cm. Illustrated in D.Morris (1985) fig.160
The notion of birds in association with goddesses has a long history, and the longevity of this can be traced through a number of images which show a bird perching on the back of a throne on which a goddess is seated. The earliest of these is on a gold ring from Tiryns, of the fifteenth century B.C., and depicts a seated goddess before whom four genii bring pitchers for libations (Fig. 154). Perched on the back of the goddess’ chair is a bird, obviously closely related to the image of the goddess. A continuance of this motif can be seen in the Cypriot ‘Homage Krater’ of the fourteenth century B.C. (Fig. 155). 134 A much later example highlighting the longevity of this motif occurs on an Attic red-figure lekythos (Fig. 156) in a scene depicting a woman seated on a throne which supports on its back a bird with outstretched wings. 135

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Fig. 154  Detail of a gold signet ring from Tiryns. 15th century B.C.

Fig. 155  Detail of the ‘Homage Krater’. From Aradippo, Cyprus. Early 14th century B.C. Louvre AM 676.

Fig. 156  Detail of Attic red-figure lekythos.
A number of birds have been linked to Aphrodite, and strong visual images have come down to us of Aphrodite riding on a goose (Fig. 157) or a swan (Fig. 158). Ovid (Metamorphoses X:716f) informs us that Venus (Aphrodite) was riding in a chariot pulled by swans when she heard Adonis' dying groans and turned about to go to his aid.

Among the birds associated with Aphrodite is the iynx or wryneck. In myth lynx was the daughter of Echo (or Peitho) who, by the use of magic, caused Zeus to fall in love with Io. Hera punished her by transforming her into a bird, the wryneck (Callimachus On Birds frag. 100'). Because of its legendary background, the wryneck, or iynx, was believed to have magical properties and was attached to a wheel to create a piece of magical equipment that was used as a love-charm. This use of the wheel is made clear by Pindar (Pythian IV:212-215) who tells how Aphrodite taught Jason to use the iynx-wheel to win the love of Medea. The mechanism of the iynx-wheel is graphically displayed in a painting by the Meidias Painter on an Attic red-figure hydria. In this depiction winged Himeros (Desire) spins the iynx-wheel before

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137 Attic kylix by the Pistoxenas Painter, c.470 B.C. British Museum. Drawing after G.Grigson (1978) pl.56
Adonis who lies in Aphrodite’s lap (Fig. 159). There is much of significance in this image, as Eurynoe, at Himeros’ right, has a small bird perched on her finger; perhaps in reference to the iynx or wryneck, now no longer attached to the wheel.

In a poem by Theocritus (Idylls 11) Simaitha uses the bronze wheel of Aphrodite to try to regain the love of Delphis. Like the iynx-wheel depicted in the Hydria from Florence, mentioned above, this iynx-wheel probably had no bird attached as the wheel itself became the love charm. One verse is especially informative:

And as love’s goddess whirls this brazen wheel,
So whirl she him one day about my door!

Many of the verses end with the refrain *Turn, magic wheel and draw my Love to me.* In *The Greek Anthology* an unknown writer describes an object called an ‘*τύργες*’ being offered to Aphrodite by a *hetaira* named Niko (V:205). The love charm in this instance is set in gold and made from amethyst. It has the power to ... ἣ καὶ διαπόντιον ἐλκεῖν / ἀνήρ καὶ ἐκ θαλάμων καιδάς ἐπισταμένη ‘draw a man across the sea and boys from bedrooms’. That it was designed to spin is

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139 Cited in A. Cook (1914) p.257
140 Attic red-figure hydria by the Meidias Painter, Florence 81948. Drawing after A. Gow (1934:fig.2) 'ΤΥΡΓΕΣ, RHOMBOS, TURBO' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 54, pp.1-13
suggested by the fact that it was suspended by the middle on a length of purple wool. Examples of these discs can be seen depicted on a number of Apulian vessels.\textsuperscript{141}

A terracotta object in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts\textsuperscript{142} consists of a wheel that has eleven birds attached around the rim. G.Nelson has interpreted this object as a votive iynx-wheel, although no other extant objects or illustrations have so many birds attached.\textsuperscript{143} The votive iynx-wheel with the birds standing around the rim is reminiscent of the birds attached to the rims of vessels in Bronze Age Cyprus. It may be that birds attached to objects in a circular formation were ‘survivals’ of these Bronze Age images associated with the Bronze Age Cypriot version of Aphrodite and her fertility persona. Going back even further, the spoked wheel to which the unfortunate wryneck was bound might have its origins in the star within a circle, one of Inanna-Ishtar’s symbols. It would be fitting if this were the case as Aphrodite is the descendant of the Near Eastern goddess. The image may have come full circle, beginning with a spoked wheel, having the bird added, then reverting to the wheel without the bird as an object of power. The bird, without the wheel, also took on the same symbolism, and depictions of the bird without the wheel occur on Greek vases – sometimes in association with the wheel as on the red-figure hydria from Florence on which Himeros is depicted spinning the wheel whilst Eurynoe holds the bird. In a similar image, the wryneck might be the bird perched on the outstretched finger of a woman depicted on an Apulian lekane,\textsuperscript{144} but the wheel is nowhere to be seen. Likewise, an Apulian phiale bears a depiction of Adonis holding the bird on his right hand with Aphrodite looking on\textsuperscript{145} in a scene that cannot help but bestow a love-associated significance on the bird.

John of Lydia (\textit{De mensibus} IV:64) comments that the partridge was seen as sacred to Aphrodite because it was extremely fertile.\textsuperscript{146} This aspect of fertility attributed to certain birds is also the reason why Sappho chose sparrows to draw the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{141} References given in A. Gow (1934)
    \item \textsuperscript{142} Inventory no. 2849
    \item \textsuperscript{143} G.Nelson (1940) ‘A Greek votive iynx-wheel in Boston’ \textit{American Journal of Archaeology} 44, pp.443–456
    \item \textsuperscript{144} British Museum F 342
    \item \textsuperscript{145} British Museum F 464
    \item \textsuperscript{146} See also Pliny (\textit{Naturalis Historia} X:101) and Aelian (\textit{De natura animalium} III:5&16)
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
car in which Aphrodite rides, according to Athenaeus (IX:391) who comments that these birds were chosen because of their prolific nature. Athenaeus also notes that white pigeons often accompany Aphrodite (IX:394-395).

The dove is the bird most widely associated with Aphrodite, and Aelian suggests that the turtle-dove may have been the embodiment of that goddess (De natura animalium X:33). The frequency of the occurrence of this bird with Aphrodite is compelling. Imperial coins of Cyprus bear representations of doves facing away from each other and perched on the roof of the temple. This can be favourably compared with a scene of worship before the cult statue of Ishtar that is depicted on a seal of the Neo-Assyrian period (8th -7th centuries B.C.). The shrine consists of two round-topped uprights with a crossbar on which are perched two birds facing each other. 147 This arrangement compares with Cypriot Bronze Age Red Polished ware double-necked vessels which have a crossbar joining the necks, and birds perching on these. Antiphanes directly connects doves with Paphos in a passage from the Στηρατώτης (apud Athenaeum VI:71, p.257) and, during the excavations of the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, many representations of doves, in marble and in terracotta, were uncovered. 148 Athenaeus informs us that the dove was also associated with Aphrodite at the sanctuary at Eryx (IX:51). Adonis, Aphrodite’s doomed young consort, was called ‘the dove’ and at ceremonies in honour of his resurrection he was called ‘the dove, restorer of light’. 149

g. Aphrodite and Cyprus

Hesiod seems to be referring to a Cypriot 150 myth in his references to the birth of Aphrodite and, therefore, it is necessary to question whether Aphrodite’s birth from severed genitals was known in Cyprus. Evidence of such knowledge might be forthcoming in the form of a wall-bracket, from a Cypriot Early Iron Age tomb (Fig.160), which has a phallic form. It is adorned with a diadem-wearing figure of a

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147 J.Black & A.Green (1992) fig.49
148 J.Myres (1888:185f) pp.149-271
'goddess with uplifted arms,' whom Karageorghis identifies as Astarte,\(^{151}\) along with a pair of bucrania attached at the top of the upright. The raised arms of the goddess might indicate that an anihodos (rising up) motif is being employed here, suggesting that the figure on the phallic wall-bracket is emerging in some way. In later Greek contexts the motif of raised arms in the depiction of emerging goddesses can be seen in association with the birth of goddesses such as Ge, Aphrodite, and Pandora. One example being a Red-figure volute krater on which Pandora is depicted with her hands raised high above her head as she emerges from the ground.\(^{152}\) The presence of the bucrania links the Iron Age Cypriot wall-bracket to Early Cypriot Bronze Age depictions of religious shrines displaying poles surmounted by bucrania, and this link with a religious motif suggests that the decoration on the wall-bracket belongs within the sphere of cult or myth.\(^{153}\) The form of the wall-bracket, in turn, links with the Early-Middle Bronze Age, as it is reminiscent of an example of a composite vessel illustrated by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1893 (Fig. 161).

\(^{151}\) V.Karageorghis (1982a) p.125. Karageorghis notes that the motif of 'uplifted arms': 'is an adaptation of the Cretan goddess with uplifted arms who was, by the 9\(^{th}\)-8\(^{th}\) centuries BC, identified with Astarte'. The presence of Astarte-type figures on wall-brackets is further substantiated by the occurrence of a mould-made terracotta figure, whose hands support her breasts in a pose typical of Astarte, adorning a wall-bracket from the Cypro-Archaic period (750-600 B.C.) — illustrated in S.Lubsen-Admiraal & J.Crouwel (1989) Cyprus and Aphrodite Gravenhage, Cat. no.52

\(^{152}\) P.Gardner (1901). *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXI, pl.1

\(^{153}\) Philo of Byblos (Eusebius P.E. 1.10,31) notes: 'Astarte placed upon her head the badge of royalty, the head of the bull'. (See also Lucian De Dea Syria IV)
The emergence of Aphrodite from severed genitals might also be the subject of a Corinthian terracotta plaque of the 7th century B.C. from Perachora (Fig. 162). This rather indistinctly-defined object is described in the excavation report as depicting Aphrodite’s birth from the scrotal sac of Ouranos. Surprisingly, this image of Aphrodite is also described as bearded and here we may have a link between the dual gender Inanna-Ishar and the Cypriot Aphrodite. As has been stated previously in the present discussion, there was a bearded Aphrodite known in Cyprus, and the Near Eastern goddess Inanna is bearded in a Sumero-Akkadian hymn which describes the varying status and attributes of the goddess at different locations:

I am hierodule in Uruk, I have heavy breasts in Daduni,
I have a beard in Babylon, still I am Nana

154 Provenance: Vasili village, Famagusta District, said to have been found in a tomb (V. Karagiorghis [1975] ‘Three Iron Age Wall-brackets from Cyprus’ Rivista di Studi Fenici 3, pp.161-167)
The ‘heavy breasts’ of Nana (Inanna) leads to an additional point of interest concerning the Perachora plaque, as the figure supports her breasts in a pose, traditionally associated with depictions of Astarte, which can be traced back as far as the third millennium B.C. in the Near East. 157

![Image of Corinthian Anadyomene plaque from Perachora.](image)

In Cyprus probably the earliest example of a figure with its hands supporting its breasts occurs in the Chalcolithic I period (Fig. 163) 158 and which, although made of terracotta, is aligned to the cruciform picrolite figures by the appearance of its facial features and the shape of its back-tilted head. Another example of a breast-supporting figure takes the form of a miniature Plank Figure which is attached to the handle of an Early Cypriot Bronze Age Red Polished ware jug (c.2000 B.C.) from Tomb 829C at Lapithos. 159 Representations of nude women with their hands supporting their breasts were found in bothroi of a temple, dedicated to Astarte in Cyprus, at a level dated to

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158 V.Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no.6; fig.1
159 E.Herscher (1975) fig.12
c.800-600 B.C.\textsuperscript{161} Others were discovered at a temple of Aštarte-Aphrodite at Tamassos and at the temple of Aphrodite on the acropolis of Amathus.\textsuperscript{161}

Pausanias notes that Aphrodite already had a cult in Cyprus at a place called Golgoi (Kouklia) prior to the Greeks’ arrival on their way home from Troy. During the latter half of the Bronze Age, temples to Aphrodite/Aštarte were to be found at Golgoi, Amathus, and Tamassos.\textsuperscript{162} It would seem that ancient Cypriot culture was conservative and that religious beliefs of the Early Bronze Age survived at least into the middle of the first millennium, and most likely later. Thus at Kouklia a sandstone stele with a horned apex was erected to Aphrodite by her priest Nikokles of Paphos (4th century B.C.).\textsuperscript{163} It has been noted in previous chapters that pillars with horned heads attached were associated with the religious beliefs of the Early Bronze Age Cypriots. The descent of this image can be traced in examples such as a Cypro-

\textsuperscript{161} By Hellenistic times Aphrodite and the breast-holding Aštarte were associated, as is shown by a life-size statue of Aphrodite which wears a high \textit{polos} decorated with palmettes interspersed with nude figures of Aštarte, similar in style to those on the Phoenician sarcophagus from Amathus.
\textsuperscript{162} S. Lubsen-Admiraal & J. Crouwel (1989) p.142
\textsuperscript{163} V. Karageorghis (1962) p.74
Mycenaean vase from Enkomi,\textsuperscript{164} and a twelfth century B.C. fragmentary limestone larnax from a settlement near Larnaca.\textsuperscript{165} That by the sixth century B.C. the horned image was associated with the goddess Aphrodite is not surprising, as it has been maintained throughout the present thesis that bovine imagery was associated with the Bronze Age goddess who became Aphrodite after the arrival of the Greeks. That this motif was associated with Aphrodite and her Near Eastern alter ego, Astarte, is borne out by the wall-bracket discussed here previously, and the limestone stele described above. Aphrodite’s link with cattle had become almost non-existent by the time she entered the Greek pantheon. However, traces of this association can still be found in Cyprus in the myth of the horned Kerastae whom the goddess transformed into bulls for making human sacrifices at Amathus (Ovid \textit{Metamorphoses} X:222-241).

\textbf{h. Aphrodite and metals}

Aphrodite’s title ‘Kypros’ might have as much to do with the metal copper (kypros) itself, as it does with Cyprus (after which the metal was named). Physical proof of the activity of smelting and refining copper comes from Ambelikou-Aletri where slag, a crucible, and two moulds were discovered, and have been dated to the Middle Cypriot period.\textsuperscript{166}

J. Karageorghis suggests that bronze figurines of a male and a female, each standing on an ‘oxhide’ copper ingot, may represent patron deities of the copper industry.\textsuperscript{167} The ‘Ingot God’ wears a two-horned helmet, holds a large shield, and wields a spear (Fig.164). He wears a kilt and a v-necked upper garment, or a linen thorax similar to those worn by members of the Sherden, one of the Sea Peoples.

\textsuperscript{164} \textit{CVA} Great Britain, 23/16
\textsuperscript{165} H.Catling & V Karageorghis (1960) p.129 n.199
\textsuperscript{166} B.Knapp (1990:159) ‘Production, Location, and Integration in Bronze Age Cyprus’ \textit{Current Anthropology} 31:2, pp.147-176
\textsuperscript{167} J.Karageorghis (1977) p.102ff. Miniature ingots have been discovered in Cyprus and Buchholz suggests that they may have been ‘votives’. This possibility is enhanced by the inscribed examples which may have been dedications (H.Buchholz [1958:105-107] Der Kupferhandel des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends im Spiegel der Schriftforschung, in E.Grunbach [ed.] \textit{Minoetia: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von J.Sundwall} Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 12, pp.92-115, Berlin, cited in B.Knapp [1986] \textit{Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus} Göteborg, p.25)
depicted on Egyptian monuments. It was believed by H. Catling\textsuperscript{168} that the figure wore Aegean-style greaves, but this notion has been challenged by M. Balmuth, of Tufts University, who considers that the ‘greaves’ are the result of an ancient reworking of the legs.\textsuperscript{169} The statuette was found enshrined in its own small room in a building at Enkomi\textsuperscript{170} and was associated with two painted ceramic vessels, a small bowl with wishbone handles, and a bronze ‘ox horn’. The bronze ‘ox horn’ seemingly echoes the Early Bronze Age terracotta versions already discussed here. In another area of the same building were numerous ceramic vessels, two clay ‘centaurs’, a kernos, a bronze knife, and the skulls of oxen – deliberately cut and shaped so that they could be worn as masks.\textsuperscript{171}

![Bronze statuette of the ‘Ingol God’ from Enkomi, standing on an oxhide ingot base. 12th century B.C.](image)

The bronze ‘goddess’ has hair dressed in two spirals, one of which has broken off, and is naked save for multiple neck-rings and a large pendant that hangs on her chest (Fig.165). That this figure represents a goddess is likely as the pendant and neck-rings seem to echo the adornments of the Bronze Age Plank Figures. Catling identified the figure as being the ancestor of the Paphian Aphrodite and entitled her

\textsuperscript{169} J. Eisenberg (1994) p.22
\textsuperscript{170} B. Knapp (1986) p.20
\textsuperscript{171} B. Knapp (1986) p.18
'Aphrodite-on-the-ingot'. The statuette has no proper provenience, but another figurine, which has close similarities to the 'goddess' figure, was found at Nicosia in the Bairaktar quarter and has been dated to the same period as the latter. She too has spiralled locks of hair, and wears a large pendant hanging between her breasts (Fig. 166). Whether this figure was standing on an ingot is unknown as the lower parts of the legs are missing. The female figures in bronze seem to belong to the same stylistic category as an example, in terracotta, which has also been dated to the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 167). This terracotta figure wears the multiple neck bands of the bronze versions, and the long strings around the neck and between the breasts may terminate in a round pendant, although this is questionable as it is just as likely that the navel is being depicted in this position.

Another figure from Enkomi is related to the 'Ingot God' as it is depicted wearing a conical horned helmet and a short kilt. In immediate association with this 'Horned God' there were found a miniature bronze sickle, a miniature socketed spearhead, and a number of bronze tools including a drill, chisel, awl, balance, and scale. A fragment of a tripod was also found, as was the tip of a socketed spear and bowls. Another room had the horns of oxen, deer, and goats, whilst yet another room had more ox skulls and miniature models of horns in gold.

In the same complex as that above, a different room than that in which the 'Horned God' was discovered rendered a small, two-faced female figurine in bronze who Karageorghis suggests may have been the consort of the 'Horned God'. This is interesting in view of the double-headed Plank Figures of the Early Bronze Age discussed here previously in reference to a dual-gender goddess or a goddess with multiple roles (Chapter Two).

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174 B. Knapp (1986) pp.21f
175 V. Karageorghis (1982) p.92
Knapp notes the difficulty involved in distinguishing between representatives of human or divine personages when dealing with bronze statuettes such as the ingot ‘deities’. However, the sites in which the ‘ingot god’ and a ‘horned god’ in bronze were discovered is suggestive of ‘ceremonial architecture’, and the objects found with these statuettes indicate that they were associated with ritual paraphernalia.

If it is the case that the male and female figures standing on oxide ingots are patron deities of the copper industry, a possible identification of these is that they represent Aphrodite and Hephaistos, and Maier and Karageorghis suggest this. Hephaistos is the likely male contender as he was the crippled smith-god of the Greek Pantheon and, in the _Odyssey_, was the husband of Aphrodite. It may be that originally the ‘deities’ on the oxide ingots were non-Greek alter egos of Hephaistos and Aphrodite. Thus it is possible that they originally depicted Kothar, the Ugaritic craftsman god, and Astarte.

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176 B.Knapp (1986) p.8
177 B.Knapp (1986) p.23
A link between Kothar and Aphrodite might be established by Hesiod’s use of the title Kythereia in the Theogony (196, 198). Hesiod suggests that the etymology of this epithet is based on Aphrodite touching on the island of Kythera before continuing on to Cyprus. This may only represent half of the story, as J.Brown notes that Stephanus of Byzantium states that the island was named after Kythera, a Phoenician (s.v. Κύθηρα), whose name may be a form of Kothar.\textsuperscript{179} Brown conjectures that Aphrodite’s epithet Kythereia is an independent feminine divine name derived from one of the forms of Kothar.\textsuperscript{180} If Kythereia is the consort of Kothar, these two may be the ‘deities’ depicted by the bronze figurines from Cyprus.

The notion that Phoenicians were involved in the colonisation of Kythera is supported by Herodotus, who states that Phoenicians founded the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Kythera (I:103). Phoenician involvement might also be inferred from the deposits of murex shells found on Kythera (Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Κύθηρα), and also Aristotle’s name πορφορόως for the island, derived from the purple-works there (Eustathius ad Iliadem X:268). The Phoenicians were known for their skill in manufacturing purple dye from the murex sea-limpet; after all, the Greek word φοῖνιξ can mean ‘red’ or ‘purple’. A Phoenician connection might be implied by the presence of a box with a cuneiform inscription of a dedication by Narām-Sin, son of Ibiq-Adad, of c.1950 B.C., which was discovered on the island,\textsuperscript{181} although such a link is tenuous.

We have already seen that a form of Astarte—Aphrodite (Balthi) was in love with Tammuz, Kothar’s son, according to a manuscript in the British Museum. It is not too difficult to take one further step and conjecture that Aphrodite/Astarte is linked with Kothar, the craftsman god who became the Greek Hephaistos. Bearing in mind Philo of Byblos’ assertion that Chousar was Hephaistos (Eusebius Praeparatio Evangelica 1:10.11), it should also be taken into account that Aphrodite’s Near

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\textsuperscript{179} J.Brown (1965) p.209
\textsuperscript{180} J.Brown (1965) p.216

... Naram-Sin, [King of Ešnunna], son of Ibiq-Ad[ad, King of Ešnunna,] for his life [dedicated (this)].’

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Eastern ancestor, Inanna-Ishtar, had an association with metals as one of her titles was ‘mistress of lead’.\(^{182}\)

It may be significant that Kothar is known from the Ugaritic texts to have been a divine builder (he built the Palace of Baal). At a late date Hephaistos was considered to have given Aphrodite a piece of land, complete with palaces of gold and precious stones, on a mountain of Cyprus (Claudianus *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honoris Augusti* 49-108).

i. Aphrodite’s roses

Among the attributes taken over from Inanna-Ishtar by Aphrodite is the rose. Scholars, such as van Buren, have shown that the eight-pointed rosette was a motif associated with Inanna-Ishtar from an early date.\(^{183}\) This motif may have been derived from the eight-pointed star that was also associated with Ishtar, as we have seen here previously.

Philo of Byblos makes a connection between Astarte and a star when he states that this goddess discovered a star fallen from the air; she picked it up and consecrated it on the island of Tyre (Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1:10.31). Philo also informs us that Astarte is Aphrodite, according to the Phoenicians (Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1:10.31). Philo may be referring to the worship of baetyl in the Near East and the conical stone associated with Aphrodite at Paphos, but Baumgarten suggests that Philo was playing with etymologies when he connected Astarte with a star (\(\ddot{\alpha}r\tau\nu\nu\)\(^{184}\)). However, as Ishtar’s motif was a star it is difficult to believe that Philo was ignorant of this fact. A cylinder-seal of sapphirine chalcedony from Babylon is only one example of many instances where Ishtar is depicted with her star (Fig. 168).\(^{185}\)

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\(^{182}\) J. van Leuven (1979) p.123


\(^{185}\) A. Cook (1914-1940) *Vol. I*, p.376, fig.446

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Aphrodite appears to have taken over Ishtar's rosette and she is associated with the rose in a number of literary references. In Euripides' *Medea* the chorus of women describe how Aphrodite wreaths her long hair with roses (840-841). According to Pausanias (VI:24,7) and Philostratus (*Epist. IV* [37]) the red rose was dyed that colour by the blood of Aphrodite who tore her flesh on the thorns of a white rose bush as she ran to aid the wounded Adonis. Philostratus informs us that this was according to the Cypriots and the Phoenicians. However, Bion (*Lament for Adonis*) reverses this and says that Aphrodite's tears created the anemone, whilst the blood of Adonis changed into roses as it touched the earth.

Philostratus (*Epist. XX* [32]) mentions the rose in relationship to Aphrodite, saying that as Zeus lay asleep on Mt. Ida flowers grew about him: clover, larkspur, and crocus - but there were no roses. The reason that there were no roses was either because these belong to Aphrodite alone, or because Zeus would not have slept if roses had been present, as they keep both men and gods awake.

Athenaeus (XV:681-682) states that Amerias, in his book *On Root Gathering* says that the Rose Campion sprang from Aphrodite's bath. The Rose Campion (*Lychnis Coronaria*) is called *Luchnis Stephanotike* as it was used in wreaths worn
around the head – perhaps a significant name in view of Aphrodite’s epithet ἐντέφανος ‘richly garlanded’ (Theogony 1008).

Stasinus (or Hegesias), writer of the Cyprian Lays, states that Aphrodite’s clothes are dyed in spring flowers, among them the rose (Athenaeus XV:682 D-F). According to Ovid (Fasti IV:133ff) the first roses of spring were offered to Venus (Aphrodite) as on April 1st wives and girls had to wash the statues of Venus all over, put their golden necklaces on again, and give them roses and other flowers. Three weeks later, on April 22nd, the prostitutes of Rome made offerings to this goddess in the form of incense, myrtle, chaplets of roses, and rushes (IV:863ff). April was Aphrodite’s month and Macrobius (Saturnalia XII:8) says that some suppose that April was named after ὀμόρφος ‘foam’ from which Aphrodite was born.

Aphrodite is depicted with the rose in art, and Pausanias describes wooden statues in the Sanctuary of the Graces at Eleia: one statue holding a rose and another a branch of myrtle. These plants are present, he informs us, probably because the rose and myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and are linked with the legend of Adonis (VI:24.6&7). Stars or rosettes decorate the robe worn by a black Aphrodite in the museum at Limassol in Cyprus; the choice of these as decoration is not arbitrary given the association between Aphrodite and roses. As early as the fifth century B.C. Aphrodite was depicted with roses on a pottery oil-flask from Attica on which the goddess’ birth from a shell is shown, with Ἠρωτες and rosettes accompanying her (Fig. 169).¹⁸⁶

j. The ritual of adornment associated with Inanna-Ishtar, Aphrodite, and other Greek goddesses

During the discussion in Chapter Two on the decoration of Cypriot Plank Figures, a number of similarities between the ornamentation depicted on these objects and the ritual adornment of Inanna-Ishtar was noted. The adornment motif is also inextricably linked with the ‘Woman at the Window’ and her display for the purpose of seduction.

As was noted in Chapter Two, the ritual of the adornment of Inanna is an important feature of the Near Eastern text Love in the Gipar, as most of the first stanza of this two-stanza poem is taken up with the goddess bedecking herself with precious stones, jewels and ornaments in preparation for the Sacred Marriage. In The Descent of Inanna the goddess again adorns herself, and this time the adornments are recognised in the text as symbolising her power. That she is piece by piece stripped of the adornments that, in the upper world, represent her power means that she loses that power as she descends into the Underworld. In that place there is no seduction or persuasion and all Inanna-Ishtar’s Heavenly and Earthly sovereignty is forfeit. The crown, necklaces, and garments are the attributes by which Inanna-Ishtar’s power is
made visible, and this may be the case in other literary descriptions of the adornment of goddesses whose intention is seduction for one reason or another.

Inanna-Ishar’s adornments seem to suggest seduction when, in the *Descent of Inanna*, she places the crown of the steppe on her head, dons small beads around her neck, and puts on a double strand of beads which falls between her breasts. She makes up her eyes with ointment called ‘Let him come, let him come’ and places the *tuditu* called ‘Come, man, come!’ on her chest. The idea that the *tuditu* is an article associated with allurement is here made explicit. This object may be the forerunner of Aphrodite’s *κεστός ἰμώς*; an article of power in its ability to engender love.

The ritual of adornment is part of the ‘Sacred Marriage’ preparations and Inanna readies herself for her union with Dumuzi:

> When for the wild bull, for the lord, I shall have bathed,
> When for the shepherd Dumuzi, I shall have bathed,
> When with ... my sides I shall have adorned,
> When with amber my mouth I have coated,
> When with kohl my eyes I have painted

This adornment motif is repeated in detail in the text *Love in the Gipar* in which Inanna dresses and dons ornament in preparation for meeting with Dumuzi:

> She picks the buttock-stones, puts them on her buttocks,
> Inanna picks up the head-stones, puts them on her nape,
> She picks *ribbons* of gold, puts them in the hair of her head,
> She picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears,
> She picks the bronze eardrops, puts them on her earlobes,
> She picks ‘that which drips with honey,’ puts it on her face,
> She picks ‘that which covers the princely house,’ puts it on her nose,

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188 S.Kramer (1969) p.63
She picks up 'the house which ... ,' puts it on her ... ,
She picks cypress (and) boxwood, the lovely wood, puts them on her navel,
She picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus,
She picks black willow, puts it on her vulva,
She picks ornate sandals, puts them on her feet.

(Love in the Gipar 11-24)\textsuperscript{189}

It has been noted already in Chapter Two that this use of two pairs of earrings, one pair in bronze and one pair in gold, equates well with the ornaments of copper and gold that the Horai place in Aphrodite’s pierced ears (\textit{Homeric Hymn} VI:5f), and with the multiple ear-piercing associated with Plank Figures. Earrings are also part of the ritual of adornment associated with Hera’s seduction of Zeus in the \textit{Iliad} (XIV:181-183).

Biblical references point to ancient Near Eastern practice, and the motif of eye-painting and adorning is often used in reference to women who belonged to the old religion of idol worship and who, therefore, may have been involved in sacred prostitution (‘whoredom’ in the Bible). Ezekiel takes great exception to the women who commit ‘whoredoms’ in pursuit of their religious beliefs:

For when they had slain their children to their idols, they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it, and lo, thus they have done in the midst of my house.

(XXIII:29)

And furthermore, that ye have sent for men to come from far, unto whom a messenger was sent; and lo, they came: for whom thou didst wash thyself, painted thine eyes and deckedst thyself with ornament.

(XXIII:40)

\textsuperscript{189} J.Pritchard (ed.) (1969a) p.202
The adornment motif as a preliminary to seduction can also be found in Hittite texts. In these, the Hittite/Hurrian equivalent of Ishtar, Sauska, bedecks and bejewels herself with amorous intent:

[Sauska] went to the bath house. [The Queen of Nineveh] went there to wash herself. She washed herself. She [...]ed. She anointed herself with fine perfumed oil. She adorned herself. And (qualities which arouse) love ran after her like puppies.  

(Fragment 11.2)\footnote{H. Hoffner (1990) p.50}

And Hedammu [...]. He raised(? his head from the watery deep. He spied Sauska. Sauska held up her naked members before Hedammu.  

(Fragment 12.2)\footnote{H. Hoffner (1990) p.51}

Sauska administers a love-potion to Hedammu, and again offers herself to him. Hedammu responds by impregnating her with at least two hundred cities. However, Sauska does not always get her own way, and in the following instance the object of her seductive technique is both blind and deaf, ensuring that her persuasions are to no avail:

Tablet 2

B ii 5-12. [Sauska(?)] dressed and ornamented herself [with [...] ]. From Nineveh she [came to the sea(?). She took(?)] the BALAG.DI and the galgalturi-instruments in her hand. Sauska set out. She fumigated with cedar. She struck the BALAG.DI and the galgalturi. She set the ‘gold things’ in motion, and she took up a song, and heaven and earth echoed it back.

B ii 13-25. Sauska kept on singing and put on herself a seashell
and a pebble (as adornment). A great wave(?) (arose) out of the sea. The great wave(?) said to Sauska, ‘For whose benefit are you singing? For whose benefit are you filling your mouth with wind? The man (meaning Ullikummi) is deaf; he can[not] hear. He is blind in his eyes; he cannot see. He has no compassion. So go away Sauska … 192

Like Inanna-Ištar and her Hittite/Hurrian alter ego, Aphrodite adorns and perfumes herself. One example of the adornment motif associated with Aphrodite is described in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (V:61-67) where she presents herself before Anchises in the guise of a mortal woman.

... there the Graces bathed her and anointed her with heavenly oil such as blooms upon the bodies of the eternal gods – oil divinely sweet, which she had by her, filled with fragrance. And laughter-loving Aphrodite put all her rich clothes on her body, and when she had decked herself with gold, she rushed for Troy, having abandoned sweet-smelling Cyprus, going her way swiftly high up amongst the clouds.

Later in the same poem Aphrodite’s adornments are described in detail:

πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔστο φαεινότερον κυρός αὕγης.

192 H.Hoffner (1990) p.56
For she was clad in a robe out-shining the brightness of fire, a splendid robe of gold, and of all colours, which shimmered like the moon over her tender breast, a marvel to see. Also she wore twisted brooches and shining earrings in the form of flowers; and round her soft throat were lovely necklaces.

In the sixth Homeric Hymn the Hours clothe Aphrodite with 'heavenly garments', they place a crown of gold on her head, ornament her ears with earrings of copper and gold, and place golden necklaces around her neck (5-13).

Aphrodite took some measure of comfort from her adornments, as Homer notes in the Odyssey (VIII:362-366). After Hephaistos had caught the goddess in her adulterous affair with Ares, Aphrodite returned to her 'smoky altar' at Paphos where the Graces bathed her, anointed her with 'ambrosial oil', and put delightful clothing on her.

The adornments of Aphrodite seem to have the power to instil love in those who behold them, and this was noted previously in reference to Inanna-Isthar. One particular object of power is Aphrodite's κέστος ἵμας which the goddess lends to Hera to aid her in luring Zeus to her bed (Iliad XIV:216-223). That the κέστος ἵμας was an object of power is made explicit when it is described as having 'all manner of allurements' wrought in it: love, desire, dalliance, and 'beguilement that steals the wits even of the wise'. It is not known exactly what form the κέστος ἵμας took as, like the tuditu of Inanna-Isthar, there seem to be no depictions of any garment or object that fits the description. At one time it was thought that the κέστος ἵμας was an

193 It is interesting that κάλυκας only occurs here and in the Iliad (XVIII: 401) where Hephaistos makes objects for Eurynome and Thetis. This may suggest that they were adornments for goddesses.
amulet kept in the κόλπος of the goddess' clothing (Iliad XIV:219 and 223) as the term κόλπος seems to imply the fold in a garment. However, κόλπος can also mean 'bosom' and this seems to agree with the line:

"Η, καὶ ἄπι οὐθέσσαν ἐλύσατο κεφτόν ἱμάντα
(Iliad XIV:214)

and from her chest loosened the ‘κεφτός ἱμάς’

There is also confusion as to what κεφτός meant, although it seems to be generally held that the word is an adjective formed from κεφέω, meaning ‘to prick or pierce’. ἱμάς is a noun which is used by Homer to designate a strap of leather such as that used as a chinstrap for a helmet (Iliad III:371), and here the strap is πολύκεφτος ‘much-pierced’ or ‘much-embroidered’. On cult images of the holy city mentioned by Macrobius, ‘κεφτός’ is associated with the head-dress which consisted of a leaf crown, a polos, and a κεφτός (Saturnalia 1:23.19). The adjective ‘κεφτός’ would seem to be describing a pierced decoration on a thin strap of some kind but sometimes the word is used as a noun which suggests that there was an object which, in itself, was called a κεφτός.195 M. Pope suggests that Aphrodite’s κεφτός ἱμάς took the form of thin straps diagonally crossing between the breasts in the style seen in images of Inanna-Iṣhtar.196 These crossed chest bands have already been discussed in Chapter Two in relation to Cypriot Plank Figures and bird-headed figures that have this adornment indicated on their bodies. A clay figurine of the Larsa period at Ur bears these crossed chest bands (see Fig. 19), as does the goddess Qudshu-_ASTarte-Anath depicted on the plaque from the Winchester College Collection.197

194 Translation by A. Murray, Loeb Classical Library (1946)
195 F. Brenk (1977) ‘Aphrodite’s Girdle: No Way to Treat a Lady’ The Classical Bulletin 54, pp.17-20, suggests that it was not until Roman times that cestus became a substantive.
197 For further examples see Chapter Two
F. Brenk considers the κευτός ἰμάς to be an embroidered square or loose collar that joins the crossed bands of the saltier together at the breast.198 This might be the type of object depicted on a fourth century A.D. mosaic image of Aphrodite from a Roman villa at Low Ham in Somerset. In this image, Aphrodite is standing between Aeneas and Dido; she is naked save for a necklace, armbands, a headdress, and crossed chest-bands, clasped at their junction with a brooch-like object (Fig. 170).199 Christodorus of Thebes, a 6th century A.D. Byzantine source, describes a statue of Aphrodite as wearing the κευτός which flowed and fell in coils from around her neck onto her breast.200

![Fig. 170](image_url)

**Fig. 170** Detail of a mosaic from a Roman villa, Low Ham, Somerset. Venus (between Aeneas and Dido). 4th century A.D. Somerset County Museum, Taunton.

Whatever the form the κευτός ἰμάς took, it had magical powers associated with inducing love, and it would seem that the elusive Near Eastern tudittu had similar properties. Since the tudittu was worn by Inanna-Ishtar, as was discussed in Chapter Two, it would seem that there could be a link between Aphrodite’s magical

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198 F. Brenk (1977) 17-20
199 G. Grigson (1978) pl.63
201 Kybele, the Phrygian goddess whose persona was closely allied with that of Ishtar, wore a type of breast-shield which was also worn by her priests in imitation of the décor worn by the goddess. These breast-shields were covered with pressed images of divine symbols (*Cornutas Theol. Graec. VI: καὶ ἄλλος τινὰς τοποὺς περὶ τὸ στῆθος ἀυτῆς περιτείθεσιν*).
κεστός ἴμας and Inanna-Ishar’s *tudittu*. Just as the *tudittu* remains enigmatic to us, perhaps this same object was as puzzling to the Greeks who only knew that it was an object of power that was worn on the breast. This would explain Homer’s lack of precision in his reference to the κεστός ἴμας.

It is important to note that Hera, despite having borrowed the powerful love-charm of the κεστός ἴμας, also carries out the adornment ritual associated with seduction (*Iliad* XIV:170-187). She cleanses her body with ambrosia and anoints it with ambrosial oil. She combs and plaits her hair, and then dons an embroidered robe made for her by Athene. The robe is pinned with gold brooches and Hera adds a tasselled girdle to the ensemble. In her pierced ears she places earrings formed from three clustered drops. A white, glistening veil is added on top of all this finery, and sandals complete the array.

The seductive Pandora of Greek myth is also one of those goddesses associated with the wiles of Aphrodite, and her adornment sets the scene for the seduction of all men by the archetypal woman. Hesiod describes this scene in both *Works and Days* and in the *Theogony*.

In *Works and Days* Hephaistos forms the likeness of Pandora from clay, and Athene clothes her with all manner of finery. The Graces and Persuasion, Aphrodite’s agents, place necklaces on her whilst the Hours crown her with spring flowers (72-76). In the *Theogony* Pandora is clothed in silvery garments and an embroidered veil. Garlands of flowers are placed around her head, which also receives an elaborately ornamented golden crown made by Hephaistos. It is only after these ritualistic adornment scenes that Pandora, with her shameless mind and deceitful

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202 That the *tudittu* is endowed with more meaning than just an article of adornment is suggested in a Seleucid ritual text (AO 6473) which states that Ishtar received from the nangaru, the carpenter, ἀρκασσόν πλαακτου τι διι τι κι, the reel, the spindle, and your breast ornaments (W.Lemaans (1952) p.21)

203 Persuasion seems to be considered as both an independent goddess and an alter ego of Aphrodite, depending on the sources. It may be that Persuasion is a facet of Aphrodite associated with prostitution as Pindar describes the young women, ministrants of Persuasion at Corinth, who lift up their hearts to Aphrodite Ourania (*Frag.* 87). There was also an Aphrodite Πείθεοι at Pharsalus, according to an inscription of the fifth century B.C. (Roel *Ins. Graec. Ant.* 327 cited by L.Farnell (1896) p.731, n.2. However, in other instances Peitho is clearly a separate goddess, as depicted by the Meidias Painter on a pelike in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 37.11.23.
nature, is released into the world to wreak havoc among men by engendering lust (573-583).

Even the Odyssey’s story of the faithful wife Penelope contains a reference to adornment and seduction (XVIII:290-300). Penelope’s suitors bring gifts of an elaborate gown, necklaces, and a pair of earrings that are explicitly described and match those worn by Hera for her seduction of Zeus. It may be significant that two of the suitors brought necklaces, so that multiple necklaces, which were inherently linked with the fertility goddesses, would adorn Penelope’s neck. All of the articles of adornment are elsewhere associated with the seduction of men by women. However, in this instance it is the males doing the seducing whilst Penelope resists; yet, despite the reversal of roles, the adornment motif is still associated with seduction.

k. Syncretism and the alter ego of Inanna-Ishtar

Scholars have generated much discussion regarding the etymology of the name ‘Aphrodite’. A few are prepared to accept Hesiod’s etymology which links ἀφρος with ‘foam’ and the foam-born goddess, but others consider that ‘Aphrodite’ is ultimately derived from non-Greek sources. A circumstance which has perhaps masked the origins of the name ‘Aphrodite’ is Hesiod’s use of double entendre, this time associated with the meaning of ἀφρος which, besides its meaning as sea-foam, also carried an association with seminal fluid (Nonnos Dionysiaca XIII: 179) in a late notice. B. Dietrich comments that the most likely explanation for the name Aphrodite is that it was originally the Phoenician Astarte which became Aphrodite when transferred into Greek. Astarte is the Phoenician version of Ishtar—hence the link between Inanna-Ishtar and Aphrodite occurs in the etymology of the name as well as in the similarities in cult and ritual.

204 A. Cook (1940) Vol.III, p.274 n.6, cites a number of scholars who agree with the etymology of ἀφρος as proposed by Hesiod. He also cites those scholars who consider the name ‘Aphrodite’ to be non-Greek in origin. Some argue that the name is derived from the Semitic aphrodeth ‘dove’, while others consider ‘Aphrodite’ to be a direct loan-word from the Phoenician form of Ashthoreth. Cook tends to agree with the latter hypothesis (1940:276 n.6 (2)).

The fragmentation of Inanna-Ishtar’s multiple personality may have resulted in the emergence of a number of separate entities, such as Anat (seen as one deity with Aštarte in a Canaanite myth), Asherah, and perhaps even the Egyptian Hathor. These were then reunited in the personality of Aphrodite.

1. Inanna-Ishtar

Aphrodite’s closest ancestral relationship seems to be with Inanna-Ishtar, linguistically the Phoenician Aštarte, from whose name Aphrodite’s may have been formed, and with whom the Greek goddess had a syncretic bond in Cyprus. These goddesses share involvement in the spheres of love, war, sex, prostitutes, roses, marriage, Adonis-Tammuz, and birds – as has already been discussed here. In addition, other goddesses who seem to be fragments of the original Inanna-Ishtar, such as Anat, Asherah-Athirat, and the Egyptian goddess Hathor, seem to be reflected in the Greek Aphrodite.

m. Qudshu-Anat-Aštarte

The syncretic nature of Near Eastern goddesses is amply demonstrated in the conflation of three goddesses depicted as one, and conveniently labelled for posterity, on a relief plaque from Egypt, now in the Winchester College collection. This relief has been mentioned previously in this thesis and is worth another look at here as it epitomises the syncretic aspect of the Near Eastern goddesses. As we have seen, Aštarte is the Phoenician linguistic equivalent of Ishtar, and on the relief plaque she is combined with the goddesses Qudshu and Anat in a syncretic conflation that suggests that the three goddesses were so similar as to be seen as one. S.Olyan notes that some Ugaritic texts allow for attributes and epithets to be shared among the three major goddesses Asherah, Aštarte, and Anat, and this suggests that there was some measure of syncretism present.

206 S.Olyan (1988) Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel Atlanta, Georgia, p.39
On at least four other relief plaques from Egypt, the goddess depicted on the Winchester College relief is named as Qudshu,\(^{207}\) whilst very similar, un-named, depictions of this same goddess have been found in various Near Eastern sites. Riis notes that a goddess Qadesh is mentioned in the Ras Shamra texts, and that the Egyptian Hathor was identified at an early date with the Ba ‘alat Gubal, the Lady of Byblos.\(^{208}\) The goddess depicted also seems to be linked stylistically with Egyptian Hathor as her hairstyle is typical of that goddess. This might indicate that Qudshu-Aštarte-Anath assimilated a fourth goddess, Hathor, whose role was considered similar to that of the other three.

On the Winchester College relief plaque, the goddess stands on a lion in typical Ishtar fashion. In her right hand she holds a lotus bouquet whilst in her left hand are snakes. Snakes are also held by the Near Eastern variant of this goddess. However, in a number of instances she appears to hold a small lion in one hand and a stag in the other – perhaps indicating her role as ‘mistress of animals’. An early example of this type comes from an early second millennium mould from Boghazköy, and here the goddess Ishtar is depicted wearing a round helmet and a sword, and holding a lion and a stag.\(^{209}\) A number of Phoenician and Palestinian plaques bear the depiction of a standing nude female with her face framed by ‘Hathor curls’ and holding plants in her raised hands. These are a modification of a Mesopotamian prototype and occur with other attributes and on different materials. Some have been found at Ras Shamra and Minat al-Beida, and similar images occur on Cypriot gold plaques of the Geometric period.\(^{210}\)

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\(^{207}\) Now in Turin, Vienna, Berlin, and the Louvre. J.Edwards (1955)

\(^{208}\) P.Riis (1949) p.80. This identification links Hathor, in turn, with Aphrodite as we have seen that she may have been the ‘Lady of Byblos’ in a different incarnation. Astarte is identified with Ḫâl gbl in a bilingual inscription on a terracotta votive throne of the 4th Century B.C.

\(^{209}\) R.Barnett (1957) p.82

\(^{210}\) P.Riis (1949) p.80
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The 'Qudshu' identification of the goddess on the Winchester College relief may refer to the ancient role of these goddesses as sacred prostitutes, as one monument of Qudshu, a stele (T3 kr.t) from Memphis, names her as 'the prostitute'.\(^{211}\) In Sumerian the lexical equivalent for qadišu-woman is nu-gig,\(^{212}\) an epithet of Inanna in Near Eastern texts mentioned here previously and probably meaning 'prostitute'.

The 'Anat' facet of the goddess on the relief plaque may, like Inanna-Ishar, also have had a sexual aspect as Friedrich notes that the name Anat may have been derived from a root meaning 'to answer', but can also mean 'to perform the sexual act'.\(^{213}\) There may be a link between Aphrodite's title Pandemos and ybmt l'imm 'the ybmt of the people', a title of Anat, as ybmt might mean 'mistress' according to O.Eissfeldt.\(^{214}\)

Like Inanna-Ishar, Anat is also transvestite; an Egyptian text bears this out: Anat the divine, thou the victorious, woman acting as a warrior, clad as men and girt as women. (British Museum Hieratic Papyrus VII, Verso I, 12-11).\(^{215}\) It is Anat's warlike persona that seems to be the personality trait that impresses itself on our consciousness most deeply. The strength of the literary images that have come down to us ensures that this face of the goddess is paramount. Tablet B of the Ugaritic Baal and Mot depicts Anat's delight in battle:

Under her, hear[ds] like sheaves,

Over her, hands like locusts,

Like a grasshopper[8] mass heroes' hands.

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An Egyptian text (c. 1400 B.C.) links the goddess Astarte (Lady of Heaven), Anat (The Daughter of Ptah), and Qudsh (Lady of the Stars of Heaven). Published by D.Redford (1973:36f) 'New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemheb' Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 211, pp.36-49
\(^{212}\) J.Westenholz (1989) p.255
\(^{213}\) P.Friedrich (1978) p.18
\(^{214}\) O.Eissfeldt (1964) 'Kanaanäische-ugaritische Religion' in Handbuch der Orientalistik VIII.I, Leiden
She binds the heads to her back,
Fastens the hands in her girdle,
She plunges knee-deep in knights' blood,
Hip-deep in the gore of heroes.

(B 10-15)

Her liver swells with laughter,
Her heart fills up with joy,
Anat's liver exults

(B 26-28)  216

Anat is identified with Athena Soteira Niké in a bilingual text from Larnax Lapithou, Cyprus (KAI 42).  217 and it may be that this goddess' different roles were seen as linking with appropriate Greek goddesses – further evidence of ongoing fragmentation and syncretisation.

Anat is sometimes syncretised with Astarte in Canaanite myth and, in the text of Elkunirsa and Ashertu, the goddess 'Anat-Astarte' transforms herself into a cup and then into an owl (one occasion in which a goddess actually takes the form of a bird) which perches on a wall to overhear a conversation between a husband and wife.  218 Edwards, citing C. Virolleaud, notes that an inscription found at Tanis, dating from the time of Ramesses II, mentions Anat-Astarte.  219 Anat and Astarte are considered a pair as the two daughters of Re in an Egyptian manuscript written in Thebes in the 20th Dynasty (12th century B.C.).  220 Athirt and Anat are paired, as the right and left hands of Baal in the Ugaritic text Baal and Yam,  221 and again in the Story of Keret where Athirat and Anat are the suckling nurses of the gods.  222

216 J. Pritchard (1969b) p. 136
218 H. Haffner (1990) p. 70
220 The Contest of Horis and Seth for Rule. J. Pritchard (1969a) p. 15
221 Baal and Yam 2 col. i. 40-41, J. Gibson (1977) p. 42
The bellicose Anat is very similar to Astarte who is seen in her avenging persona on an Egyptian clay sherd from Thebes (Fig. 171). In the Amherst Papyrus (19th – 20th Dynasty, Egypt) Astarte is ‘Astarte sitting on the sea shore’ and ‘the furious goddess’. 223 On a fragment of a stele from Memphis at the time of Merneptah (1225-1215 B.C.) Astarte is depicted as a battle goddess holding a shield and a spear. The inscription on this stele has been translated as meaning ‘lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods’. 224 In Ptolemaic times, in a text of the myth of Horus, Astarte is called ‘lady of the horses and chariots’ 225 – an epithet that equates well with the horse and chariot scenes linked with Astarte and depicted on gold tiarae plaques from Cyprus.

That Aphrodite was associated with horses is suggested in a poem by Anakreon (second half of the sixth century B.C.) who informs us that Kypris (Aphrodite) bound her mares by their yoke straps in fields of hyacinth. 226 Another such association might be suggested by the scholiast of the Iliad who says that Aeneas dedicated a statue of Aphrodite depicting her on horseback (Schol. Ill. 2:820). Aphrodite’s Phoenician equivalent Astarte is also associated with horses, both in her warrior persona and in

223 J.Pritchard (1943) Palestinian figurines in relation to certain goddesses known through literature New Haven, p.68
224 J.Pritchard (1943) p.68
images of the goddess that occur on harness ornaments. An example of this is a bronze side pendant ornament from Tomb 79 at Salamis in Cyprus (c.700 B.C.). The goddess is depicted standing on lions; she holds a lion in each hand and is surrounded by other animals. Above her is the winged sun-disc.\(^{227}\)

n. Asherah-Athirat

The title Qudshu, applied to the goddess on the Winchester College relief plaque, might suggest that Asherah is one of the blend of three goddesses depicted, as Qudshu is one of the epithets of Asherah in Ugarit (CTA 14.4.197).\(^{228}\) The Hebrew Asherah and the Ugaritic Athirat are names of the same goddess. Athirat is the Ugaritic lexical equivalent of Asherah as the proto-Semitic \(\ell\) (th), which was preserved in the Ugaritic, became \(\dot{s}\) (sh) in Hebrew, and the Ugaritic feminine ending \(-t\) is equivalent to the Hebrew \(-h\).\(^{229}\) Like the goddess on the Winchester College relief, Asherah-Athirat bears the title Qudšu ‘Holiness’ in Ugarit (CTA 14.4.197).\(^{230}\) In the Ugaritic texts, Asherah-Athirat appears as the consort of the great God El, and in the text The Story of Keret there is a sanctuary dedicated to ‘Athirat of the two Tyres.’\(^{231}\) However, ‘Asherah’ in the Old Testament is translated as ‘grove’ and this confuses the issue regarding Asherah’s status as a goddess at that time.\(^{232}\) The Septuagint translate Hebrew ‘אָשֶּרֶת as \(\alpha\)λσα, (plural \(\alpha\)λσε) ‘grove(s),’ except in Isaiah 17:8 and 27:9 where \(\delta\)ενδρα ‘tree’ is used. In 2 Chronicles 15:16 and 24:18 ‘Aštarte’ appears instead.

\(^{227}\) V. Tatton-Brown (1979) cat.233
\(^{230}\) A. Herder (1963) Corpus de tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques Paris
\(^{231}\) Keret (14) col.iv. 197. J Gibson (1977) p.87
\(^{232}\) That Asherah was a goddess is implied by the fact that she had a prophethood, as noted in the Old Testament where Elijah vanquished the four hundred prophets of Asherah who dined off Jezebel’s table (1 Kings XVIII:19). However, scholars such as J. Emerton (1982:16) ‘New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud’ Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft 94, pp.2-20, have noted that the Hexapla mark with an asterisk ‘the prophets of Asherah’ in the Septuagint, indicating that this is an addition to the text. Cited in S. Olyan (1988) p.8 n.24 - with further supporting bibliography and discussion.
‘Asherah’ can also refer to an image of the goddess and P. Berger notes that the verbs associated with the word show that it was an object made of wood.\textsuperscript{233} Like any wooden object it can be planted (Deut. XVI:21) or pulled down (Micah V:13). It is placed near an altar (Deut. XVI:21-22) and can be destroyed by chopping it down (Exodus XXXIV:13). That Asherah can be both a goddess and the image of that goddess, is supported by two passages of the Old Testament. The first passage suggests that Asherah is the consort of Baal when Josiah orders ‘the objects made for Baal and Asherah’ removed from the temple and burned (2 Kings XXIII:4). The second passage, suggesting that Asherah is an image of the goddess, is from 2 Kings (XVIII:4) where Hezekiah ‘abolished the hill-shrines and smashed the sacred pillars and cut down the asherah’. That Asherah was immanent in a sacred tree might be suggested by the following passage from Deuteronomy:

\begin{quote}
You shall not plant a tree as an asherah beside the altar of Yahweh your God that you shall build; you shall not set up a sacred pillar which Yahweh your God hates.
\end{quote}

(XVI:21-22)

Asherah’s association with sacred trees and groves echoes that of Inanna-Ishtar and is also linked with Aphrodite in Cyprus and in Greece. That Inanna had a temple-grove is borne out by a hymnal prayer to Inanna for Ishme-Dagan, c.1900 B.C. on a Sumerian tablet in the British Museum:

\begin{quote}
The lord Enlil, the king of the land,  
Has filled me, the queen of heaven, with consternation,  
Me, the hierodule of An, the queen of heaven,  
Who destroys all inimical lands, the queen of Eanna,  
Who makes the heavens tremble, the queen of the sacred temple-grove.
\end{quote}

(British Museum 23820)\textsuperscript{234}

Other Near Eastern deities appear to have had sacred groves and G. Widengren considered that every temple had its sacred garden.\textsuperscript{235}

Aphrodite’s Near Eastern origins might be hinted at by the presence of the sacred grove in the *temenos* of her temples. The link between sacred trees and Aphrodite occurs in Cyprus where trees, conventionalised into pillars and made as terracotta models, come from the temple of Astarte at Chytroi in Cyprus.\(^{236}\) One of the terracotta models depicts three figures holding hands in a circle around a tree, whilst two other terracotta objects seem to be simplified tree-shapes. According to Hesychius trees were cut down and set up by the doorways of houses in dedication to Aphrodite (Hesychius s.v. 'Αοια).\(^{237}\) This notion is rendered visible in the form of a terracotta sanctuary model from Idalion, Cyprus, which depicts women looking out of the windows and from the doorway flanked by columns in the form of trees.\(^{238}\)

That there were sacred gardens and trees in Cypriot temples of Aphrodite is supported by Ovid who writes of Kytherea (Aphrodite) speaking of a field at Tamassos (in Cyprus) which was hallowed in her name and added as an endowment to her shrine. In that field stood a tree, with leaves and branches of gold, which bore golden apples (*Metamorphoses* X:646f). This tree might equate with trees depicted on Near Eastern cylinder-seals in scenes that suggest they were an integral part of cult-worship. These trees may have embodied the goddess Asherah. The name of the locality 'Ιεροκηματα ‘Sacred Garden’ near Paphos (Strabo XIV:6.3) is probably derived from the *temenos* of the temple of Aphrodite. L. Burn notes that it is likely that the cult of Aphrodite in the Gardens spread to the Greek mainland from Hierokepos near Paphos, and in numerous scenes on vases by the Meidias Painter Aphrodite is depicted seated on the ground and wearing leaves in her hair or holding a wreath; vegetation which is echoed all around her in the form of trees, bushes, and tendrils.\(^{239}\) A herm-statue of Aphrodite Ourania was located in the district called κηποι at Athens and it may be that Aphrodite ἐν κηποῖς is connected with this (Pausanias I:19.2).\(^{240}\)

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236 M.Ohnefalsch-Richter (1893) pl.76.6,8,10
237 'Αοια δένδρα κοπτόμενα καὶ ἀνατιθέμενα τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ... πρὸς ταῖς εἰσόδοις
238 V.Karageorghis (1976) *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discovers in Cyprus* London, fig 106. It should not be forgotten that Inanna had gateposts flanking the doorways of her temples.
239 L.Burn (1987) p.28
240 A publication of temple accounts, c.422 B.C., gives notice of an Ἀφροδίτης ἐν κηποῖς (*CIA* 273 f.1.12)

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Sappho writes of the gardens surrounding Aphrodite’s holy temple, where her pleasant orchard of apples (or quinces) grow and her altars burn incense.\(^{241}\) Here cool water flows and everywhere is shaded by roses. Pseudo-Lucian (The Erotes) has a dialogue that throws further light on the gardens of Aphrodite. A speaker describes a visit he made to Aphrodite’s temple at Knidos where the *temenos* was a garden of trees and shrubs. Among the shrubs were ‘pleasure-benches’ or ‘pleasure-booths’ available for those who wished to make love.

Returning now to Asherah-Athirat, it should be noted that, like Aphrodite, this goddess was associated with the sea. In the Ugaritic *Epic of Baal* Athirat is *aqr t ym* ‘Athirat of the Sea’, and this links well with Aphrodite who was born from the sea, according to Hesiod, and who was connected with the sea in many ways in Greece. At Troezen she was given the title ‘the watcher from the sea-cliffs’ (Pausanias II:32,3), whilst in other locations, such as Naucratis, she was ‘the goddess who gave the fair wind’ (Athenaeus XV:675F-676A). Here Athenaeus tells the story of a Greek sailor who carried a small image of Aphrodite with him on his voyage. When a storm blew up the whole crew prayed to the statue and fresh myrtle-boughs grew around the ship and the storm became calm.

**o. Hathor**

One of the epithets of the Near Eastern goddess that seems to have survived in many of her fragments is that which links her to the heavens. We have seen that Aštarte is ‘Aštarte of the awesome heavens’, borne out by a Sidonian inscription (*KAI* 14:16)\(^ {242}\) where she is called ‘*šttr šmnm ‘drm*’\(^ {243}\) and Aphrodite is ‘Ourania’. So too is the Egyptian Hathor the ‘Lady of Heaven’, an epithet which is inscribed on a faience cow-figurine.\(^ {244}\)

Egyptian deities were beginning to be associated with those of Babylonia and North Syria by the 18th century B.C. This is borne out by seal impressions from

\(^{241}\) D.Raynor (1991) p.53 (no.2)
\(^{243}\) F.Cross (1973) p.29
Atchana, Level VII, which bear images of Egyptian deities such as the *ankh*-carrying god depicted on an impression of a seal of Šamši-Adad. Another seal impression from Atchana bears a frontal head with Hathor side-curls depicted in the centre of a dotted circle. Barnett notes that the ‘Hathor-curls’ were applied to the Egyptian Hathor in the Middle Kingdom, but that they were ultimately derived from cult-representations of Ishtar in Mesopotamia between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Barnett suggests that ‘a religious syncretism took place between the Canaanite and Egyptian cults, probably by way of Byblos.’ The association between Hathor and Ishtar is manifested in the occurrence of the motif of the 8-pointed roundel, a motif discussed here previously in Chapter Three, carved on an ivory bed from Ras Shamrah and adorning the goddess who wore horns and Hathor locks.

Like the Near Eastern goddess, Hathor is also the ‘Lady of the Vulva’, an epithet that describes her patronage of love and sex. In this aspect she echoes Inanna-Ishtar as, as we have already seen in the text listing the possessions of Ishtar of Lagaba, one of Ishtar’s symbols was the vulva. Hathor was also a goddess of birth and rebirth, and objects that were birth charms in everyday life were placed in graves to facilitate rebirth. If Hathor was syncretised with Inanna-Ishtar, the practices associated with the Near Eastern goddess may have entered the Egyptian goddess’ cult ritual. The notion that the rituals associated with the Near Eastern goddess impinged on other religions equates well with what we have already seen of Bronze Age Cypriot practice associated with Plank Figures in Cypriot graves. The adoption of Near Eastern cult practice also helps to explain why the Cypriot ‘Comb Figures’, here argued to be necklace counterweights with esoteric qualities like those belonging to Hathor’s *menyt* necklace, also occur in Cypriot graves.

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245 R.Barnett (1957) p.37
246 R.Barnett (1957) p.81
247 R.Barnett (1957) p.230; fig.91
249 W.Leemans (1952)
As we have seen previously in this chapter, Aphrodite may have been a patron of the copper-mining industry in Cyprus.\textsuperscript{251} This function of the goddess is echoed in Hathor’s possible role as a deity associated with copper, as a thirteenth century B.C. sanctuary of Hathor at Timna is situated near copper mines and mining installations.\textsuperscript{252}

Hathor is also similar to Aphrodite in that she is ‘Golden’ - especially in her aspect of the patron of sexual intercourse. In New Kingdom love poetry there are appeals to Golden Hathor to grant a lover his beloved.\textsuperscript{253} The association between the epithet ‘golden’ and the sexual aspect of the goddess is seen repeatedly in references in Homer where ‘golden Aphrodite’ is involved in the sexual affairs of gods and mortals. In Hesiod it is \textit{χρυοφότις Ἀφροδίτης ‘golden Aphrodite’} who sheds grace on Pandora and instils in her the ability to engender cruel (sexual) longing (\textit{Works and Days} 65–66). It is with the aid of golden Aphrodite that Earth had the ‘love’ of Tartarus and bore Typhoeus as a result (\textit{Theogony} 821-822).

In an echo of Inanna-Ishtar, Hathor is also a goddess of war. She is the ‘Lady of Terror’ who enjoys battle\textsuperscript{254}; an aspect of the goddess that is exemplified in the Egyptian tale of \textit{The Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction} in which Hathor slays mankind in the desert.\textsuperscript{255} Also like Inanna-Ishtar, the Egyptian goddess has as her symbol the rosette, and this often appears depicted on the counterweights of \textit{menyt} necklaces. Herodotus seems to have seen an affinity between Hathor and Aphrodite as he names as Aphrodite’s the temple of Hathor at Atarbechis on the island of Prosopitos (II:42).

\textbf{p. Conclusion}

It is likely that Aphrodite stems, ultimately, from the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar. Similarities with other, separate, goddesses from the Near East and from Egypt may be merely because it is only through these that evidence of their own former

\textsuperscript{251} A sanctuary of the Classical period at Tamassos, probably dedicated to Ashtarte, was found in association with copper smelting installations. V.Karageorghis (1976) p.75
\textsuperscript{252} V.Karageorghis (1976) p.75
\textsuperscript{253} G.Pinch (1993) p.222
\textsuperscript{254} N.Walls (1992) p.53
\textsuperscript{255} J.Pritchard (1958,1973) \textit{The Ancient Near East} Vol.1, Princeton, p.4
identity has come down to us. There is a wealth of evidence linking Aphrodite to Cyprus, and thence to the Near East, and a few scholars are now admitting that there is much more input into Greek mythology from Near Eastern religious beliefs, as borne out by the cuneiform literature, than has previously been supposed. Cyprus was probably one of the melting pots for the transmission of many of these ideas, although there were no doubt other locations through which this transmission took place.

5.3 Chapter Summary

It has been suggested in this chapter that Aphrodite is the descendant of the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar; and that her cult, myth, and ritual in Greece came from the Near East via Cyprus. Previous chapters have proposed that the Near Eastern goddess arrived in Cyprus during the Early Bronze Age and that later the Mycenaean Greeks, recognising their own goddess of fertility, one of the many ‘Potnias’, reflected in the Cypriot goddess, named her Wanassa in Cyprus. Phoenician colonists also recognised their Astarte in the existing Cypriot goddess. Eventually the Greek and Phoenician worlds came together and the Greeks adopted a grecised form of Astarte as a name for their admittedly oriental goddess Aphrodite.

Links were made between the Near Eastern vegetation deity Dumuzi-Tammuz and the Greek version of the same entity, Adonis. Again the Greeks made it clear that this was an adopted member of the Greek pantheon by retaining his Phoenician title Adon ‘lord’: Bion, in his Lament for Adonis calls him Kytherea’s Syrian husband. The Sacred Marriage between the fertility goddess and the vegetation deity was discussed, as was the Greek version of the Near Eastern mourning for the death of Dumuzi-Tammuz-Adonis. Significantly, all of the Dumuzi-Tammuz-Adonis rites were associated with the goddesses Inanna-Ishhtar and Aphrodite.

It was proposed that Dumuzi-Tammuz-Adonis was related to the smith-gods of Ugarit (Kothar) and of Greece (Hephaistos), and that Homer knew of Hephaistos’
Phoenician links. Again, the goddesses Astarte and Aphrodite were inextricably linked with these craftsmen gods.

The process by which Aphrodite entered the Greek pantheon was discussed, with numerous examples cited of links between Near Eastern and Greek practice. The roles of the goddesses and their relationships to love and marriage, dual gender and transvestism, war, death and rebirth, birds, metals, roses, adornments, and prostitution were discussed. So too were their mutual links with Cyprus examined.

It was proposed here that Hesiod was one of the media through which the myths of the Near Eastern goddess entered Greece. Hesiod seems to have known of a number of epithets associated with Inanna-Ishar which he wove into his Theogony, although not necessarily fully understanding the true meanings of the titles he gave Aphrodite. Hesiod's φιλομμηνής has multiple meanings, among which might be references to sexual aspects of the love goddess Aphrodite which link back through Cyprus to her origins in the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishar-Astarte. The epithet φιλομμηνής may refer to Aphrodite's love of male genitals or to her birth from them. The Hesiodic epithet ἑλικοβλέφαρος in its alternative form of παρακωτοῦσα also links back to Cyprus and the 'Woman at the Window' who, in turn, is recognisable as Inanna-Ishar-Astarte - dating back to at least the thirteenth century B.C. on that island. Ishtar's alter ego, Killi, has also been shown to be a 'Woman at the Window' whose name links her with the crown or diadem worn by prostitutes who frequented the temple of Ishar-Aphrodite in Babylon. Prostitutes also played a role in the temples of Aphrodite in Corinth and Cyprus - hence, possibly, Hesiod's use of ἔσσετεφανος. Φιλομμηνής might be a double-entendre hinting at the sexual practices of Aphrodite; linguistically explicit aspects which were concealed by Hesiod's explanation of the epithet φιλομμηνής. Hesiod's smile-loving, member-loving, member-owning, richly-crowned, quick-glancing goddess, with an historical connection to prostitution and double gender, is arguably the descendent of Inanna-Ishar-Astarte of the Near East whose ritual and cult manifested itself in Cyprus and in Corinth, and whose myths and cult practices Hesiod re-worked in the Theogony.
The syncretic nature of all the goddesses, Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Greek was explored with links made between Inanna-Ishtar-Astarte, Anat, and Asherah-Athirat on the one hand, and Greek goddesses on the other. It is in this section that a number of other links between Near Eastern and Greek practice were uncovered — notably the association between the gardens of Near Eastern temples and those of Aphrodite’s temples in Cyprus and in Greece.

Given the above evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the great goddess of the Near Eastern pantheon, Inanna-Ishtar, was the ancestor of the Greek Aphrodite. It also seems appropriate to identify Cyprus as the place through which the myths, cult and ritual associated with the Near Eastern goddess were transmitted to Greece after the Greeks came in contact with the goddess who had resided in Cyprus, in various manifestations, from the Early Bronze Age onward. It is probable that the fertility and regenerative aspects of Aphrodite manifested themselves in a similar way to those aspects of her Cypriot ancestor. If that Cypriot ancestor was derived, in part, from the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar, the circle of probability is completed; and there is much evidence to suggest that this was the case. The regenerative power of the Cypriot goddess was the reason why her image was placed in graves; along with the pots that held the same meaning. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the Greek survival of the idea of the cauldron of regeneration suggests that pots were part of the regenerative process and places them firmly alongside the goddess in the process of the rebirth into the Underworld. It may be that the placing of elaborately decorated vessels in Classical Greek graves was a lingering, although by that time not necessarily consciously recognised, expression of this ancient system of belief — a possibility that has not been explored by scholars investigating the Classical period.
CONCLUSION

In offering this thesis, the author is attempting to fulfil two objectives. One of these is to publicise the Bronze Age Cypriot artefacts held by the University of Canterbury’s James Logie Memorial Collection, and the other is to attempt to give meaning to these objects, above and beyond their mere physical existence.

The preceding discussion and evidence seems to support the proposed thesis that Early Bronze Age Cypriot funerary goods were placed in graves to play a role in the afterlife of the deceased. Furthermore, that not only were the objects and figurines for the comfort and use of the reborn deceased, but vessels served both a utilitarian function as containers, and also acted as agents of rebirth. The discussion maintained that there is enough evidence from later, literate, periods to support the theory that vessels can be viewed as surrogate ‘wombs’ in which gestation might occur.

In addition to the above evidence, the incised decoration and motifs applied to pots are strongly argued to be references to fertility. Fertility in a tomb context seems incongruous unless some form of regeneration was envisioned by those who placed the objects in the graves. That many of the complex vessels were intended solely for funerary use is suggested by the fact that their type has not been found in settlement contexts. Furthermore, images of females placed in some graves, and adorning vessels, might indicate that the presence of feminine interests was a favourable adjunct to the repertoire of grave-goods. In this document these figurines have been interpreted as images of a deity linked with fertility and the Underworld.

The adornments of the so-called ‘Plank-Figures’ seem to compare favourably with those described in the rituals of dressing associated with the Near Eastern Inanna-Ishtar, in her roles as both fertility goddess and one who was resurrected after death. ‘Survivals’ of the ritual of adornment, and its relationship with seduction and fertility, occur in Classical Greek literature pertaining to Aphrodite and those under her influence. Aphrodite is undoubtedly of Cypriot and Near Eastern origin, therefore her
cult and rituals are particularly cogent in terms of literary evidence. It is through the ‘survivals’ of references to Aphrodite that we may be able to trace, retrospectively, the meanings associated with Cypriot Plank Figures and the ubiquitous grave pottery.

Judging from the plausible archaeological evidence offered in Chapter Four, it is likely that Early Bronze Age Cypriot society had the opportunity to assimilate Near Eastern religious ideas, either by direct contact with immigrants from the Near East or Anatolia, or through more casual interaction and exchange of ideas during the course of trade.

The author concedes that any attempt at interpreting the intentions of a pre-literate society is tenuous at best. But without some endeavour at making connections between artefacts and their purposes, objects remain either enigmatic or mundane and sit enshrined in glass cases with their ‘messages’ ignored. To acknowledge that artefacts may have had some purpose other than the most obvious utilitarian use is the first step towards giving museum objects a ‘voice’. By opening the mouths of pots their stories may be seen to be as meaningful in the present as they were in the past in the context of the human condition. In the final analysis, the argument that Early Bronze Age Cypriot grave goods had an esoteric meaning that was expressed through form and decoration must succeed or fail on the basis of its plausibility to the reader.¹

¹ See Chapter One, pg.32 & n.116
NOTES ON THE CATALOGUE

The catalogue has been provided both to link with artefacts mentioned in the preceding chapters, and to publicise the Cypriot Bronze Age tomb groups held in the University of Canterbury’s Logie Collection. It is these artefacts that provided the original impetus for the research carried out in this thesis and, although only playing a minor role in the document as a whole, they were of prime importance to the concept.

For the purpose of the thesis the author has drawn some of the objects as restored in order to facilitate an art historical evaluation rather than to portray their archaeological status. For the archaeological record, Catalogue numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 38, 39, and 40 are in various degrees of fragmentation — some are unrestored at the time of writing.

The objects found at Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi Tomb 11, Karmi-Lapatsa Tomb 11, and Karmi-Palaeolona Tomb 8, have been dated to around the end of the Early Bronze Age to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (c.200-1800 B.C.). The pottery is mainly Red Polished ware with one Black Polished ware spindle whorl, and these artefacts have all been illustrated in the catalogue to offer comparative material to that covered in the thesis. Described but not illustrated are some of the non-ceramic artefacts – a sandstone(?) mortar, a stone rubber, and a stone quern. However, two non-ceramic artefacts have been illustrated: a green steatite whorl and a steatite(?) bead or pendant. These objects have been included among those illustrated as the whorl ties in with the thesis’ speculation as to the purpose of whorls among grave goods, and the bead because it is an enigmatic object requiring illustration to clarify its appearance.
CATALOGUE AND EXCAVATIONS

Catalogue of Bronze Age Cypriot artefacts
in the James Logie Memorial Collection

Ayia Paraskevi: Tomb II: Chamber

1. A.P. T.11:1 Red Polished II ware
Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated sandy clay with some large brown and white grits, chopped straw, and mica; fired grey-black at rim. Polished brown slip with red patches, black top and interior. Below the black, in the brown, a discontinuous horizontal belt of purple. Height 8.1cm; maximum diameter 14.65 cm. Stewart Type XIII F2a2 ware.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig.CXXXIX,14;
Hennessy et al. (1988), Fig.26.

James Logie Memorial Collection 46/57

2. A.P. T.11:2 Red Polished III ware
Amphora. Well levigated clay with many medium and tiny white, grey and black grits and some finely chopped straw; fired orange-buff to pink-buff. Polished reddish-brown slip. Height 21.5cm; maximum diameter 17.5cm. Stewart Type VII2t.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.28:2.
James Logie Memorial Collection 123/73

3. A.P. T.11:3 Red Polished III ware
Flask. Well levigated sandy clay with some large brown and black grits and finely chopped straw; fired grey with buff outer face on lower body. Polished red slip fired black on upper
body and neck. Incised decoration consisting of concentric circles on the body linked by groups of parallel lines to form a ‘sling net’ pattern. Height 11.4cm; maximum diameter 7.9cm. Stewart, Type Vba.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig. C1:9; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.27.

James Logie Memorial Collection 51/57

4. A.P. T.11:4 Black Polished Spindle Whorl. Well levigated sandy clay with some finely chopped straw and mica; fired grey-black to black. Polished black slip. Incised decoration consisting of zigzags and parallel rows of dashes. Height 2.3cm; maximum diameter 3.0cm. Stewart Type A1c.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.17.

5. A.P. T.11:5 Red Polished II ware Knob-lug Bowl. Fired grey-black at rim. Polished brownish-red to brown slip, shading up through brown to black top and interior. Below the black top, a discontinuous horizontal belt of purple in the brown. Height 8.7cm; maximum diameter 15.8 cm. Stewart Type XIII F2a2.

Bibliography:
Stewart, (1962) Fig.CXXXIX:15; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.26.

James Logie Memorial Collection 124/73
6. A.P. T.11:6 Red Polished III ware Flask. Body with part of neck intact. Well levigated clay with many tiny white, brown and black grits with finely chopped straw; fired pinkish-buff to grey on outer upper body. Polished red-brown to orange-brown slip. Incised decoration consisting of concentric circles linked by groups of parallel lines to form a 'sling net' pattern. Remaining height 8.5 cm. Stewart Type VBa.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 27.
James Logie Memorial Collection 125/73

7. A.P. T.11:7 Red Polished III ware Amphora. Well levigated sandy clay with rare medium grey grits and a little finely chopped straw; fired buff with grey core. Polished dark red slip. Height 20.5 cm; maximum diameter 16.4 cm. Stewart Type VIIDf.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 28.
James Logie Memorial Collection 126/73

8. A.P. T.11:8 Red Polished III ware Spouted Basin. Well levigated clay with many medium and tiny white grits and a great deal of chopped straw; fired orange-buff on outside, grey on inside. Laminated. Polished orange-red slip mottled to black in patches. Height approximately 19.0 cm.

Bibliography:
James Logie Memorial Collection 53/57
9. A.P. T.11:9 Red Polished III ware Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated sandy clay, with some large grey grits and chopped straw; fired grey with buff outer face on lower body, grey-black on upper body. Polished light red slip shading up through brown to black top and interior. Below the black top, a discontinuous horizontal belt of purple in the brown. Incised decoration consisting of concentric circles linked by groups of parallel lines to form a ‘sling net’ pattern. Height 8.4 cm; maximum diameter 15.3 cm. Stewart Type XIII F3a3.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig. CXL:5; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 27.
James Logie Memorial Collection 50/57

10. A.P. T.11:10. Red Polished II ware Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated clay with some small white, grey brown and black grits and mica; fired pink with irregular grey core. Polished red slip inside and out with black mottled stains on exterior and interior. Height approx. 9.0 cm; maximum diameter 14.5 cm. Stewart Type XIII Fa3 ware.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig. CXXXVIII:31; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 26.
James Logie Memorial Collection 47/57

11. A.P. T.11:11 Sandstone (?) Mortar. Preserved height 7.0 cm;
preserved length 14.3 cm; preserved width 14.4 cm. Stewart Type F.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig. 103:18; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.27.
James Logie Memorial Collection 63/61 (not illustrated)

12. A.P. T.11:12 Red Polished II ware Knob-lug Bowl. Polished red slip inside and out with small black stains on exterior. Maximum height 8.7 cm; maximum diameter 14.3 cm. Stewart Type XIIIFa3 ware.

Stewart (1962) Fig. CXXXVIII:32; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.26.
James Logie Memorial Collection 48/57

13. A.P. T.11:13 Red Polished III ware Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated clay with many tiny white and black grits; fired orange-buff with thin grey core. Polished plum to orange-red slip inside and out with mottled black patches. Height approx. 8.5 cm; maximum diameter 14.6cm. Stewart Type XIIIFa ware.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.26.
James Logie Memorial Collection 127/73

14. A.P. T.11:14 Red Polished II ware Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated sandy clay with some large white grits and mica; fired pink with irregular grey core. Polished dark red slip inside and out, with a low finish and heavy black stains. Height 8.1 cm; maximum diameter 13.4 cm. Stewart Type XIIIF2a3.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig. CXXXIX:24; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.26.
James Logie Memorial Collection 49/57
15. A.P. T.11:15  Dark grey-green stone Rubber. Preserved length 26.9 cm; maximum width 13.7 cm. Stewart Type Gia.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig.104:1; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.28.
James Logie Memorial Collection 62/58 (not illustrated)

16. A.P. T.11:S.1  Red Polished ware III Jug. Well levigated sandy clay with small and medium black, white and grey grits, some crushed pottery and much finely chopped straw; fired pinkish-buff on outer face, grey on inner face. Polished dark red slip with a black patch. Height 50.9 cm; maximum diameter 33.0 cm. Stewart Type 1Bb2.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.27.
James Logie Memorial Collection 128/73

17. A.P. T.11:S.2a  Red Polished II ware Knob-lug Bowl. Well levigated clay with many tiny white and black grits finely chopped straw and fibre; fired orange-buff to grey on inner face and top. Polished reddish-orange slip on exterior with black topped rim and interior. Height 8.5 cm; rim diameter 15.5 cm. Stewart Type XIIIfb1a ware.

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.27.
James Logie Memorial Collection 128/73
18. A.P. T.11:S.2b Red Polished ware Knob-lug Bowl. As S.2a. Maximum height 8.4 cm; maximum diameter 16.6 cm. Stewart Type XIIIb1a ware. 

Bibliography:
Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 28.
James Logie Memorial Collection 129/73

![Cat. no.18](image)

19. A.P. T.11:S.3 Grey-green stone Quern with hard pinkish patina. Length 19.9 cm; maximum width 10.2 cm. Stewart Type G.

Bibliography:
Stewart (1962) Fig.104:2; Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig.28.
James Logie Memorial Collection 61/58 (not illustrated)

Karmi Lapatsa: Tomb 11: Chamber 20. Lap. T.11:1 Red Polished III Pyxis and lid. Well levigated clay with rare, tiny flakes of mica and some pitting from very finely chopped straw. Fired uniformly to buff. Polished dark red slip on exterior. This ovoid container has incised geometric patterns, the main feature of which are the concentric divided circles on the sides. These are accompanied by parallel lines and chevrons. The body has attached plastic ornamentation in the form of two miniature jugs and one remaining (possibly of a pair) Plank Figure facing outwards. Facial features are represented by incised horizontal and vertical lines, and there is further incision on the body. Late Cypriot III. Height 25cm; maximum diameter 37.7cm; lid 14.4 x 12.8cm. Stewart Class IX Ce4.

Bibliography:
Exhibition, University of Sydney, 1962, Case 2; Haggo (1985) Ancient Celebrations No.2; Stewart Corpus Part II (1992) Fig.30:3
James Logie Memorial Collection 130/73

![Cat. no.20](image)
21. Lap. T.11:2 Red Polished III Jug. Finely mixed clay with many tiny and medium grits and a great quantity of finely chopped straw; fired buff with grey core. Highly polished brown to red-brown slip outside and extending inside neck. Height 51.5cm; maximum diameter 32.0cm; rim diameter 11.6cm. Stewart Type I B\textsuperscript{th} d.

Bibliography:

James Logie Memorial Collection 131/73

22. Lap. T.11:3 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Flat base. Finely mixed clay with tiny and medium grits and fibre; fired light brown with thin grey core. Highly polished red-brown slip inside and out, mottled black in patches. Height 7.5cm; maximum diameter 14.4cm; rim diameter 13.0cm. Stewart, Type XIII F a2, b ware. Unpublished.

James Logie Memorial Collection 132/73

23. Lap. T.11:4 Red Polished III Jug. Wall surface flaking in one place. Relief decoration of rope moulding on neck and shoulder. Finely mixed clay with tiny and medium grits and mica; fired buff on outer face, grey on inner face. Highly polished red-brown slip extending over rim and inside neck. Height 64.5cm; maximum diameter 32.9cm; rim diameter 9.0cm. Stewart Type I B\textsuperscript{th} e1 var.a.

Bibliography:
Stewart Corpus Part I (1988) p.82, no.3.

James Logie Memorial Collection 133/73
Surface worn below handle. Relief decoration of snakes on neck; a knob either side of base of handle; fired buff on outer surface. Highly polished red-brown slip extending over rim and inside neck. Incised decoration consisting of chevrons on handle. Height 53.6cm; maximum diameter 30.7cm; rim diameter 8.3cm. Stewart Type I B\textsuperscript{1c} c2\textsuperscript{1}, var. b1.
Bibliography:
Stewart Corpus Part I (1988) p.73, no.40.
James Logie Memorial Collection 134/73

Relief band round base of neck; four knobs, one either side of top and base of handle. Fabric and finish as T.11:5. Height 50.7cm; maximum diameter 28.5cm; rim diameter 7.4cm. Stewart Type I B\textsuperscript{1c} c2\textsuperscript{1}
Bibliography:
Stewart Corpus Part I (1988) p.73, no.103.
James Logie Memorial Collection 135/73
26. Lap. T.11:7 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Part of wall and rim missing. Very finely mixed clay with tiny grits; fired buff throughout, black at rim. Thin, highly polished red-brown to brown slip outside; fired black over rim and inside. Incised decoration consisting of pairs of parallel lines containing chevrons around the rim, triple vertical parallel lines containing chevrons on the bowl, interspersed with groups of horizontal parallel lines. Height 7.3cm; maximum diameter 12.7cm; rim diameter 11.7cm. Stewart Type XIII J c2.
Unpublished.
James Logie Memorial Collection 136/73

27. Lap. T.11:8 Red Polished III Jug. Some battering of mouth. Relief decoration of three bands round neck; four knobs, one either side of top and base of handle; ridged handle; fired buff on outer surface. Highly polished red-brown slip outside extending over rim and inside neck. Height 38.6cm; maximum diameter 21.9cm; rim diameter 6.8cm. Stewart Type I B^2^3f1 var. a.
Bibliography:
James Logie Memorial Collection 137/73

28. Lap. T.11:10 (No.21 on tomb plan). Red Polished III Jug. Body only. Relief decoration of knob either side of base of handle. Finely mixed clay with tiny, medium and some larger grits and finely chopped straw; fired buff on outer face, grey on inner face. Laminated. Thin, highly polished red-brown slip. Remaining height 23.1cm;
maximum diameter 20.7 cm. Stewart Type IB. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 138/73

Cat. no. 28

29. Lap. T.11:11 Green Steatite Whorl. Height 1.1 cm; diameter 4.3 cm. Stewart Type D III c. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 139/73

Cat. no. 29

30. Lap. T.11:12 Red Polished III Spindle Whorl. Somewhat worn. Fired buff on outer surface. Thin, lightly polished orange-brown to red-brown slip. Incised decoration consisting of concentric lines around top and bottom, with parallel vertical lines crossed by horizontal lines between; concentric semi-circles on base. Height 3.4 cm; maximum diameter 3.9 cm. Stewart Type A I b. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 140/73

Cat. no. 30

31. Lap. T.11:13 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Very finely mixed clay with tiny and medium grits; fired reddish-brown with thick buff core. Thin, well polished brown to reddish-brown slip inside and out, mottled black in patches. Height 8.9 cm; maximum diameter 16.7 cm; rim diameter 14.8 cm. Stewart Type XIII F²a2, b ware. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 141/73
32. Lap. T.11:15 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Thin, well polished red-brown to brown slip inside and out, mottled black in places. Height 7.2cm; maximum diameter 13.9cm; rim diameter 12.5cm. Stewart, Type XIII F^2a2, b ware. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 142/73

33. Lap. T.11:16 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Finely mixed clay with tiny and medium grits. Thin, well polished brown to red-brown slip outside; fired black over rim and inside. Height 8.3cm; maximum diameter 16.2cm; rim diameter 14.8cm. Stewart Type XIII F^2a2, b ware. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 144/73

34. Lap. T.11:17 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Omphaloid base. Thin, well polished brown to red-brown slip inside and out, mottled black in patches outside. Height 8.0cm; maximum diameter 14.5cm; rim diameter 13.0cm. Stewart Type XIII F^2a2, b ware. Unpublished. James Logie Memorial Collection 143/73

35. Lap. T.11:18 Red Polished III Knob-lug Bowl. Thin, well polished red-brown slip inside and out, small
very carefully mottled black patches outside. Height 6.9cm; maximum diameter 13.6cm; rim diameter 12.4cm. Stewart Type XIII F^2a2, b ware. Unpublished.
James Logie Memorial Collection 145/73

James Logie Memorial Collection 146/73

37. Lap. T.11:20 Red Polished III Dipper Amphora. Surface worn and pitted. Relief decoration of a pierced knob at front opposite handle and with vertically aligned bosses, with central depressions, on the neck and shoulder on either side, one missing. Clay fired buff on outer surface. Thin, well polished light brown slip outside extending over rim and inside neck. Height 18.8cm; maximum diameter 15.8cm. Stewart Type VII K b2.
Bibliography:
Stewart Corpus Part II (1992) p.157, no.4.
James Logie Memorial Collection 147/73

38. Lap. T.11:21 (No.10 on tomb plan). Red Polished III Jug. Relief decoration of rope moulding on neck and shoulder. Finely mixed clay with tiny and medium and some larger grits and fibre; fired brownish-buff on outer face, grey on inner face. Thin, polished orange-brown slip outside extending
over rim and inside neck. Height 60.8cm; maximum diameter 34.4cm; rim diameter 8.0cm. Stewart Type I B1c el var. a.

Bibliography:
Stewart Corpus Part 1 (1988) 82, no.4 (Tomb 11 No.10)
James Logie Memorial Collection 148/73

Karmi-Palaclona: Tomb 8: Dromos
39. Pal. T.8:1 Red Polished III Plank Figure. Found in the dromos of a looted tomb. Damaged on right side with cracks across the body and neck, surface worn. Very finely mixed clay with tiny and medium grits; fired orange-buff with grey core. Thin, well polished red-brown slip. Body treated in a flat and simplified style. The nose, eyebrows and headband are applied and other details are rendered by white-filled incisions. The basic body shape consists of two rectangles, one for the head and neck and a larger one for the body. A semi-circular projection, pierced by three holes, indicates one of the ears. The eyes are punctured dot rosettes. A 'choker' band and rows of semi-circular lines indicate necklaces. The back is plain save for two sets of double incised zigzags that indicate hair. Early Cypriot IIIB – Middle Cypriot I. Height 28.5 cm.; maximum width 8.0cm. Stewart Type XXXIX B a.

Bibliography:
Exhibition, University of Sydney, 1962, Case 2; Haggo (1985) Ancient Celebrations No.5.
James Logie Memorial Collection 149/73

Karmi-Palaclona: Tomb 8: chamber
40. Pal. T.8:2 Red Polished III Plank Figure, head only. Fabric as Tomb 8:1, but with highly polished orange slip. Preserved height 8.8cm, preserved
width 5.7cm. Stewart Type XXXIX B
a.

Unpublished.
James Logie Memorial Collection
150/73

41. Pal. T.8:3 Steatite(?) Bead, Whetstone or Pendant. Light grey. Pierced horizontally through one end and with a vertical hole in the same end. Length 4.1cm, maximum diameter 1.2cm.
Find-spots and descriptions of tombs

Ayia Paraskevi

Ayia Paraskevi is a cemetery site which, along with a site at Vasilia, was excavated by James Stewart in October and November 1955. The greatest part of the cost of the excavations was borne by Stewart personally, with contributions from the Ashmolean Museum, the University of Canterbury, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, the Otago Museum, the University of Melbourne, and the University of Sydney.

The cemetery site of Ayia Paraskevi lies to the south of the walled city of Nicosia, well within the limits of the modern city. The necropolis was in continuous use from the beginning of the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, although the earliest settlement in the area seems to have been a small Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic site on the banks of the Pedieos River. The majority of tombs excavated in the 1955 season came from the region of Stylianos Theophanides Street, although the graves in the area had been damaged by centuries of cultivation. The burials were in pit graves and, in all, fourteen burials were found, producing pots ranging from the Philia culture to the Late Bronze Age.

Plan 1 Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi: Plan of cemetery
After J.Hennessy et al. (1988) fig.3

The University of Canterbury's collection of artefacts from these excavations is comprised of a group from Tomb 11.

Plan 2 Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi. Plan of Tomb 11. After J. Hennessy et al. (1988) Fig. 7b

**Ayia Paraskevi Tomb 11**

Tomb 11 is a roughly circular pit 1.72m in length, 1.50m wide and 0.82m deep with a concave floor. Beneath the surface soil, the centre of the pit was covered with a crude circle of stones. Beneath the stones and a limestone fill, a burial was found in a deposit of soft brown earth and lime nodules. From the few human long bones, it seems that the original deposit was a single burial of Early Cypriot III. The stratification of the pit suggests that it had been robbed.

**Karmi-Lapatsa and Karmi-Palealona**

The Australian excavations of 1960-1961 concentrated on the area of Karmi Village, a few miles to the South-west of Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus. The excavations were carried out by James Stewart under the aegis of the University of

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Melbourne and were made possible by sponsorship from the University of Sydney, the University of Melbourne, the University of New England, and the University of Canterbury. Otago Museum and Marion Steven, of Christchurch, New Zealand, also contributed.

Work was carried on at two sites: Lapatsa, situated about the 800ft contour, and Palealona at about the 600ft contour, below the level of Karmi Village. In the excavations of these two areas, about forty tombs of the Early and Middle Bronze Age were cleared and were found to contain pottery, weapons and toilet articles.

**Karmi-Lapatsa Tomb 11**

A letter from J. Stewart\(^4\) describes how the tomb was discovered when, during the clearance of the chamber of Tomb 15, the foreman broke through into what is now known as Tomb 11.

The *dromos* of the tomb is 3.17m long and 1.75m wide and culminates in an ovoid chamber, which has an entrance located in the south side near the west end. The chamber is 2.15m long, 2.51m wide, and 1.41m deep. At the time of discovery, the blocking stones appeared to be still in place.

Water action is probably responsible for the finds in the chamber being scattered, as the tomb does not appear to have been re-used. Skeletal remains were very scanty, and there seems to have been only one burial.

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\(^3\) Description courtesy of Dr. Kathryn Eriksson, 6 June, 1996  
\(^4\) Letter to Noreen Waterford, 4 March 1961
Karmi-Palealona Tomb 8

At Palealona the tombs are closely spaced, often underlying each other, and with many features of architectural interest. Palealona is particularly notable in that on one wall of the dromos of Tomb 6, dated to the Middle Cypriot period, there was a human figure sculpted in bas-relief; a feature unique in Cypriot Bronze Age archaeology.

At Palealona the rectangular stepped dromos is 2.05m in width and follows an E-W axis. The chamber, located at the western end of the dromos, is 1.40m long and 1.06m wide. There was no evidence of any blocking stones in position. Another, apparently unexcavated, stomion is located to the left of the entrance to the chamber of Tomb 8. Yet another stomion, located on the northern wall of the dromos, was covered by a blocking stone and led through to the chamber of Tomb 3.

Description courtesy of Dr. Kathryn Eriksson, 6 June, 1996
A mass of rock debris filled the irregular oblong shape of the chamber, and it is here that the fragmentary Plank Figure, no 2, and the steatite 'bead'(?), no.3, were found. The Plank Figure, no 1, was found in the dromos, near some large blocking stones. There is no record of any skeletal material within the chamber.
**Background: accession of the Bronze Age**

**Cypriot artefacts to the Logie Collection**

The Logie Collection was formed in 1957 at the University of Canterbury by Marion Steven⁶ as a memorial to her late husband James Logie.

Marion Steven was a generous contributor to James Stewart’s 1960-1961 excavations in Cyprus⁷ and the University of Canterbury also contributed. At the time it was hoped that the Melbourne University Cyprus Expedition, under the direction of James Stewart, would unearth Mycenaean material which would become part of the Collection, but the finds turned out to be from the Early Bronze Age period. This period was Stewart’s favourite and it is fitting that the Logie Collection material representing his excavations are Early Bronze Age examples.

James Stewart told Marion Steven that he intended to assign to the Logie Collection the group from Karmi Lapatsa Tomb 11 containing the pyxis;⁸ an artefact which, as at 1962, was the largest example of its type yet found in Cyprus.⁹ The remaining allocations were a tomb group from Ayia Paraskevi, Tomb 11, and finds from Karmi Palealona Tomb 8. It was thought, by both Marion Steven and James Stewart, that it was preferable to keep tomb groups together from the point of view of continuity and later scholarship.

The University of Canterbury was recognised by the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus as an accredited institution, one to which the export of excavated material would be allowed. It was hoped that the material would be published within a short period of time and, although the Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia material was finally published in 1988, the publication of the Karmi material is still forthcoming.

---

⁶ Lecturer (1949), Senior Lecturer (1953-1966) and Reader (1966-1977) in Classics at the University of Canterbury
⁷ Marion Steven’s contribution was the largest direct financial help from any institution - letter from J. Basil Hennessy to Marion Steven 29th April 1971
⁸ Marion Steven in a letter to Professor Hunt, 11th November, 1964
⁹ Catalogue, University of Sydney Exhibition, 1962
felt strongly that museums and collections had a 'primary responsibility' to publish their material for the advancement of scholarship on the Early Cypriote Bronze Age.\textsuperscript{10}

**James Stewart\textsuperscript{11}**

James Stewart began his career as a member of Sir Flinders Petrie’s staff at Tell el ‘Ajjul from 1933-1934. In 1936 he carried out surface explorations in the Balikesir Vilayet and excavations with Dr. Kurt Bittel and Winifred Lamb at Kusura. As Director of the Cyprus Expedition of the British School at Athens Stewart excavated the Bronze Age cemetery at Vounous from 1937-1946. Excavations were interrupted by World War II, in which Stewart saw service and was a prisoner of war from 1941-1945. In 1949, following a period as Teaching Fellow in the History Department of the University of Sydney, Stewart was appointed Senior Lecturer in the newly formed Department of Archaeology, under Professor A.D. Trendall. Stewart was appointed to the Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair of Middle Eastern archaeology in 1960.

James Stewart died on February 6\textsuperscript{th} 1962.

\textsuperscript{10} J. Stewart (1988) *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age I* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology III:1 Gothenburg, p.5

\textsuperscript{11} A. Cambitoglou (1962) ‘Professor James Stewart: Obituary Notice’ *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV, p.205-6

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161 Composite vessel from Ayia Paraskevi. 1885 excavations. Drawing by the author after M. Ohmefalsch-Richter (1893) pl. CXLVIII: 10b

162 Corinthian Anadyomene plaque from Perachora. Drawing by the author after P. Riis (1949) pl. XIX: 1

163 Terracotta female figure. Details in relief and red paint. Chalcolithic I period. Cyprus Museum KM 778/854. Drawing by the author after V. Karageorghis (1991b) Cat. no. 6, fig. 1

164 Bronze statuette of the ‘Ingot God’ from Enkomi, standing on an oxhide ingot base. 12th century B.C. Drawing by the author after V. Karageorghis (1976) fig. 55

165 Bronze statuette of ‘Astarte’ figure standing on oxhide ingot. 12th century B.C. Ashmolean Museum. Drawing by the author after V. Karageorghis (1976) fig. 56

166 Bronze female statuette. Late Bronze Age 1200–1100 B.C. Nicosia, Bairaktar quarter. Cyprus Museum 1936/VI-18/1. Drawing by the author after V. Tatton-Brown (1979) cat. 163

167 Base Ring ware figurine. Late Bronze Age. Desmond Morris Collection (DM-BR-38). Drawing by the author after D. Morris (1985) pl. 192

168 Detail. Ishtar depicted on a cylinder seal of sapphirine chalcedony, Babylon. Drawing by the author after A. Cook (1914) fig. 446


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